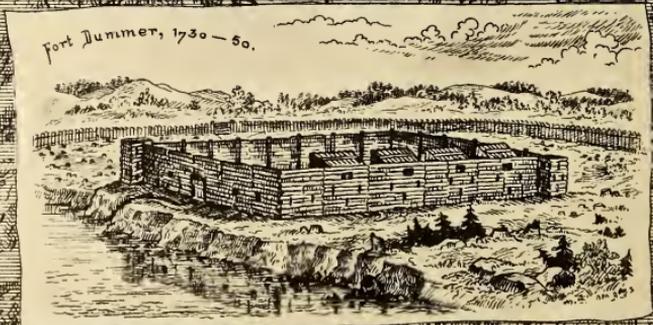




ANCIENT MEETING HOUSE.



GARRISON HOUSE OF 1700.



Fort Dunmer, 1730 - 50.

Del. Verich

Printed and Published by *Benjamin Franklin*, 1605 - 1740.

HISTORY

OF THE

TOWN OF LANCASTER,

MASSACHUSETTS:

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME,
1643—1879.

BY

REV. ABIJAH P. MARVIN,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF WINCHENDON," AND THE "HISTORY
OF WORCESTER IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION."

The past but lives in words: a thousand ages
Were blank, if books had not evoked their ghosts."—BULWER.

LANCASTER:
PUBLISHED BY THE TOWN.
1879.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1879, by
SOLON WILDER, FOR THE TOWN,
in the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

Printed by J. E. FARWELL & Co., 45 Pearl Street, Boston.

From the Bindery of S. H. SANBORN, 73 Federal Street, Boston.

PREFATORY NOTE
OF THE
COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

1136791

THE definite duty of this committee has been to procure the preparation and publication of a History of the town. As related hereafter, the hope of finding the materials for such a history, gathered by that accomplished annalist, the late Joseph Willard, Esq., in a condition for publication, had been disappointed; and although there were natives of the town who were competent to write its History, yet their engagements would have prevented. Indeed, before the vote, under which the committee were appointed, was passed, "the preparation" had been assigned, by very general consent, to the Reverend Mr. Marvin, lately Minister of one of the religious societies of the town, and who, though but for a few years a resident, was accredited with the desired gifts and experience for the work, and was at leisure to undertake it. Aside from the business of "publication," the co-operation of his colleagues with Mr. Marvin has been only advisory; and to him alone belongs any literary merit which may attach to the book that is now presented to subscribers and to the public. The committee do not hold themselves responsible for any statements of opinion which he has made, nor, either in general or in detail, for the manner in which he has executed his task; but they must not omit to say that, in their judgment, he has discharged his obligations to the town with ability and fidelity; that their official association with him has been very pleasant and profitable

to them; and that they confidently believe that his readers will derive in a good degree the satisfaction from his labors which, without doubt, it has been his ambition to deserve. How much time and anxious research such labors involve, is not readily estimated by the inexperienced or superficial observer of the results. The production of this book having been limited to two years, that errors of omission and of commission will be detected in it, the committee and the author take for granted. Notification to him or to them of any such errors, will be esteemed a favor. Though Mr. Remick has been happy in his sketch, yet the committee would have been glad to give another representation of the great Elm, in a photograph direct from nature, and taken, perhaps, in winter; but convenience did not serve, and uniformity in the style of the illustrations seemed to be desirable. Acknowledgments are due to Mr. J. E. Farwell, a native of Lancaster, for his friendly zeal in carrying the manuscript through his press at prices hardly remunerative to him. It only remains to be said that this address has been written as if Mr. Marvin were not a member of the committee, and to commend the sentiment of one distinguished as historian and poet, in his own words:—

“Whatever strengthens our local attachments is favourable both to individual and national character. Show me a man who cares no more for one place than another, and I will show you in that same person one who loves nothing but himself. You have no hold on a human being whose affections are without a taproot.”

INTRODUCTION.

At a town meeting held in the year 1871, Rev. George M. Bartol, Mr. Henry Wilder and Rev. A. P. Marvin were chosen as a committee to obtain from the heirs of the late Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston, a manuscript history of the town of Lancaster. It was supposed at the time, that such a work was in existence, and from the known character of the writer, it was believed that his history of the town would be full and accurate. It was remembered by one of the committee, that Mr. Willard had mentioned the fact of his having the work in such a state of forwardness, that it could be fitted for the press in six months, and would make a volume of four or five hundred octavo pages. The chairman of the committee made application to the sons of Mr. Willard, but they were unable to discover the manuscript. The committee were thus discharged from their duty.

In 1876 the town at its annual meeting, had before it an article "to see what action should be taken in relation to the preparation and publishing of the History of the town." On the eighth of April the subject was referred to a committee of five, to take such action as they might deem advisable. The committee were George M. Bartol, A. P. Marvin, Jonas M. Damon, Charles T. Fletcher and Charles L. Wilder. The committee engaged the subscriber to write the history, but as the town had made no appropriation to pay for preparing or publishing the work, not much was done that year, except by way of collecting information, and settling upon the plan.

At the annual meeting, March 5, 1877, the committee made a report, with suggestions, to the effect that the town should raise the sum of \$1,500, to pay expenses; print six hundred and fifty copies; and give a copy of the book to every family belonging to the town. The copies remaining were to be sold for \$4.00, each.

These suggestions were put into the form of a vote, and passed unanimously. The committee were also authorized to illustrate the work with maps, pictures of public buildings, and historic scenes.

From this time the work of research was resumed with vigor, and was carried on until all available sources of information had been examined. I then called upon Joseph Willard, Esq., son of the former gentleman of the same name, in search of an ancient paper, and learned that the missing manuscript had been found. The sheets were bound into a volume of nearly a thousand pages of large letter paper, and nearly eight hundred pages were covered with writing. Here were the materials for a history of Lancaster, but not a line had been prepared for the press. I was courteously permitted to examine the volume, and spent nearly a day in turning over the pages, when it appeared that I had spent several months in gathering the same information, from the same sources as Mr. Willard had done. There was nothing which I needed but a few extracts from the Records of Middlesex county, which I was kindly permitted to copy. There is, however, considerable matter in the volume pertaining to Lancaster families, which is valuable, and it would be well, if the town could procure the whole collection for permanent possession in the public library.

In arranging the work I have been guided by the wisdom of the committee of publication. And here I may be permitted to say, in relation to my colleagues, that the town made a judicious selection. Mr. Wilder is a descendant of Thomas Wilder, one of the original settlers, who came in 1659, and was immediately employed in public trusts, as one of the fathers of the town. The ancestor of Mr. Fletcher settled here near the beginning of the last century, or about one hundred and seventy years since. The family of Mr. Damon have been here nearly a century. Besides, and what is of equal importance, they all feel an intelligent interest in family and municipal history. From them all many facts of interest have been gathered. The historic tastes and literary judgment of Mr. Bartol justly gave him the first place on the committee. He has been ever at hand, and ready to advise with on all questions of importance. The plan of the work was approved by the whole committee, after mature deliberation.

The sources from which the materials of the following history have been drawn, are various. I begin by cheerfully acknowledging indebtedness to Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, Rev. Timothy Har-

rington and Joseph Willard, Esq. The latter gave much attention to the history of the town, and wrote the historical article in the Worcester Magazine, of 1826, from which succeeding writers have copied. He also delivered the address at the bi-centennial celebration in 1853, which contained some additions to the facts related in his earlier publication. If he had lived to complete his intended history of Lancaster, the work would have been done with such fulness and elegance, as to have superseded the need of any other.

But owing to the fact already mentioned, I was compelled to go to original sources of information, and therefore am not really indebted to any great extent, to preceding writers. Mrs. Rowlandson's wonderful little book, destined to go down to distant generations, gives the experience of an actual participator in a crisis of the town's history; but this covered only a brief interval of time. Mr. Harrington conveyed to us the traditional knowledge of his time, which he had gathered from the grandchildren of the first settlers. Mr. Willard gave only what was open to all students in the original records.

To these records I have resorted, and have never relied on extracts made by others. The Records of the town have been well kept, with the exception of the period between 1673 and 1717, which is a blank. It is commonly said that a volume was burned, many years since; and Mr. Willard says, that the first volume "unaccountably disappeared" more than ninety years since. It would be more correct to say, that in early times the records of the proprietors, the town and the parish were all kept in the same book. The first book, which is still extant, and has also been copied, comes down to 1673, or three years before the massacre of 1676. There is then a total blank to the year 1717, from which time to 1724, the proceedings of proprietors, town and parish are intermingled. From the last date, the records, of proceedings are generally kept separate as far as the proprietors are concerned. From 1724 the Records of the town are in good preservation, and without any hiatus. The Records of the First church are wanting previous to 1708, but are complete from that date.

I have examined the Records of the Town and the Proprietary; the Book of Roads, and the Book of Lands; the Book of Estrays and the Books of the Selectmen. The Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths, in the books of the town, and the Records of the Church, have also been consulted. The Records of School

districts, of Library companies and of various associations, have been read with care. The same is true in regard to the Records of churches and societies of comparatively recent origin. Private papers have also been entrusted to my examination.

In proceeding, I have read the warrants for every town meeting on record in the town books. I then looked out the action of the town in regard to every article of general and permanent interest. Sometimes a measure would be before the town for years, by adjournment, or as a new proposition, before final decision. The action has been traced from meeting to meeting, until a result was reached. The same is true of the Records of the churches. The first volume of the Book of Lands has been studied with nearly equal minuteness, to verify the location of the homes of the first settlers. The results will be seen in one of the maps which accompany this volume. The Book of Roads has undergone similar scrutiny.

But the history of an ancient town cannot be made complete from its own records; especially its military and parochial annals must be filled out from other sources. The Historic-Genealogical Society have a manuscript volume pertaining to King Philip's war, which is invaluable. Their materials for family history are rich and abundant. The Massachusetts Historical Society has two large volumes in relation to the conquest of Louisburg, by Sir William Pepperell, which contain the rolls of the Massachusetts regiments in that expedition; but unfortunately the roll of the Lancaster company, and of the whole regiment of Col. Samuel Willard, are wanting. Some items of interest, however, were found, as well as in the files of newspapers printed early in the last century. The courtesy of these associations is gratefully acknowledged.

But for the student of municipal history, the Archives room in the State House is the magazine of facts, which, after local records, must be his main reliance. No one who has not consulted the huge volumes in that room, under the intelligent guidance of Dr. Strong, can have an adequate idea of the treasures of historic facts contained therein. In early times the general court took cognizance of many things which are now left to the management of towns, churches, parishes and individuals. By means of letters, petitions, reports, bills, journals, complaints and orders, all of which are pasted into immense scrap books, much of the life, religious and military, as well as civil and educational, of the towns

is preserved. In this mass of material, I found proof of the building of a second meeting-house where the first had stood. Here also was the schedule of losses when the houses and barns were burnt by the Indians on the day when the meeting-house was destroyed. Nearly all the facts pertaining to the military history of Lancaster, from 1676 to 1865, were derived from records in the State House. But enough of this. The novice may be appalled at the thought of going through such a mass of papers, written in every conceivable hand, but he ought to be cheered by the fact that the Commonwealth has such vast treasures of historic material for him to explore.

There are readers who will wonder why so much room has been given to the proceedings of town meetings, and in particular, to such long recitals of town action in regard to roads, bridges, schools and parish affairs. The object was twofold. First, because the peculiar use and glory of our towns are herein displayed; and second, to preserve a record of everything important in case the Records should be lost.

There are others who will regret the omission of full genealogical tables, but the committee saw at once, that such an addition to the work would swell it to several large volumes. Besides, all families will, in process of time, have their special book, like those of the Willards, the Wilders, the Lockes, the Fletchers and the Richardsons. It will be found, however, that there is much information in this volume, in relation to the families of the early settlers.

In regard to Illustrations, the committee decided to exclude portraits, and pictures of private residences and buildings. This is so different from the usual way, that a reason may be offered. It is found, in part, in the fact that when local histories are examined, wonder is often expressed because the portraits of some people are admitted, while those of others are omitted. It would be impossible to procure pictures of many who have filled the largest space in our history, in past generations. In their absence, the presence of others would seem out of place, if not impertinent.

With respect to buildings, the committee were positive in their conviction that a town history should not be an advertising medium of any man's real estate or business. Besides, photographs are now so common that there is no danger that our descendants will find any difficulty in learning how the present generation, or their dwellings appeared.

The pictures are heliotypes from sketches in India ink. That of the Indian Camp Pasture was drawn by Mr. Harold Parker. The Survey of the Old Burying Ground was also made by him. The other pictures and the maps were made by Mr. H. E. Remick, of Boston.

The picture of the Great Elm in Lovers' Lane is inserted because the tree is a grand and beautiful object, and is believed to be the largest tree in New England.

The views of the Indian Camp Pasture and of the Site of the Rowlandson Garrison, are given, because both include scenes of historic interest. The first was taken from the spot where the first Trucking House stood on the east side of George hill. The summit rises at the right, and the view extends southerly towards the house of Mr. Parker.

The scene of the garrison was taken from the bridge over Roper's brook where the two figures stand. The garrison was a little to the right of the pine tree, near the encircled view of an ancient garrison. The highest point of the hill is the site of the first two meeting-houses. The garrison-house in the circle is not to be taken as a picture of Mr. Rowlandson's house, but as that of an ancient garrison-house.

The Plan of the Old Burying Ground, which was figured and lettered by Mr. Remick, is explained in the Chapter on Cemeteries.

The views of an ancient meeting-house and ancient garrisons are given, because they show how a certain style of these buildings looked, in the eyes of former generations. No. 1 is known to be like the garrison of Rev. Messrs. Whiting and Gardner, in its general shape, and its flanker or sentry box on the corner. No. 2 answers the description of Fort Dummer, which had four houses on the inside, with their rear against the wall of the fort. No. 3 is a copy of a meeting-house built in Haverhill a little while before the erection of the first meeting-house in this town, and is, without doubt, a very good representation of the house in which the first fathers, with their wives and children, worshipped.

The "Map of Central Lancaster, indicating residences before the massacre," will help the reader to locate each family, as well as the meeting-house, the garrisons and the bridges, before the town was burned in 1676, as is indicated in the third chapter. On this map the present roads are dotted lines, and the old roads are continuous parallel lines.

At page 366 is a heliotype copy of the town map, made by order of the general court, in 1795. It has been considerably reduced in size, to bring it within the page.

The "Map showing River Changes" at page 442, gives only a part of the changes of the channel in recent times, for the section between the Atherton bridge and the old crossing by the house of Daniel Bemis. In this map the ancient channel and roads are denoted by dotted lines.

The "Map of Lancaster" is copied from the map of 1830, made up by James G. Carter from surveys by Major Jacob Fisher, corrected by reference to the map of H. Walling, 1857, and the map of F. W. Beers, 1870, and also from personal observation at the present time. Various improvements and additions have been made. The numbers include all the houses outside of the villages, and they refer to names printed on the opposite page. These names have been collected from former maps, from the present list of voters, and from the memory of elderly citizens. Doubtless many names are omitted, as no mortal can tell where every family lived in former generations.

The names of the old post roads and stage routes are retained to gratify curiosity. Suitable characters indicate the site of churches, school-houses and other localities. The discontinued roads are marked by dotted lines.

The Plan of the Old Burying Ground is explained in the proper place. The beauty of the lines, figures and letters will please every eye.

In the Map of "Villages in Lancaster" will be found the numbers of all the houses, past and present, in each of the four villages. Present roads only are given. Public places are indicated by the characters used in the "Map of Lancaster." The names of residents in each village are placed in separate divisions, and will be easily found.

The picture of Memorial Hall was procured at the expense of the town. The committee offered to all the religious societies the opportunity to insert a picture of their several houses of worship. Two only availed themselves of the offer. These pictures are executed in a style which makes them ornamental to the volume.

The history has grown to dimensions far beyond the original plan. The reason is that the town is ancient, and has much material for history. The chapter on Cemeteries is much more full than was

designed, and the collection of epitaphs is the result of an afterthought. The chapter on the late war covers more space than was anticipated, and the last chapter is an undesigned addition.

It should be stated, that the town, at the annual meeting, in 1878, voted \$500 additional, to pay the expense of publication.

With these explanations, the History of Lancaster is commended to the kindly consideration of the families who compose the town, and those also whose homes are outside of our bounds, but who are interested in the events which have here taken place. In the thousands of names and dates, there are without doubt many errors. Nothing short of omniscience could keep such a work as this free from mistakes. My intention has been to treat subjects and events according to their relative importance, and to be absolutely fair and impartial towards parties, churches, societies and individuals. Craving indulgence for all deficiencies, I submit the results of much thought and labor to the present citizens of the town, with whom my relations have always been pleasant, and to the myriads of citizens who in coming generations, will be affected by the social, political and religious life which has been imperfectly depicted in these pages.

A. P. MARVIN.

LANCASTER, February 1, 1879.

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HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AT DIFFERENT DATES. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENERY.

THE boundaries of Lancaster have been often and greatly altered since the original purchase and grant. About 1643 Mr. Thomas King, of Watertown, in company with several others, purchased of Sholan, the Indian chief or sagamore, whose home was between East and West Washacum lakes, a tract of land ten miles in length, from north to south, and eight miles in width, in the valley of the Nashua. This purchase was sanctioned by the general court.

For some reason, unknown at the present day, the boundaries of the town were not surveyed and marked previous to the year 1659, though a committee had been chosen, some years before, to perform the work. In that year Thomas Noyes was sent up by the general court, and the selectmen voted that when "Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, goodman Prescott go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb and young Jacob Farrar to carry the chain, and such others as Ensign Noyes shall desire, if need be." With proper caution it was voted, "that a bargain be made first between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains." This was on the seventh of March. The work was speedily done, for on the seventh of April, Noyes made his return as follows. "Beginning at the wading

place B of Nashaway river, [near the bridge at Carter's Mills, so called, in South Lancaster,] thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree west, [to a point marked A on the outline map,] and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. east, one degree north, and another S. S. west, one degree south." At the north end of the ten miles, a line was run eight miles in the direction E. S. east one degree east; and from the south end of the ten mile line, a line was run parallel to the north line, six and a half miles. The extremities of these two parallel lines were then connected by a line which formed the eastern boundary. Why the survey was not made eight miles wide on the south, according to the terms of the purchase and grant, we have no means of determining. The plantation, instead of being a square, was a trapezoid. The original survey gave the town seventy-two and one-half square miles. The general court accepted the return of Ensign Noyes, with the proviso that a "farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the country's use, in some place not already appropriated." This tract was laid out towards the south part of the township, and tradition says that the land was very poor.

In the beginning of the last century a large addition of territory was made on the west side. This was about four miles wide, and ten miles long. This tract was purchased of George Tahanto, an Indian sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, in the year 1701. The next year, the town petitioned the general court for leave to make the purchase; or in other words, to confirm the transaction. The committee to whom the matter was referred, did not make their return till 1711. Two years later, in 1713, the petition was granted, and the forty additional square miles became a part of Lancaster. The town was now ten miles north and south; the north line was twelve miles long, and the south line ten and a half miles. The territory contained not less than one hundred and twelve square miles.

Harvard was incorporated in 1732, and Bolton, including part of Berlin, in 1738. By these two partitions not far from a third part of the territory of Lancaster was cut off from the east side. Leominster was made a town in 1740, by which measure the old town lost a tract nearly four miles square.

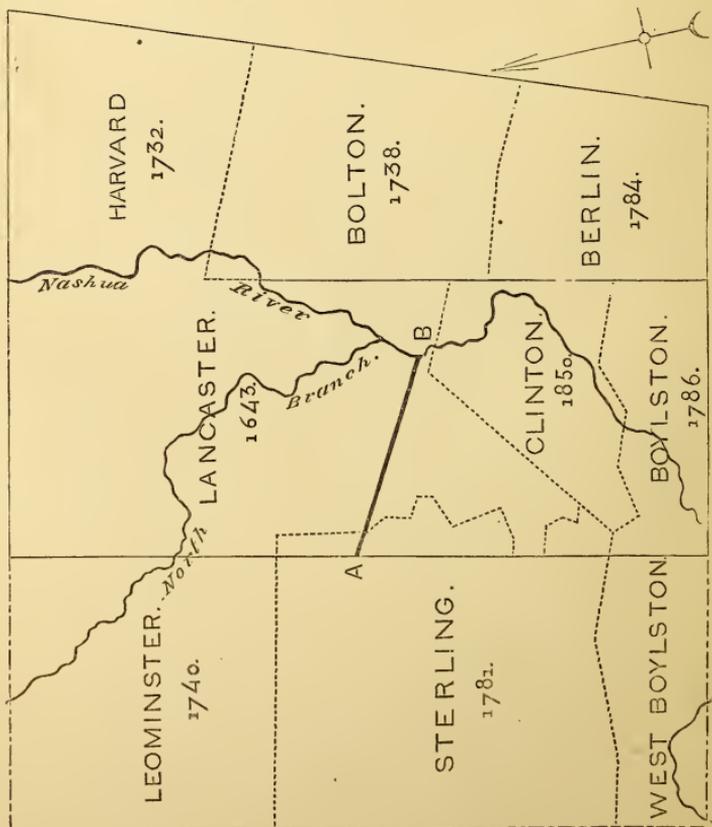
On the other hand, Lancaster received an addition in 1768, by the annexation of Shrewsbury Leg, so called. This was quite a tract, though thinly inhabited, lying between Lancaster and Holden. It was the last territorial acquisition of the town unless perhaps some small parcels obtained by running town lines around farms situated on the Sterling border.

Soon after the process of disintegration was renewed. In 1781 Woonsechauxit, Chocksett, or Sterling, which was made a precinct forty years before, became a town. By this operation all the addition on the west, made in 1713, was severed. Nor was this the whole of the loss, because the east line of Sterling did not follow the original western line of Lancaster. Starting from the southeast corner of Leominster, the north line of Sterling was run half a mile east into Lancaster. Thence by an irregular line, according to the boundaries of farms, the line was run southerly to a point one mile east of the old western line of Lancaster. This tract, half a mile broad at the top, and a mile broad at the bottom, and not far from six miles long, was called "the Mile" in the old Records. Thus not less than twenty square miles were taken from the town, and became part of Sterling. Lancaster now contained about thirty-six square miles, or twenty-three thousand and ninety acres.

When Boylston was incorporated in 1786, it took a large strip from the south part of Lancaster, including the part called Shrewsbury Leg. This strip, more than a mile in width, now constitutes the north end of the towns of Boylston and West Boylston.

The dimensions of Lancaster remained unchanged over

sixty years, until 1850, when the south end was amputated, and the village of Clintonville became the town of Clinton. By this last act of political surgery, about eight square miles were cut off, leaving to the ancient town not far from twenty-four square miles; still an ample domain and a goodly heritage. The outline map gives the boundaries of the town in different periods of its history, and shows its gains and losses. The continuous line marks the original boundary. The broken lines include the addition on the west in 1713. The dotted lines show the portions cut off to form new towns. The dates tell when the new towns were formed.



The surface of the town is much diversified. A range of hills rises near the northwest corner, and extends along

near the western border, about six miles. It is divided by the north branch of the Nashua, which flows in from Leominster, and makes a considerable valley between the northern and southern sections of the main hill. It then rises gradually to a considerable height, taking the name of Ballard hill where the great road crosses, from the fact that several families of the name of Ballard formerly lived there. From this point the range extends some three miles, and ends in the bold, round-top eminence which is specifically George hill, though the name, in common usage, is applied to the whole except the Ballard locality. George hill sinks by a gentle declivity into the Deers Horns plateau, with its plains and ponds; and this into the South Meadows, as they are styled in old records, but now covered by the waters of Mossy pond. The western part of the town is divided from the central section by the north branch of the Nashua and its northern affluents, and slopes gradually towards the south, as far as the junction of the north and south branches, about sixty rods southeast of the railroad station, where the main stream is formed, and flows northerly, giving to the east side of the town a gentle decline towards the north. The main river was called the Penacook by the natives, and also by the early settlers. The easterly section of Lancaster is therefore a long intervalle, extending from near Carter's Mills to the northern boundary of the town, a distance not far from six miles.

The north part of the town, with the exception of the narrow intervalle on the east, is an elevated plateau. This comprises a large tract of nearly level surface, but varied by high land on the west, and also on the north. These more elevated portions gather moisture from the clouds, and by subaqueous springs, supply the cluster of lakes which beautify the region with pure and delicious water. This plateau, more than two miles wide from north to south, suddenly drops to a lower level, by an irregular line, whose general direction is east and west.

The level to which we have now descended, extends from Canoe brook easterly to Ponakin hill, and southerly, through Greenbush to the North Village. Much of it is even, with a light, sandy soil, but easily cultivated, and the products of the soil compare favorably with those raised in other parts of the town.

On the north of this central section; rises Babel hill, which is cut off from the northern plateau by a deep valley and swamp. This hill commands a pleasant prospect. Tradition says that in old times there was an observatory or place of outlook on the summit, from which signals could be given, in case of danger from hostile natives; and that another station was on Ponakin hill. The land on both hills was then owned by members of the Phelps family.

Ponakin—sometimes called Whittemore—hill, lies on the east of the level above described, and extends a mile or more from south to the northeast, where it descends into the sandy plain west of Still river bridge. The view from the southern summit of Ponakin hill is extensive in every direction. On the north are the mountains of New Hampshire. On the east lies the valley of the Nashua, visible far to the north and south. Beyond are the hills of Harvard and Bolton. Four or five pleasant villages, including Clinton, bestud the southern landscape, backed by the highlands in the center of the county. On the west and beyond the verdant hills of Sterling, rises the lofty dome of the Wachusett; while far to the northwest, beyond Leominster and Fitchburg; beyond the Little and the Great Watatic, towers the lion-like brow of the Grand Monadnock.

From the southern base of Ponakin hill the land descends by slight gradations to the "meeting of the waters," the point where the north and south branches join and form the main stream of the Nashua. The distance is about two miles, and the whole tract has been called "The Neck" from the days of the first settlers. On the Neck is the pleasant Center of "beautiful Lancaster," where are collected the

various churches, the town hall, the high school, the hotel, and the memorial hall with its extensive and well-selected library.

Pine hill is a formation by itself. It stands on the east border of the town, and extends about two miles along the river, with a breadth of a half mile or more, on the average. It is oval in form, and in reality an island. The Nashua washes its eastern base, while a swamp on its western side sends a brook north and another south; both of which empty into the main river. The hill rises perhaps seventy feet from the river, and is an immense accumulation of sand, gravel and clay in regular strata. The surface, as a general thing, is as level as water-laid deposits can be arranged. Appearances indicate that the island-hill was formed when the water ran to the south, or directly opposite to the course of the river.

The Intervales are a prominent feature in the landscape of Lancaster. The first is on the north branch of the river soon after it enters the town. The second is the broad and fertile valley of Ponakin. The third extends from the bridge in the North Village to the meeting of the rivers, nearly two miles; and the fourth reaches from just below Carter's Mills to the northern boundary of the town. This is a magnificent valley, over which the eye roves with delight. The valley of the Nashua is the valley of the Connecticut in miniature, and like it is dotted with trees of various kinds, and in summer time, covered with all the products of the farmer in rich abundance.

In former times the whole surface was covered by the annual freshets of the spring, and often by those in the fall of the year. By degrees the intervale lands have been raised by the yearly deposits, and there are parts which are submerged only in exceptional years. The map which goes with Whitney's History of Worcester County, gives a large body of water, reaching from Still river almost up to the Old Common. Most of this was in Bolton and Harvard, or on

the east side of the intervale, but it covered some land in Lancaster. It was called the "long lake," or the "long pond," the upper or southern end of which was styled in ancient Records, the "Swans' Swamp." In early times the road to Bolton and Concord crossed this swamp on a causeway which has sunk out of sight. This road is indicated on the "Sectional Map." By frequent inundations the land has been raised so that it is now cultivated through the whole extent of the "Swans' Swamp," and the "Long Lake."

The whole intervale is the work of the river, in the ages past, and the process is still seen, every year, as the banks of the river are torn away on one side, and built up on the other by the rushing stream. It is a common saying of old men, who are familiar with the intervalles, that the river has been all over them, and has run, in different periods, everywhere, from side to side.

The changes can be seen by comparing the old map of 1795 with the map of 1830, with its recent corrections. Many of the great bends are now "dead rivers," while the river has taken a more direct course. In several cases the hand of man has opened a shorter passage for the water, as above the Sprague bridge; between Atherton and Center bridges; and below the "Great Scar," on Pine hill. The interest and the effort of landholders is to confine the river to its bed, except in freshet time, and thus preserve their land, which else might take—not wings—but water passage, and thus pass away. The floods enrich the intervalles with all kinds of plant food, and help to clothe them with fertility and beauty. The fields are covered over with corn; the cattle revel in rich pastures.

Lancaster is well watered by springs, lakes, brooks and rivers. The springs well up from the side of George hill, from end to end. The water is conducted by pipes to South Lancaster, and supplies many families. There is enough to supply the Center if means for distributing it were provided. Ponakin hill is another reservoir which

would yield an abundance for all the families on both sides of the Neck. The water is pure, soft and sweet.

Springs impregnated with iron are found in several places. One is on the road to Pine hill, on the border of the brook. Formerly iron water was bottled at a spring on the steep bank south and west of Ponakin bridge, and sent to distant parts. The "Red spring" figures in the old "Book of Lands."

The brooks which are numerous are partly indicated on the map. Some have been traced farther up into the hills than on any former map. In some cases corrections have been made. For example, one or more maps have a brook called Cumbery, which is right, but they represent it as flowing from Cumbery pond, which has no outlet. The brook probably takes its name from Cumbery hill at the southwest of the pond. One branch of it flows from a large swamp lying west of the Shaker settlement. The real name of the trout brook that flows from Spectacle pond to the Nashua, is Canoe brook, and it is so styled in ancient papers. Formerly there were two or three mill-sites upon it. One was the "old Sam Rugg mill," so called, not far from the Samuel Rugg place, now owned by Mr. Colburn, of Gardner. Another was between the road and the river, where was a fulling mill. This is a never-failing brook of pure water. Wikapekit brook comes into the town from Sterling, and seems to be fed by unfailing springs. The other brooks are numerous, but need not be specified. They serve for use and beauty, and add new charms to scenery otherwise charming.

Lancaster was originally rich in ponds and lakes. On the east were Barehill, Gates and other ponds in what is now Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. At the south were Clamshell, Sandy and Mossy ponds. The East and West Washacum, or Weshacombe lakes in the south of Sterling are unsurpassed in the combination of lovely features.

But after losing all these fair mirrors of the sky, the old town still surpasses all her daughters in her wealth of ponds, with their pebbly margins and sandy bottoms, and transparent depths, and shores lined with trees. There are seven of these little lakes in the northern section of the town. Turner's pond is on the upper border, and extends into Shirley. White's pond is towards the northwest, with some eighty acres in this town, and a few beyond the Leominster line. Cumbery pond which is said to cover thirteen acres, lies at the eastern base of the plateau, and with no visible inlet or outlet, maintains its depth with scarcely a change from winter to summer, and from year to year. Strange notions are abroad in regard to this pond, as the love of the marvelous leads people to magnify every unusual appearance. It has been said and believed that the pond is deeper in summer than in the wet seasons of the year; that it rises "two feet just before a storm;" and that great rains have no effect upon its rise and fall. The fact is that the pond is but slightly affected by ordinary storms, or by the change of the seasons. But it is stated by Mr. Levi Burbank, a close observer, and a man of scientific tastes and knowledge, that the pond does undergo considerable change in a series of years. For example, some years since, the surface began to settle and the margin to widen until the distance between the water and high water-mark was several feet. This space was soon covered with bushes, which continued to grow, from year to year. When several feet in height, the water began to rise, and so continued, till the shrubbery was killed, and the dead stalks stood in the water. It is his suggestion that the rise and fall of the water marks a succession of comparatively dry and rainy periods reaching over several years. If so, the pond is a sort of rain gauge. However we may account for it, the phenomenon is singular. The water is deep, pure and sweet, with no affluent, and no visible outlet, though some believe that a distant spring is fed from this fountain.

We now come to a cluster of ponds, four in number, on the east side of the Lunenburg road, and lying in a north and south direction, relative to each other, with the exception of the smallest, which is called Oak Hill pond, and is southeasterly from the others. It partly fills a deep bowl, and was probably somewhat larger and much deeper in former times. The map gives it a surface of fifteen acres. It is so completely secluded that none but hunters and fishermen have known of its existence except by report. Recently however, wood has been cut in its vicinity, and a rough road has been opened on its western margin, by which teams can reach the southeastern corner of Spectacle pond. It is a lovely little gem in a fine setting of emerald.

But among our lakelets, Spectacle pond is queen. The old surveyors give it one hundred and thirteen acres of surface; but as they have utterly failed to represent its shape, so it is believed that they have understated its size. The outlines of the pond as given on the map of 1795, differ much from the present. On the map of 1831, the pond seems to be turned over from north to south, with a regular curve on the northern border, and an indentation reaching from the southern side far into the middle. Several town and county maps multiply the error. The outline on the map in this volume, though not accurate, is a great improvement on all that have preceded it. It was drawn by an experienced draughtsman, Mr. H. E. Remick, of Boston, after a partial observation, but without the use of instruments.

What led the earlier surveyors, who have been followed by the later, with immaterial variations, to give the lake such an outline, is a mystery. My theory was this: that in former times, the two bays, one on the northeast and the other on the northwest of the pond, which form the two glasses of the spectacles, were shallow, and mostly bare in the dry season, thus giving a gentle curve to the northern side of the pond; and that Loon island, as the narrow cape on the south side

is called, formerly extended far towards the middle of the pond. But soundings show that there are no shallows to justify this conjecture. The pond is a bowl with a suddenly shelving bank on all sides. In the northern extensions of the pond, the water is full twenty feet except near the shore. A little off from Loon island a line of thirty feet is needed to reach the bottom. It is hard to believe that the surveyors in 1795 and 1831 had no reason for giving the form to the pond which they have left us on their maps; yet it takes but half an eye to see that their outlines are almost exactly opposite to the facts as they now exist.

But leaving these questions which have delayed us too long, this little lake is a marvel of nature. The far-famed Walden pond in Concord does not combine more elements of natural beauty. Its singular curves and bays which give it a name; the little coves that break the line of its southern side; the pebbly shore and sandy bottom, and lucent depths, settling sharply from the margin; its transparent water and its rim of living green, all unite to please the eye and gratify the taste of the lover of nature.

Little Spectacle of about thirteen acres,* separated by a few rods on the north, has similar features. When the water is high it flows into the larger pond, which is on the same level. The water is said to be deep in the middle, and has the translucent purity which gives a charm to the whole cluster of lakes. Passing north, and over the Harvard road, and into the woods a few rods, the gleaming surface of Fort pond comes into view. It is credited with a hundred acres. The old turnpike touched the southwest corner, and gave the traveler a bit of scenery, made up of water, woods and reflected sky, such as is rarely seen in a summer's journey. These four lakelets in a row, with Cumbery a mile or two distant,—such contrasts to the ordinary mud-margined ponds and reservoirs—are among the masterpieces of nature. If a railway ran near them they would be thronged by visitors from near and far every season. As it is, their

*See Note at the end of the chapter.

deep seclusion gives them a heightened grace to those who search for the amenities of nature in their secret haunts.

If these ponds are jewels on the bosom of Lancaster, the Nashua is a silver girdle, reaching from shoulder to shoulder and circling her waist. The north branch rushes from the hills of Ashburnham and Westminster, through Fitchburg, between high banks and over a rocky channel. In Leominster the valley spreads into a long intervale, and this feature is preserved as the stream rolls on to the meeting of the waters, where the south branch comes in and makes the main river, and thence to the northern boundary. But the rush and momentum of the branches in their upper channels, crowd the river along the lower and smoother level with a steady force.

The average depth of the main river is stated by the historian Willard, to be about twelve feet. But this must refer to the river when filling the bed to the brim without overflowing. In the summer season the average depth between the Center bridge and Still river is not above three feet. Standing in a boat, when the water is at this stage, a full-grown man can see over the bank, in many places, and look across the intervale. The river, even then, though placid on the surface, moves rapidly, as those will find who attempt to row up stream. When the river is brimming full, the movement is grand; and when the high freshet, in spring or autumn, swirls along over all the wide intervale, the view is magnificent. Sometimes masses of ice and broken timbers, the debris of mills, dams and bridges, add to the wildness of the scene. But the contents of the swollen river give fatness to the farm-lands, and make the fertile intervale like "the garden of the Lord."

Some value the river for its enriching qualities, and some for its abundant water power, and some because they can idle away their time in catching pout and pickerel. There are some also who delight in it as a "thing of beauty" and a "joy forever." They love to wander on its banks, to

plunge into its depths and float upon its surface. They return again and again to gaze on its flow when it shimmers in the sun, or is mottled by the rain-drops, or ruffled by the breeze. They are never tired of watching it from some high bank; mayhap from the summit of the *Scars*, or crumbling bluffs, and see it winding back and forth in the broad valley, like the convolutions of a mighty serpent, gleaming in the light with silvery scales.

This description of the scenery of Lancaster may seem extravagant to the stranger, but to one who has followed the eastern slope of George hill, and noticed the changing view given by every succeeding step; who has stood on the rounded tops of George or Ponakin or Wheeler hill, and taken in the entrancing prospect; who has traced the almost innumerable roads and bridle-paths, and hunters' tracks through the woods of Pine hill and the great northern plateau; who has reveled in the beauty of the ponds and rivers, and has been delighted with the added charm of cultivated fields, and tasteful grounds and gardens, the words will seem tame and inadequate. Let all be summed up in the words of Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, a former resident: this is "beautiful Lancaster."

A word must be said regarding the trees which, according to Prof. Silliman, "conceal defects and heighten beauties." The uplands bear the oak, chestnut, pine, birch, beech, maple and other trees common to the region. Wild cherry grows in different places. In the intervalles and the uplands are great numbers of stately walnuts of the shag-bark variety. Formerly the "walnut swamp" extended from the intervalle opposite the Center, north and west by the ancient place of Daniel Stearns, and over the top of Ballard hill. But the elm is the monarch of upland and valley. Some are tall, with limbs expanding at the top like a graceful vase. Others branch out, bold and rugged, like the white oak, and spread their shadow broadly on the green sward. Still others rise majestically from the base, with a mighty bole which curves

outwardly in thousand greater and lesser limbs,—their leafy tips pendent to the earth — and wave grandly in the breeze. Another variety is covered from base to summit with a growth of twigs, as if made on purpose to adorn the rugged branches. These serve, with the leaves on the branches, to make the tree a mass of foliage and verdure.

The minerals of the town are more numerous than valuable. None of the "precious metals" are found here. There is an iron mine within our ancient bounds, but now in Sterling, a little north of East Washacum lake. The ore was good, but it long since ceased to be worked. It is now only visited by the curious. In a "Catalogue of American Minerals, by Samuel Robinson, M. D., Boston, 1825," the following facts are given: "Andalusite, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. Marl, abundant on George hill, and elsewhere. Earthy marl, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. Pinite, in clay slate; also green and purple pinite, fine specimens on George hill in granite. Spodumene, fine specimens in various parts of the town. Fibrolite, abundant in mica slate. Phosphate of lime, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms, in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat, in the swamps and lowlands in the southwest part of the town." This is now covered in part at least, by the water of Mossy pond.

The Andalusite mentioned above, is a singular mineral, in its appearance. There is quite a variety in form and color. The mineral is intensely hard, and susceptible of a fine polish. Buttons, studs and other ornaments are wrought from it. The author has a specimen, presented by the late Prof. William Russell, which has a regular cross at the end, and is precious for the sake of the giver, for its beauty, and for the sacred emblem which it bears. And here an anecdote finds its place. Mrs. Mary G. Ware had specimens, one of which was specially fine. After a visit from a friend it was missing; but in time that friend, Mr. George B. Emer-

son, returned it as the chief part of a ring set in gold, with this inscription, "Qui saxum crucem fecit." He who made the stone bore the cross.

It was a common thing in former years, for students in mineralogy to come hither from great distances in search of minerals, and especially the Andalusite, of which tons have been carried away. The principal of the high school, Mr. LeRoy Z. Collins, has made a large collection, and supplied many applicants for specimens. According to him, the mineral is found here, not merely in boulders but in the ledge, on the west side of George hill, and in Sterling. A large stone at the side door of the writer's house is supposed to be full of the Andalusite forms.

More than a century since, a Mr. Flagg found a slate quarry in the northeast part of the town. "The slates were in use as early as 1752 or 1753," says Willard, and "after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and the Atlantic states, and formed quite an article of commerce." It was sometimes called the Shaker quarry, though never a part of their property. Perhaps the name was given because the Shakers, in the latter part of the century, were employed to take them to Boston with great ox teams. The Hancock house, on Beacon street, and occupied by Gov. Hancock, which was taken down a few years since, was shingled with slates from this quarry. So was the Old State house, and many another building in Boston.

The quarry was worked more or less for fifty years. Mr. Whitney, author of the History of Worcester County said in 1793, "great numbers of them — the slates — are used in Boston every year." Facilities of transportation enabled other quarrymen to undersell the owners, and the work ceased more than fifty years since. The mine filled with water and so remained till the past year, 1877, when a Welshman, Mr. Griffith, reopened it, and found it to be one of the best slate quarries in the world. The quality is superior, the color good and durable, and the supply abundant. It is

hoped that the quarry will now be worked, as two railroads within two miles, or less, of the site, furnish ready communication with Boston, New York, and other cities less remote.

Of birds little need be said. The kinds common to this latitude are numerous, and fill the shade trees, orchards and forests with their songs. Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, a skillful taxidermist, has a large and beautiful collection. In gathering them he has had the aid of the gun and the knife of a young adept in hunting and taxidermy, Albert Harriman.

The wild animals with which the woods once were filled, and which preyed upon the flocks of the early settlers, have long since disappeared. During the first century premiums were paid for the destruction of beasts and birds of prey. Now a fee is willingly paid to get a sight of them in some traveling menagerie, or natural history collection.

Shad and salmon formerly came up the Nashua, but none of the living remember the time. The dams at Nashua and Pepperell are an effectual bar, or the pollutions from the factories fill all decent fishes with disgust. Efforts have been made, of late years, to stock the river and some of the ponds with black bass, trout and other desirable fish, with partial success. Perhaps it will be found quite as easy to raise the fish as to guard them from the hooks of depredators.

Such is a brief and imperfect description of Lancaster as a township. The first settlers valued it as a goodly possession. They stopped not on the eastern hills, but hastened into the broad and fertile valley with its uplands and plateaus, on either bank of the Nashua. They found here the wild loveliness of nature, and they made it more desirable for their children. The soil was naturally good. In some places they exhausted it, but the overflowing of the river has kept up the fruitfulness of the intervale lands, and a better cultivation has enriched the uplands. Though the north part of the town has been made poor, except in spots, by unthrifty

farming, yet the lands there might be speedily restored. The hand of skilled industry would soon cover the fields with lush grass and heavy crops, and the happy farmers would reclaim the waste places where once were happy homes. Let the sons of the soil improve their goodly heritage; then the fields all over the town would smile with rich harvests.

In closing this chapter a brief reference will be made to some of the big elms of the past and the present. Willard speaks of several which are now dead, though the stumps of two of them remain. The one he mentions as standing west of Atherton bridge, measured twenty-six feet at the roots. This was stript of its last limbs by a furious tempest on the twenty-first of July, of the present year. He refers to another near to the Old Common cemetery which was twenty-five feet five inches at the roots, eighteen feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches at four feet from the ground. The diameter of the area covered by its branches was ninety-eight feet. A third stood between the road and the barn of Caleb T. Symmes, and was twenty-four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet at four feet from the ground. The stumps of these last two trees still remain. The last mentioned is covered by a creeper. It is said that Col. Abijah Willard, in his boyhood, nearly one hundred and fifty years since, took it up and planted it here. Another tree, southeast from Center bridge, and near the old Neck bridge, was twenty-six feet six inches at the roots, and twenty feet at four feet from the ground. This has left no vestige.

But an elm standing near the same spot, a view of which is here presented, equals if it does not surpass all the above-mentioned. Measured on the twelfth of July, 1878, its girth was as follows. Two feet from the base, twenty-seven feet, eight feet above the base, twenty-five feet. Below the point of measurement, the roots spread fast, and above eight feet high, the bole begins to branch. The diameter of

the branches is fully ninety feet. The symmetry of its proportions is seen in the sketch. This tree stands close by "Lovers' Lane" on the land of Charles L. Wilder. Another nearly as large is a few rods west of his barn. The elms that formerly arched the path of Dr. Thayer, and before him, of Mr. Harrington, still wave their stately branches. An immense elm, of faultless shape, towers over the interval of Frederick Johnson, near the river.

The great elm on the south side of the house of Mrs. Nancy K. Carleton was set out between eighty and ninety years ago. When the late Dr. Thayer was married he did not immediately move into the house where most of his life in Lancaster was spent, as Mr. Harrington was then alive; but took his wife to the house now owned by Mrs. Carleton. When walking out one day Mrs. Thayer pulled up an elm sprout, brought it home, and with her own hands set it where it now stands. To guard it from harm she placed sticks around it. What a graceful monument! To preserve the now stately tree, Mrs. Carleton has recently bound the great branches together with iron bands.

The large trees of Lancaster are not confined to the elm variety. Near the Central Station is an immense wild cherry, that has few equals in the country. At the old Barnes place, where Mr. Jewett now lives, is a huge white oak. On the farm of the country home of J. E. Farwell, Esq., of Boston, on the top of Ponakin hill, is an oak tree which, at eighteen inches from the ground, is fifteen feet and a half in circumference; and at three feet from the ground, fifteen feet in girth.

The trees above-mentioned are some of the most conspicuous among hundreds which line the road sides and adorn the lowlands of Lancaster.

1136791

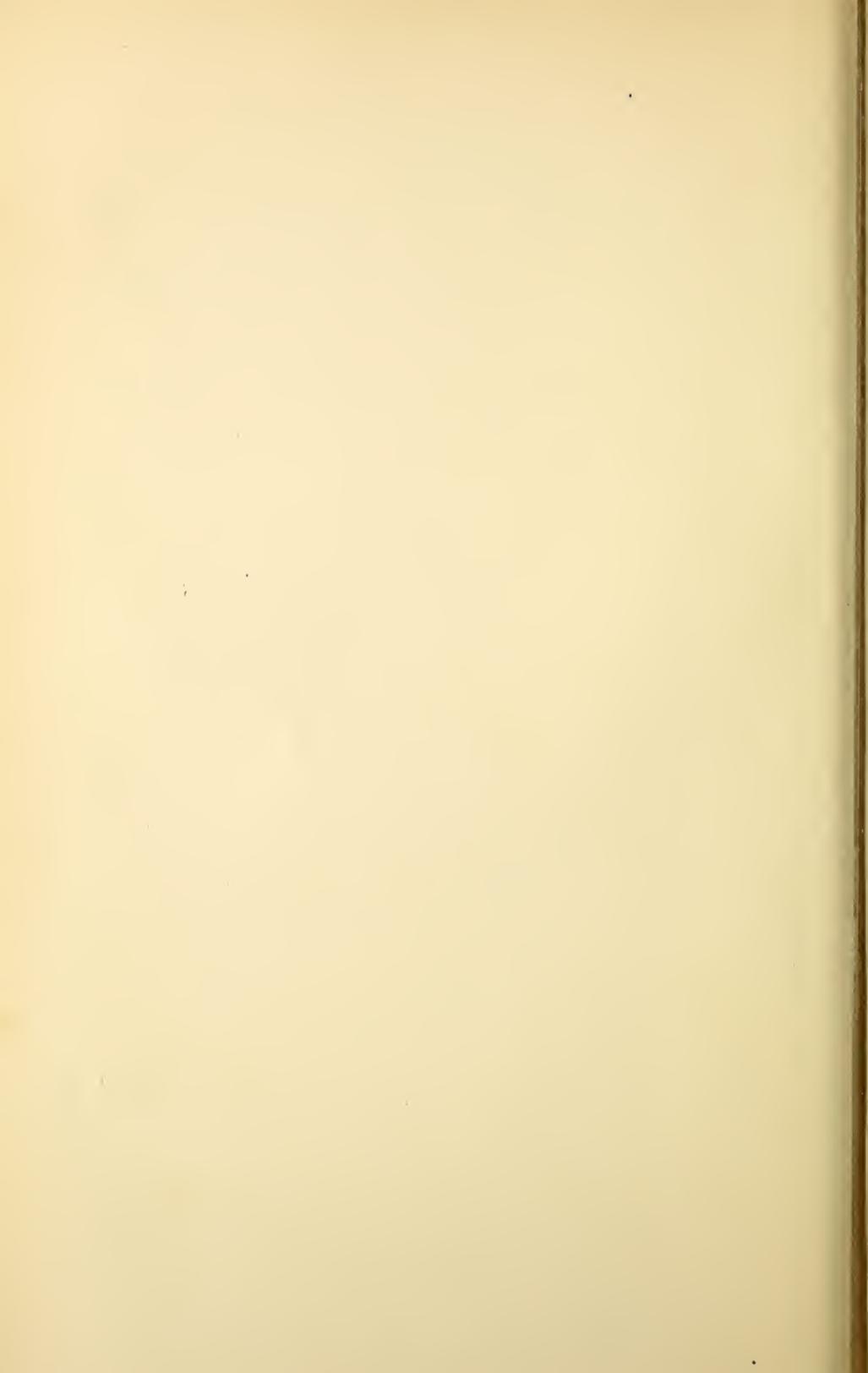
NOTE TO PAGE 28.—On the map made in 1831, the Little Spectacle pond is marked "twenty-seven acres." An accurate survey made in July of 1878, gives 13.13 acres,

or thirteen acres and twelve rods. How can the discrepancy be accounted for? It is not credible that the senior Capt. Fisher, who made the earlier survey, more than doubled the surface of the water. The following statement will partly if not wholly explain the matter. In former times the brook which is west of the Lunenburg road, and runs south-erly into the North branch of the Nashua, was turned into Little Spectacle. At the same time, the outlet of the larger pond was closed by a dam which raised the water four or five feet. The water thus raised, flowed back from Spectacle to Little Spectacle pond, and raised its surface above the present margin. The writer has recently circumnavigated the pond, and found, in some parts, broad spaces which a moderate rise of the water would cover. It was estimated by two men with him in the boat, that ten or twelve acres would thus be added to the size of the pond.

The greatest length of Spectacle pond is about one hundred and seventy rods, and the greatest breadth not far from one hundred and fifty rods. Recent soundings show a depth of fifty-five feet. Probably the water is deeper in some places.



GREAT ELM — LOVERS LANE.



CHAPTER II.

THE PURCHASE AND SETTLEMENT OF LANCASTER.

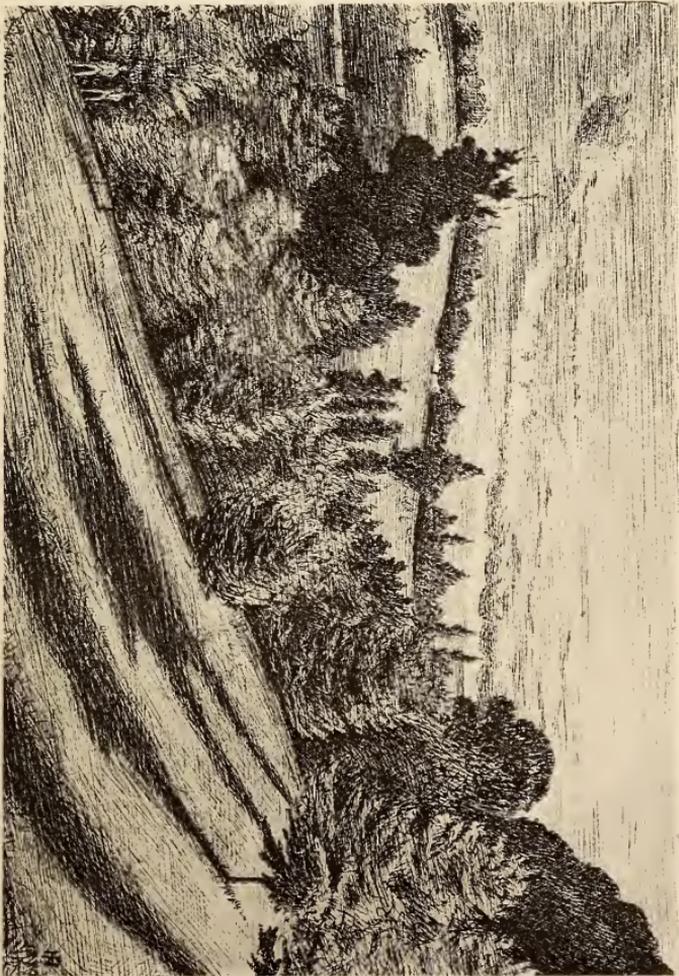
ACCORDING to Gov. Winthrop, the first movement towards the settlement of Lancaster by white men, was made in 1643. Watertown seems to have been a hive from which successive swarms went out to form new homes. Referring to a case of this kind, he says: "some of the same town began a plantation at Nashaway, some fifteen miles N. W. from Sudbury. At this time the whole territory in this region, as far west as the Wachusett, and perhaps farther, was ruled over by Sholan or Shaumauw, sachem of the Nashaways or Nashawogs;" whose capital—a wigwam, or cluster of wigwams,—was near the Washacum, or Weshacomb lake. Sholan sometimes went down to Watertown, probably for the sake of barter, where he "became acquainted with a trader, Mr. Thomas King." Perhaps he thought it would be a convenience to have the place of trade in his own neighborhood. In that way, he and his tribe would be freed from the necessity of making long journeys to exchange their peltries for the trinkets and the more useful articles kept in a country store. Whatever was his motive, the Indian chief recommended his valley, with its streams, lakes, hills and plains, as suitable for a plantation, and invited the English to become his neighbors.-

In consequence, King was induced, probably after personal inspection, to unite with others in purchasing the land of Sholan. The tract was eighty square miles, or ten miles

by eight. The English agreed not to molest the natives in their fishing, hunting or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the general court.

It is not certain that any of the associates, viz. Thomas King, John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Stephen Day, Mr. Symonds, and perhaps Jonathan Chandler and goodmen Gill, Walker and Davies, came to Nashaway in the year 1643. But probably some persons under the authority of King were on the ground before the season closed. "The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King," on the southeast side of George hill. Mr. Willard, in his *History of Lancaster*, [Worcester Magazine, Vol. II, No. 5,] places this trucking house about a mile southwest of the meeting house of the first parish, and near the corner of the roads southwest of the house of the late Col. Francis B. Fay. But there is an unbroken tradition that the first trading place was on the side of George hill towards the southeast. Jonas Goss, who has long lived at the foot of the hill, informs the author, that on land formerly owned by him, which he sold to George A. Parker, is a place called in his boyhood the "Indian Camp Pasture." He further states that there was formerly a stake which marked the site of an ancient building. This spot, [A on the map,] is perhaps, in its own amenities, and in the prospect, near and remote, which it commands, the most beautiful in the whole region.

King never became a settler, notwithstanding the pleasant fact stated by Rev. Mr. Harrington, that Sholan "had a considerable friendship for him." He sold his "interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other to begin the plantation at a certain time. In pursuance of this covenant, and to make their purchase sure," they sent up three men, Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball, to whom lots were given. These pioneers were directed to begin the settlement without delay, and "make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors." Winthrop,



Heliotype Printing Co.

SITE OF THE FIRST TRUCKING HOUSE—GEORGE HILL.

220 Devonshire Street, Boston.



under date of May, 1644, gives the following item in relation to the settlement. "Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a *universal* [University,] scholar, one Mr. Norcroff, [Norcross] to be their minister, seven of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the Magistrates and elders advised them first to go and build them habitations, (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very slowly, so that in two years they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."

The account of the same event, by Rev. Mr. Harrington, differs in some respects, but need not be understood as irreconcilable with it. Referring to the act of the proprietors in sending up three men to prepare the way for the rest, he says: "before the time for their general appearance, their minister, to whom they had committed their mutual obligation, (whether by reason of his own aversion to the place, or by the instigation of such of the proprietors as were unwilling to come up themselves, is uncertain,) forsook them, carrying with him said mutual obligation. And in consequence of this all the associates, except Mr. Prescott, refused to fulfill the contract, but yet held their interest. So that for the space of seven years very little was done to forward the plantation."

It is quite credible that Mr. Norcross was led by more than one motive to leave them. Their "delays" was one. Some of those who refused to come, might have "instigated him," to take the same course. There is evidence that he was willing to come, at one time, for in the Colonial

Records, (Vol. II, 57,) a petition of his is preserved, which was granted, "provided there shall not be more land allotted to the town, or particular men, (notwithstanding their purchase of the land from the Indians,) than the general court shall allow."

At the end of two years, 1643-4, "there were not three houses in the place." That is, we may infer that there were two houses, set up by Linton, Waters and Ball. Besides these, was the trucking house of Symonds and King on George hill. Probably one of the two houses belonged to Linton, and the other to Waters, as they both became residents, while Ball disappears from view. The lot of Waters, as arranged afterwards, was east and south of the Sprague bridge, while that of Linton was on the north side of the road, and east of the house of Charles L. Wilder.

The subject was before the general court, in October, 1645, [Records, 1, 8, 45] when it was voted, that "upon the petition of the undertakers of the plantation at Nashaway, the court is willing that John Gill, Sergeant John Davies, John Chandler, Isiah Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them, shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots to be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he has taken the oath of fidelity."

The men named above never became inhabitants of Lancaster, and did nothing to forward the plantation. Like the original proprietors, except Prescott, they abandoned the enterprise so far as becoming actual settlers is concerned. It is supposed that Mr. Norcross returned to England, as his name disappears from our annals; and about the time under review, there was a great demand for "learned and godly ministers" in the old country.

The people of Lancaster need not be troubled by what Winthrop says of the original proprietors. That they were

“poor men” can easily be believed, since not many men of large property would care to encounter the privations of the wilderness, while having comfortable homes in the lower towns. Others were “profane;” but they, for some reason, remained below, where, we may hope, they were under good influence. Some again, were “corrupt in judgment.” But none of this class came except Prescott. This corruption in judgment was simply a mistaken opinion, (if it was mistaken) in regard to the right of suffrage, and the extent to which the power of the state should reach in matters of religion. He was a follower of Dr. Child, who gave some trouble to the general court, and whose views, if his party had been numerous enough, would have produced a revolution in the colony, and probably led to its destruction.

In regard to the question, who was the first permanent inhabitant of Lancaster, Mr. Willard decides in favor of Prescott. But this is not absolutely certain. Linton, Waters and Ball were here in 1643 and 1644. They built two houses. It is true that Linton and Waters were in Watertown in 1646; but they were in Lancaster in 1647. Between these two dates Prescott took up his abode here. But there is no evidence that Linton and Waters had left, except for a temporary purpose. However this may be, Prescott deserves the honor, among all the original associates, of adhering to the enterprise, and of coming up to put in his lot with the hardy settlers. The others, while clinging to their interest, declined to aid in laying the foundations by personal toils and perils. It was probably fortunate for the town, in all its future history, that these men kept away, since in a “small company” there were seven, (the necessary number to form a church, according to a then prevalent notion,) who, not being members of a church, were willing to be organized into one, for the occasion!

The general court seems to have been interested in the enterprise of planting a new town, on the frontier, and notwithstanding the failure of the associates, took the following

action on the twenty-seventh of October, 1647. "Whereas the court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jonathan Chandler, [and others,] and that Gill is dead, Chandler, Walker and Davies have signified unto the court, that since the same grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further have made request to the court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the court doth not think fit to destroy the plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the meantime to remain in the courts' power to dispose of the plantation and ordering of it."

It was now 1647, and there were, at least, three permanent settlers in the plantation, viz. John Prescott, Richard Linton and Lawrence Waters. All these were from Watertown. John Cowdall, of Boston, owned property here, as appears from a deed of a house and twenty acres of land, made to Jonathan Prescott in 1647. Whether he had been here, and built a house, or whether he had purchased of some proprietor is unknown. Willard states that others soon followed, as Atherton, Sawyer, etc.; but for the next five or six years, the additions came slowly.

By the spring of 1653 there were nine families on the ground, not one of whom was an original proprietor except John Prescott. He had set up his habitation and trading place, and probably his blacksmith shop near the cross roads in South Lancaster. The words of Mr. Harrington are as follows. "On the eighteenth of May, 1653, there being nine families in the place, they petitioned the general court for an incorporation, and obtained it by the name of Lancaster." This petition was probably signed in addition to the five names already given, by Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley and Ralph Houghton.

The action of the legislature is here inserted in full. "At a general court of election held at Boston, the———day of

May, 1653, In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the court find, according to a former order of the general court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the courts' power. Considering that there is already at Nashaway about nine families, and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition, the court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth it shall be called Lancaster.

"That the bounds thereof shall set out according to a deed of the Indian Sagamore, viz., Nashaway river at the passing-over to be the center, five miles north, five miles south; five miles east, and three miles west, by such commissioners as the court shall agree to, to see these lands defended, and their bounds limited.

"That Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, Ralph Houghton, or any four of them, whereof the main part are freemen, to be for the present, Prudential Managers of said town, both to see all allotments to be laid out for the planters in due proportion to their estates; also to order their prudential affairs until it shall appear to this court that the place shall be so far settled with able men as the court shall judge meet to grant them full liberty of a township according to law.

"That all such persons who have possessed and continued inhabitants of Nashaway shall have their lots formerly laid out, confirmed to them, provided they take the oath of fidelity.

"That Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways betwixt town and town, according to the direction of the court for the countries use, and then make them as need shall be.

"The court order that Lancaster shall be within the county of Middlesex, and the town hath liberty to choose a constable.

"That the inhabitants of Lancaster do take care that a godly minister may be maintained amongst them; that no

evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants among them; and none to have lots confirmed but such as take the oath of fidelity.

"That although the first undertakers and co-partners in the plantation of Nashaway are hereby evacuated of their claims in lots there, by order of this court, yet that such persons of them who have expended either charge or labor for the benefit of the place, and have helped on the public works there, from time to time, either in contributing to the ministry, or in the purchase from the Indians, or any other public work; that such persons are to be considered by the town, either in proportion of land, or some other way of satisfaction, as may be just and meet, provided such persons do make such their expenses clearly appear within twelve months after the end of this session, for such demands; and that the interest of Herman Garrett and such others as were first undertakers, or have been at great charge there, shall be made good to him, them, his or their heirs, in all allotments, as to other the inhabitants, in proportion to the charges expended by him and such others aforesaid; provided they make improvement of such allotments, by building and planting within three years after they are or shall be laid out to them. Otherwise their interest hereby provided for to be void; and all such land so hereby referred to be thenceforth at the town's dispose.

"In further answer to this petition, the court judgeth it meet to consider the above mentioned nine particulars to the inhabitants of Lancaster, and order that the bounds thereof to be laid out in proportion to eight miles square."

This has been, somewhat loosely, styled an act of incorporation, and the eighteenth of May, old style, has been considered as the anniversary of the legal birth of the town. But, as Willard states, "at this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation;" the usual way was for the general court to grant a plantation the liberty of a township on

certain conditions. If these conditions were fulfilled, then "full liberty of a township" was granted. This usage is recognized in the fourth section of the act just recited, in these words: "until it shall appear to this court that the place shall be so far settled with able men as the court judge meet to grant them *full* liberty of a township according to law."

Such power was granted, the next year, 1654, as appears by the following petition and answer, which are here inserted at length, for the sake of permanent preservation in print, and also because of their intrinsic interest. The petition and answer at the same time, will give the reader a view of the style in which things of this sort were done in the early days of the colony.

"To the honorable governor, the deputy governor, and the rest of his honorable court, both magistrates and deputies:

"The humble petition of the inhabitants of Lancaster humbly sheweth:

"Whereas it pleased the honorable court to give power to six men, formerly, to dispose of lands, and to give out lots unto such men as did desire to sit down at Lancaster; they having hitherto acted accordingly, and we being now about twenty families, and one of the six men [Hadlock] being dead, and one other being removed from us, and some others of them being disposed to leave off that power given to them by the court, considering it to be agreeable to law, and profitable to the town, in the further carrying on and ordering the planting and prudential affairs of the town, and also in the further disposing and raising maintenance for the ministry amongst us, we with —— commissioners who have set their hands hereunto with ourselves, humbly entreat this honored court that the power which was formerly granted to those six men may be granted to the town and inhabitants in general, that therein they may act together as in other towns, and as we conceived, under favor, the law doth allow. And also that this court would be pleased to appoint

such man or men, who in wisdom you think meet, to lay out our town bounds according to this court's grant, which, if it shall please this honored court to grant unto us, we shall remain farther obliged; and as we are in duty bound, continue to pray for you." The names subscribed are William Kerley, William Lewis, William Kerley, Jr., Richard Smith, Henry Kerley, John Johnson, John Lewis, Edmund Parker, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb, 2d, Lawrence Waters, Richard Linton. The petition concludes in these words: "the desire of your petitioners is, that they desired the full power and privileges of the plantation, and for the present they desire, and shall be well satisfied if the court do grant seven men out of the ten here-under written, to order the prudential affairs for this year ensuing; and that afterwards it shall be lawful for the plantation to make their elections and order their prudential business in full state of a plantation according to law." Then follow the ten names, viz., Edward Breck, John Prescott, William Kerley, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitecomb, John White, William Lewis, Richard Smith, Edward;* "of these are freemen Edward Breck, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, William Lewis, John Whitecomb."

The petition was referred to a committee, and this is their report. "The committee think meet that the inhabitants of Lancaster have those liberties of a township that the laws allow, until the general court take further order therein, and that lieutenant Goodnough and Thomas Danforth lay out the bounds of the said town according to the court's grant, at the town's charge, and make return thereof unto the next court's election.

"The deputies approve of the return of this committee, and desire our honored magistrates' consent thereunto. Consented to by the magistrates, William Torie, Clerk, 10 May, 54."

The above petition and answer have been cited in this place for the purpose of completing the record of the incor-

* Probably Edmund Parker.

poration of the town. But in the meantime much had been done, during the year 1653 in arranging the settlement. The committee designated in the act of 1653, viz., Breck, Kerley, Sawyer, Prescott and Houghton, had performed the duties assigned to them in dividing the land, in part, and in managing the affairs of the plantation. The location of the proprietors will be given in the following chapter, because the division was not completed at this time, and it will be convenient to have the whole arrangement in one view.

The first division having been made, the inhabitants and others interested entered into a covenant with each other. This document is so important in illustrating the history of Lancaster that it will be given entire. It was adopted on the twenty-eighth of November, 1653, and was in the words following.

“ We whose names are subscribed upon the receiving and acceptance of our several lands and allotments, with all appurtenances thereof, from those men who were chosen by the general court to lay out and dispose of the lands within the town of Lancaster, heretofore called by the name of Nashaway, do hereby covenant and bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and assigns, to the observing and keeping of these orders and agreements hereafter mentioned and expressed.

“ First, for the maintainance of the ministry of God’s holy word, we do allow, covenant and agree that there be laid out, stated and established, and we do hereby state and establish as church lands, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging forever, thirty acres of upland, and forty acres of intervale land, and twelve acres of meadow, with free liberty of commons, and for pasture and firewood: the said lands to be improved by the plantation, or otherwise, in such order as shall be best advised and concluded by the plantation, without rent-payment for the same, until the labor of the plantation, or those who do improve the same be fully satisfied; and we do agree that the plantation, or selectmen shall determine the time how long any

man shall hold and improve the said lands for the profit thereof, and then to be rented, according to the yearly value thereof, and paid in to such persons as the plantation or selectmen shall appoint, to and for the use of and towards the maintainance of the minister, pastor or teacher, for the time being, or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God among us. Or it may be in the choice of the minister to improve the lands himself.

“And further, we do covenant and agree to build a convenient meeting-house for the public assembling of the church and people of God to worship God, according to His holy ordinances, in the most equal and convenient place that may be advised and concluded by the plantation. And to build a house for the minister upon the said church lands.

“And further we do engage and covenant every one for himself, his heirs, executors and assigns, to pay to, and for the use of the ministry aforesaid, the sum of ten shillings a year, as for and in consideration of our home lots yearly forever,—our home lots to stand engaged for the payment thereof; and what all this shall fall short of a competent maintainance, we covenant to make up by equal rate, upon the good and other improved lands, (not home lots,) in such way and order as the country rate is raised. And in case of a vacancy of a minister, the maintainance arising from the church lands and home lots abovementioned, shall be paid to such as shall be appointed, for the use of a school, to be as a stock; or as stock for the maintainance of the minister, as the plantation or the selectmen shall think meet.

“And for the better promoting and setting forward of the plantation, we covenant and agree that such persons of us who have not inhabited this plantation heretofore, and are yet to come to build, improve and inhabit, that we will by the will of God, come up to build, to plant land, and to inhabit at or before one whole year be passed, next after the acceptance of the allotments, or else to lose all our charges about it, and the lots to return to the plantation, and to pay five pounds for the use of the plantation.

“ And for the better preserving of the purity of religion and ourselves from infection of error, we covenant not to distribute allotments and to receive into the plantation as inhabitants any excommunicant, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be,) nor any notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the state and government of this Commonwealth.

“ And for the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the rules of justice and equity among ourselves, we covenant not to go to law one with another in actions of debt or damages, one towards another, either in name or state, but to end all such controversies among ourselves by arbitration or otherwise, except in cases capital or criminal, that some may not go unpunished, or that the matter be above our ability to judge of, and that it be with the consent of the plantation, or selectmen thereof.

“ And for the laying out, measuring and bounding of our allotments of this first division, and for and towards the satisfying of our engagements to the general court, to make payment for purchase of the Indians, we covenant to pay ten shillings, every one of us, for our several betterments to the selectmen, or whom they may appoint to receive it.

“ And whereas lots are now laid out, for the most part, equally to rich and poor, partly to keep the town from scattering too far, and partly out of charity, and respect to men of meaner estate, yet that equality, (which is the rule of God,) may be observed, we covenant and agree that in a second division, and so through all other divisions of lands, the matter shall be drawn as near to equality according to men's estates, as we are able to do, that he who hath now more than his estate deserveth, in home lots and interval lots, shall have so much less ; and he who hath now less than his estate deserveth, shall have so much more.

“ And that we may the better keep due proportion, we covenant and agree thus to account of men's estates, viz., ten pounds a head for every person, and all other goods by

due value, and to proportion to every ten pounds, *three* acres of land — two of upland and one of interval — and we give a year's liberty to every man to bring in his estate. Yet nevertheless, it is to be understood that we do not hereby prejudice or bar the plantation from accommodating any man by gift of lands which properly are not allotments; but we do reserve that in the free power of the plantation as occasion may hereafter be offered. And in case the planters estate be low, that he can claim nothing in other divisions, yet it is to be understood that he shall enjoy all the lands of the first division.

“And further we covenant that if any planter do desire to have his proportion in the second division, it shall be granted.

“And further we covenant to lay out meadow lands according to the present estates of the planters with respect to be had to remoteness or nearness, — of that which is remote, to give the more, and of that which is near, to give the less.

“And concerning the thirty acres of upland, and forty acres of interval above granted as church lands, it is agreed and concluded to lie bounded by John Prescott's ditch upon the south, and the North river, over ——— Lawrence Waters upon the north, and so ranging along westward.

“And for the preventing of inconveniences, and the more peaceable issuing of the business about building of a meeting-house, it is considered and concluded as the most equal place, that the meeting-house be builded as near to the church lands and to the neck of land as it can be without any notable inconvenience.

“And it is also agreed that in all parts and quarters of the town, where sundry lots do lie together, they shall be fenced by a common fence, according to proportion of acres by every planter, and yet not to bar any man from particular and private inclosure at his pleasure.”

The above covenant, so wise, far-sighted and fair, was signed by men who were on the ground, and by others who

purposed to come up within a year. In the spring of 1653 there were nine families in the place; and in 1654, when the planters applied to the general court for full powers as a town, they stated that there were twenty families in the plantation. The names of these, and of others who signed the covenant, up to the spring of 1660 are here inserted. Brief notices of these men, partly drawn from Willard, and partly from other sources, will be given in the next chapter.

Edward Breck, } [Subscribed on condition of not coming
Robert Breck, } to settle within a year.]

John Prescott, } Subscribed first,
William Kerley, } [probably in 1652.]
Thomas Sawyer, } [The dates will be given in old style.]
Ralph Houghton, }

John Whitcomb, }
Jno. Whitcomb, jr. } 20, 9 mo. 1652.

Richard Linton, }
John Johnson, } 4, 9 mo. 1654.
Jeremiah Rogers, }

John Moore, 11, 1 mo. 1653.

William Lewis, }
John Lewis, } 13, 1 mo. 1653.

Thomas James, [mark] 21, 3 m. 1653.

Edmund Parker, }
Benjamin Twitchell, } 1, 8 mo. 1652.
Anthony Newton, }

Stephen Day, }
James Atherton, }
Henry Kerley, } 15, 1 mo. 1653.
Richard Smith, }
William Kerley, jr. }
John Smith, }

Lawrence Waters.

John White, 1 May, 1653.

John Farrar, }
Jacob Farrar, } 24 Sept. 1653.

John Houghton, }
Samuel Deane, or Dean, } 24, 7 mo. 1653.

Janes Draper, }
Stephen Gates, sen. } April 3, 1654.

James Whiting, or Witton, April 7, 1654.

John Moore, }
Edward Rigbe, } 13, 2 m. 1654.

- John Mansfield, 13, 2 mo. 1654.
- John Towers, }
 Richard Dwelley, } 18, 2 mo. 1654.
 Henry Ward, }
- John Pierce, }
 William Billings, } 4, 7 mo. 1654.
- Richard Sutton, April, 1653.
- Thomas Joslin, }
 Nathaniel Joslin, } 12, 9 mo. 1654.
- John Rugg, 12, 12 m. 1654.
- Joseph Rowlandson, 12, 12 mo. 1654.
- John Rigby, 12, 12 mo. 1654.
- John Roper, 22, 1 mo. 1656.
- John Tinker, Feb. 1, 1657.
- Mordicai MacLoad, [mark] March 1, 1657-8.
- Jonas Fairbanks, March 7, 1659.
- Roger Sumner, April 11, 1659.
- Gamaliel Beaman, [mark] May 31, 1659.
- Thomas Wilder, [Thomas Wyellder] July 1, 1659.
- Daniel Gaines, March 10, 1660.

The above list gives to us the names of the fathers of the town. A few of these left the place, and others settled here, from year to year, but these were the pioneers. They laid the foundations, and their children composed the main part of the population till the period of the massacre in the spring of 1676. They and their children set up their household altars, and built anew the town, in 1679-82. This will be their honor in all coming time. Their descendants have gone out into all the land, but often come hither to view the homesteads and graves of their ancestors.

Another extract from the Records is necessary to explain a section of the preceding covenant. All subsequent divisions of land, whether upland, intervale, meadow or swamp, were to be "according to men's estates," on the valuation of the taxable property, which they brought into the settlement. Here follows a table containing "the several estates of the planters who by covenant, and according to the

rules thereof, have engaged that it may thereby be known what shall be their proportion of land, which, by covenant, every planter may make claim unto in a second, third or other divisions of land, and also of meadow, within the town of Lancaster." Date, 1654.

	£	s.	d.				
John Prescott.....	£366	15	0	<i>Brought up</i>	£2,287	13	0
William Kerley.....	270	..	..	Richard Smith.....	313	13	10
Edward Brick.....	202	11	..	John Lewis.....	18	10	..
Ralph Houghton.....	264	4	..	Thomas Joslyn.....	210	..	..
Edmund Parker.....	98	..	..	Stephen Gates.....	314	..	..
Thomas James.....	36	..	..	John Whitcomb.....	241	..	..
John Johnson.....	30	..	..	John Whitcomb, jr.....	29	..	..
John Smith.....	38	19	..	Nathaniel Joslyn.....	155	..	..
James Atherton.....	69	5	..	Lawrence Waters.....	277	..	..
Thomas Sawyer.....	110	..	..	Jacob Farrah.....	107	10	..
Robert Brick.....	10	..	..	John White.....	380	6	2
William Kerley, jr.....	186	..	..	Henry Kerley.....	78	4	..
John Rugg.....	83	10	..	Richard Linton.....	90	..	..
John Moore.....	110	..	..	Philip Knight.....	100	..	..
William Lewis.....	285	9	..	John Roper.....	100	..	..
John Farrah.....	107	..	..		
	£2,287	13	0		£4,701	17	0
The estates of several entered since 1655:—							
Roger Sumner, his estate.....					232	..	..
Jonas Fairbank, ".....					172	..	..
Jacob Farrah, added when his wife came.....					168	7	10
					£5,274	4	0

From this list we learn that John White had the largest property, a fraction over £380; but the Kerley family, including father and sons, had a much larger valuation, equal to £534.

Before concluding this chapter three or four points require a brief explanation.

It has been a question why the name of Lancaster was given to the town. It is matter of record, that the settlers at one time requested the general court to call the town by

the name of Prescott, in honor of the most persevering planter. This request was not granted. It is too late to divine with certainty the reasons which governed the court in this refusal. But it may be suggested that Prescott was not a man of sufficient prominence in the colony to have such an honorable recognition as is implied in giving his name to a town. Moreover, the course of Prescott in sympathizing with Child would be enough to deter the court from doing anything which would give him special distinction. It is presumed that Prescott became satisfied with the policy of the colony, as he readily agreed to the conditions of the settlement, and was one of the most worthy fathers of the town, though he did not become a freeman, (in consequence of his uniting with the church,) until 1669. The probability is that the name was given in accordance with the desire of those settlers who had ancestral connections with Lancashire, in England, as was the case with the Houghtons, Atherton and Prescott.

It will be observed that the town was not laid out in the manner, nor with the dimensions prescribed by the general court. By the grant, as well as by the purchase, the town was to be ten by eight miles square and to contain eighty square miles. It was reduced when the survey was made in 1659, by shortening the southern line to six and a half miles, leaving sixty-five square miles.

Again, the starting point in fixing the boundaries, was to be at the "wading place" in Nashua river. There were three wading places according to records and tradition. One was on the North river, about twenty rods up the stream from the Sprague bridge. A second was near the Carter mills in South Lancaster. The third was on the Penacook, as the main river was called, a little east of the house of Charles L. Wilder. By the act of the general court in 1653, the bounds were to be "according to a deed of the Indian sagamore, viz., Nashua river at the passing over to be the center, five miles north, five miles south, five miles

east, three miles west." Starting from the northeast corner of the town, as it now is bounded, the distance is very nearly five miles to the wading place on the Penacook, and six miles to the place of "passing over" at Carter's mills. According to this, the center would be at the crossing on the Penacook. Besides, the lines were to run north and south, and east and west.

The actual starting point A, of Noyes, when he came to survey, was three miles from the Carter mills, in a direction northwest one degree west, as given in the first chapter. Five miles north from that point would carry the northern boundary of the town about as far northward as five miles from the wading place near Mr. Wilder's house. Why Noyes reduced the size of the town and canted it around so many degrees from a north and south line is not known. It is probable that other grants or claims conflicted with the original plan, and the court had reserved the right to arrange the matter as circumstances might require.

With regard to the oath of loyalty required of the planters, when forming a town, a few words only are needed. Those writers who sneer at the narrowness and folly of the colony are guilty of the grossest misrepresentation. The colony was resorted to by all sorts of adventurers from the old country, who came hither with the wildest notions in regard to government, and who wanted to try their experiments within the bounds of the Massachusetts and Plymouth settlements. If such men, however worthy in other respects, had been allowed to form plantations in the rear of those on the sea-board, the inevitable result would have been antagonism and trouble. The new towns would have formed connections with the Indian tribes, and war would have ended the enterprise of settling New England. Besides, our fathers were jealously watched in England and were obliged to build circumspectly, both in the times of the Stuarts and of the Commonwealth. It was necessary to their very existence that they should be homogeneous and harmonious,

so far as possible. Hence every new town was formed on the model of those already settled. And to this fact much of the prosperity and strength of the colony was due. At the same time, on the continent there was a boundless field where people of every conceivable peculiarity might try their own experiments in government and society without molestation from the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.

The same may be said, in general, regarding the alleged religious exclusiveness and bigotry of our forefathers. Why did they exclude excommunicants and profane persons from their new communities? And why did they have a religious qualification for suffrage? In regard to men of loose morals and manners, and to those whose misconduct compelled the churches to cut them off, it may be said that they were poor materials out of which to form a town on the frontiers, or in the interior. Such persons might be controlled in the older settlements, by the combined influence and power of a tolerably stable government, while in the forming of a plantation, they might become the leading element. Quicksand thrown sparingly upon good soil might work no harm, while if used in a foundation, would involve certain ruin.

In the early days of the colony it was necessary to restrict suffrage. As a matter of fact it is restricted in many of the states of the Union to the present day. What is tolerated now was indispensable then; and it will be found, on examination, that our fathers met the needs of the time with admirable sagacity. Qualifications for sharing political power, are different in different countries. And let it be remembered that the early settlers did not put in hazard the civil rights of any one who obeyed the laws. The qualifications for suffrage and power are birth, property, education or religion; that is character. And with our fathers, in their situation, character was everything. Men of birth, property and education, but of loose character, and without sympathy with the religious views of the planters, would have been the deadliest foes of the great enterprise. Such men did cause much

trouble and mischief while the fathers of the colony were laying the foundations. To admit such men to a share of power; to take them into the interior of the frame of government, would have introduced discord and internecine strife. The way of safety was found in the restricted suffrage. No man would be apt to join the church unless he sympathized with the colonists as to church and state. And with suitable allowance for hypocrites, men would not voluntarily unite in church fellowship unless they were men of good character. Thus the ruling force in the colony was made homogeneous, and thus the government was united, strong and stable. At the same time, every man had it in his own option to become a freeman. It was simply by becoming a Christian; and the direct and steady effort of the colony was to bring in, and bring up a generation of religious people. The men who enacted the religious clause in our early legislation, did not wish to exclude any from the exercise and enjoyment of power; but on the other hand, endeavored to qualify all men living on the soil, to share with them, not only all the rights and immunities, but all the powers of government.

And it may be truly said in conclusion, that when, in the course of time, the need of a religious qualification was removed by the gradual consolidation of government, and by the more favorable aspect of the old country towards the colony, the restrictions were repealed. But let us not in our day of stable quiet, rashly question the wisdom and magnanimity of the men, who in the midst of unparalleled toils and dangers, laid the broad basis of the best governmental, educational, social and religious institutions ever enjoyed by the children of men.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST SETTLERS. · THE FIRST ROADS. THE LOCATION
OF THE FIRST SETTLERS. THEIR FIRST ACTS AS A
TOWN.

It will be in place to present a few notices of the early settlers so far as items of interest may be gathered. From the pages of Willard, and especially the "Genealogical Dictionary" of Savage, the following facts have been culled.

Edward Breck entered, in connection with his name on the covenant, these words: "I subscribe to this for myself, and for my son Robert, save that it is agreed we are not bound to come up to inhabit within a year's time, in our own persons." In fact, Robert never became a resident, and Edward, the father, was here but a short time. He was from Ashton, Devonshire, probably, [see Savage] and came to Dorchester in 1636. He returned to Dorchester from Lancaster and died in November, 1662. The family owned property here, it is believed, down to a recent date. Joseph Breck, the late well-known seedsman of Boston, lived here, and had a fine garden extending from the house of Mr. Symmes across the railroad, and onwards between the road and the North river.

James Atherton was, perhaps, a brother of Major-general Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester. If so, he came from Preston, in Lancashire. He became a resident in 1653, but returned to Dorchester. His sons James and Joshua, were born in this town. The latter was a resident, and had descendants here within the memory of those now living.

Gamaliel Beaman came over in 1635, when twelve years of age, to Dorchester. Removed to Lancaster in 1659, with several children, and had several after his removal. His son John left town, but returned, and died in the west precinct, now Sterling, in 1740.

William Billings soon left the place.

Samuel Dean did not remain.

James Draper was from Roxbury, and returned thither.

Richard Dwelley was a transient resident. He served with credit in king Philip's war.

Jonas Fairbank, son of Jonathan, came from Sowerby, Yorkshire. He married Lydia, daughter of John Prescott. Seven children were born to him. He was killed by the Indians, with his son, Joshua, in 1676.

Jacob Farrar was killed, in August, 1675, by the Indians. His son Jacob was probably born in England. He left children here. Some of his descendants through his son George, became distinguished.

John Farrar, brother of the first Jacob, came here, perhaps, from Woburn. He died in 1690.

Daniel Gaines was killed in the great massacre, or reserved for torture. There is no record of posterity here.

Stephen Gates came from England in 1638 to Hingham. Here he was a freeman in 1656, and a constable in 1657. He went to Cambridge, and died in 1662.

John Houghton came from England when a little boy, about four years old. His last will was presented in 1684. His wife was Beatrix. His sons were Benjamin, Robert, Jonas and John Harris. Mrs. Beatrix Pope was his daughter, and there were others.

Ralph Houghton was cousin to John, and probably older. He left three sons, John, James, Joseph, and perhaps others; and four daughters. He, with his cousin and their families, went to Woburn at the massacre, but returned. He was town clerk as early as 1656, and for many years after. In 1668 he became a freeman, and was representative in 1673 and perhaps in 1689.

Thomas James has this notice in Savage, "Died shortly after 13 March, 1660, the date of his will, in which, to his wife, who, if living, was then in England, and cousins, named Isaac, Lydia, Mary, Hannah and Christopher Lewis, he gave all his estate, and made John Lewis, perhaps their father, his executor. Yet they may have no relation to our country and he have been only transient."

John Johnson may be the same as John of Marlboro, who died in 1713. If so, he came here from Sudbury.

Thomas Joslin came from London in the Increase, 1635. He died in 1661, seven years after coming to Lancaster. His widow married William Kerley in 1664.

Nathaniel Joslin, his son, was a freeman in 1673. His brother Abraham was also here. After the massacre he moved to Marlboro, where he died, 1694. He had two sons, Nathaniel of Marlboro, and Peter of Lancaster. The latter had a "wife and three children killed by the Indians, July 18, 1692, when they took away another child, Elizabeth Howe, the sister of his wife and other prisoners, but killed the child in the woods." He was a tough old veteran; was a captain, outlived his fourth wife, and died in Leominster at a great age, in 1759.

William Kerley, or Carley, sen., after the death of his wife in March, 1658, married Bridget Rowlandson, widow of Joseph, and mother of the minister, in May, 1659. She died in 1662. It is supposed that he married Rebecca, widow of Thomas Joslin in 1664. His death occurred in 1670.

William Kerley, jr., supposed son of the former, was in Sudbury in 1672, and in Cambridge in 1683. Probably he removed before the massacre.

Henry Kerley, son of the first William, was born about 1632, and was brought by his father to Hingham. He married November 2, 1654, Elizabeth, daughter of John White and sister of Mrs. Rowlandson. He became a freeman in 1668. His wife and two children, William and Joseph, were

killed by the Indians at the burning of the minister's garrison, in the spring of 1676. He went to Marlborough, where he spent his days, having married again. The family disappeared from this town, except old "widow Kerley," or "Caley," mentioned subsequently in the Records.

William Lewis was probably from Cambridge. He died in 1671, and left no children in the place, unless John, which is uncertain.

Richard Linton was here in 1643-4, and became a permanent settler among the very first. He was probably, says Savage, of Gov. Craddock's plantation at Medford in 1630, and at Watertown in 1638. He died March 30, 1665. His wife was Ann, daughter of Lawrence Waters, his brother pioneer. George Bennet, who was killed by the Indians in August, 1675, was his grandson.

John Mansfield, son of John and grandson of Sir John, had five hundred acres given by his aunt Ann Keayne.

John Moore, sen., of 1653, was a freeman in 1669, and representative in 1689 and 1690. He married Anna, daughter of John Smith, and among other children had a son born April, 1662, named

John Moore, jr., called junior representative in 1689.

Mordecai MacLoad, or McLoad, or McLoud, or Macloud, was killed by the Indians, August, 1675. His wife and two children shared his fate. Probably the whole family was cut off, as we do not again meet with his name.

Anthony Newton was freeman in 1671. Probably he left at the time of the massacre in 1676. One of that name was in Dorchester in 1678, when Lancaster was uninhabited. Willard supposes him to be the same man.

Edmund, or Edmon Parker, was from Roxbury, whither he carried children to be baptised in June, 1656, before Mr. Rowlandson was ordained. We can easily imagine him going with his family on a pleasant visit to his old home and church.

John Pierce, of Watertown, freeman in 1638, and a man

of "very good estate." He died on the nineteenth of August, 1661, leaving several children; but they are not found in the succeeding history of the town.

John Prescott, a blacksmith, came from Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, west riding of Yorkshire, where he had married Mary Platts, a "Yorkshire girl." But he was born in Lancashire, as were Atherton and several others who settled here. He came here to stay in 1645 or 6, with the purpose of building up a town. Many children were born to him before and after he came hither. John, a blacksmith also, Jonathan and Jonas were sons. His daughter Mary married Thomas Sawyer; Sarah married Richard Wheeler; Martha married John Rugg; and Lydia married Jonas Fairbank. He took the oath of allegiance in 1652, and was admitted freeman in 1669. His family escaped from the massacre, and he returned in 1682, when the number of families was only one-third as large as seven years before.

Edward and John Rigby seem to have left no trace, unless the "Rigby road," so called, from Deers Horns district to Clinton, is named for them.

Jeremiah Rogers, of Dorchester, married Mehitable, daughter of John Pierce; not the John Pierce mentioned above.

John Roper, who was in Charlestown, 1647-58, is thought to be the man of that name who came here in 1656, and was killed by the Indians in 1676. Perhaps it was his son Ephraim who was the only man who escaped from the minister's garrison.

John Rugg, freeman in 1669, married Martha, daughter of John Prescott, and had two children who died quite young. She died in 1665. His second wife had eight children. He died in 1696, and next year his widow was killed by the Indians. His son John had eight children. Another son, Joseph, with his wife and three children were killed in 1697 by the Indians, at the same time that his mother was murdered.

Thomas Sawyer, one of the first six settlers, became a freeman in 1654. He married Mary, daughter of Prescott, and lived next south. His children and descendants were numerous. His son, Ephraim, was killed by the Indians in 1676 at Prescott's garrison, now in Clinton.

The Smiths, John and Richard, cannot be traced and individualised.

Roger Sumner, of Dorchester, was son of William, and born in England. He became freeman in 1657 and came to Lancaster two years later. He married a daughter of Thomas Joslyn. One record of him fixes the date of the origin of the church in this town, formerly a disputed point. The record reads, "1660, Aug. 26, Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other Christians at Lancaster, a church might be begun there." At the destruction of the town he removed to Milton, and became a deacon there, where he died May 26, 1698, aged 66.

Richard Sutton of Charlestown, and probably of Roxbury, is supposed to have been one of the proprietors of Lancaster.

John Tinker of Windsor, Conn., removed to Boston, where his daughter Sarah was born in 1652. He was made freeman in 1654. He was a great acquisition to this town, and was clerk and selectman. According to Willard, his "chirography was very neat." He left the place in 1659, and settled at Pequid, or New London, where he was held in great esteem.

John Towers of Hingham, came from Hingham in Norfolk county, England, in 1637, and was a freeman two years later. His wife was Margaret Ibrook, and he had several children. Probably the family did not remain here, if they ever came.

Benjamin Twitchell came from Dorchester, and probably went to Medfield, where he was in 1663, with a wife and several children.

Henry Ward of Hingham.

Lawrence Waters has been already mentioned.

John White of Salem, 1638, had grant of land next year; joined the church in 1643. He, with his son, was one of the first planters of Lancaster. He had children: Josiah, his executor, Thomas, besides daughters Joan, Elizabeth, Mary and Sarah, who were married, and Hannah who lived with him until after his decease and then married ensign Divoll. There is an entry in the Records of the town in March, 1658, which it is not easy to understand, but seems to indicate that he was a man who stood up for his rights. The record reads as follows: all the orders of the selectmen passed, except that of goodman White, which was rejected "because he feared not to speak in his own cause."

John Whitcomb, senior, of Dorchester, 1635, removed to Scituate and became a freeman in Plymouth colony, June, 1652. He had five sons and daughters. His death occurred here in 1662, September 24.

John, jr., his eldest son, was born in England. He died about 1683. His descendants have been numerous and respectable.

James Whiting, or Witton left no record here.

Thomas Wilder, or Wyelder, of Charlestown, 1639, joined the church on the thirtieth of March, 1640, and was admitted freeman, June 2, 1641. Besides daughters he had four sons, Thomas, John, Nathaniel and Ebenezer.

Matthew Knight owned quite a tract between the house of Charles L. Wilder and the center bridge, on the north-west side of Nashua river, which went by the name of "Knight's pasture," besides a lot in South Lancaster, and perhaps in other parts of the town; but it is not easy to locate him. His descendant, William Knight, now resides at Ponakin.

Stephen Day was the noted printer of Cambridge. He never lived here, but had a connection with the town which will be noted in the proper place.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was a proprietor by the conditions of the grant to legalise a township. He became owner of

forty acres, either west of Knight's pasture, or including it. But his house and house lot was the garrison and its surroundings.

Before specifying the location of those proprietors who became residents, it is necessary to ascertain the position of the lines of road used in the early days of the settlement. Roads are not only the skeleton framework of a town or a state; but they also serve as the circulating system to the human body. The homes of the people are posited on the roads, and all the busy life of the place flows through them. Where then did the first roads begin, and whither did they lead?

There can be no doubt that there were Indian trails from the seacoast to the interior before the English came. And after their coming, the natives were accustomed to travel to the lower towns, not only to reach the seaside, (being fond of sea food,) but also for the purpose of traffic. The English would naturally follow these trails when hunting, or visiting the Indians at their settlements. It is probable that Thomas King, or the men whom he sent up to the Nashua country, came through Sudbury and the upper part of Marlborough, to Lancaster, and that they crossed the Nashua river near the Carter mills in South Lancaster. This was almost in a direct line from Sudbury to George hill, on the south-east side of which was the first "trucking house," at a spot afterwards known as the "Indian camp pasture," marked A on the Sectional Map. In the year 1653 the general court directed "that Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways betwixt town and town, according to the direction of the court, for the countries use, and then make them as need shall be." This was doubtless the principal route to Boston for several years. Probably there was a trail from Washacum lake, the seat of Sholan, to the Indian camp, on George hill, and also to the "place of passing over," at Carter's mills.

The next step was to open a road to Concord, the nearest town directly east. This was in the spring of 1656. But

as the trucking business had now been sold by King and Symonds to Prescott, and the place of trade had been moved from the Indian camp to South Lancaster, there was without doubt a traveled way between these two points. This way can even now be traced by marks which leave no doubt in the mind of those who have examined them. The road came down the hill from the Indian camp to the house of Jonas Goss, and thence to Prescott's corner. Traces of this old road still exist. Again, starting from the Indian camp, and going nearly north, on the eastern slope of George hill, through a field which has been cultivated, the observer will come to what seems to have been an orchard, in which are a few straggling old apple trees. This is directly west from the young orchard and grapery of Mr. Goss. In the vicinity of these old trees is a very ancient cellar-hole: Going still farther north, into the next lot, and about forty rods west of the house of E. Warren Smith, a well will be found, nearly filled with stones. Proceeding towards the brook which comes down the hillside, another old well is found. Here the road must have been deflected towards the east, and then sloping along towards the northeast to a spot marked K on the map. Here is a cellar-hole, and till recently there were two. These are just west of the ledge which overlooks the meadow of Mr. Howard. This was probably the site of the garrison house of Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, though it may be that his house was towards the southwest, where the old wells are located. The road can be traced no farther, though, from the "lay of the land," it must have proceeded northerly, and come out not far west of the house formerly occupied by L. W. Spalding, and now by Cyrus D. Howe. This old road is marked by a double line. It was extended, in process of time, as far as the present poorhouse, skirting the hillside all the way.

The road to Concord was laid out in May or June, 1656, by a joint committee from the two towns. George Wheeler and John Smalley from Concord acting with John Roper and

Ralph Houghton performed the duty, whereof we have this record. "We whose hands are hereunto put, being chosen by Concord and Lancaster, to lay out the country highway betwixt the said townes, within the bounds of Lancaster, have acted and concluded that the country highway shall go as followeth. The place whence we took our beginning is at the highway beginning betwixt the lot of John Prescott [1] and John Moore's [6] lot, and so running on the east side of the minister's house, and over the north river by Lawrence Waters' house [18] and so over Penacook river near to the house of Edward Brick [19,] [east of C. L. Wilder] and so over the interval, and through Swans' swamp, where the town hath already marked out a highway for themselves, and so along to a little pine tree on the north side of Wataquadock hill, and so along the old path, or where may be most convenient within the bounds of Lancaster." The same road is afterwards laid down in the reverse order, in the words following. "One way for the country lieth from the entrance into the town on the east part, from Waterquaduc hill down to the Swans' swamp, and over the wading place through Pennycook river, that is by the Indian ware, [wear, a dam for taking fish,] and so along by Master Rowlandson's ground and the river, and again up to goodman Waters, his barn, between old goodman Brick's lot and that which was Richard Smiths, now in the possession of John Tinker, [29,] to be as it is staked out, at the least five rods wide on the Neck, and to be as wide as can be on the east side of the river — the Penacook — under ten rods and above five; and so from goodman Waters over the North river, up by Master Rowlandson's, D, the breadth as is laid out and fenced, marked and staked, up to goodman Prescott's ryefield,— and so between that and John Moor's lot, and across the brook, and up between John Johnson's and John Rugg's lots, five rods wide, and so beyond all the lots into the woods."

The only difficulty in fixing the location of this road arises when we reach the "highway beginning betwixt the lot of

John Prescott — called his 'rye-field' — and John Moor's lot." To this we shall recur again.

About the same date, (perhaps a little earlier,) the two Neck roads were opened. The east road on the Neck went "from goodman Brick's house, [19,] through the end of his ground, and Ralph Houghton's," [20,] and so on to "Quassoponican hill," — sometimes called Whittemore hill — "full five rods wide." Edward Breck's house, as said above, was near the corner of the road east of the house of C. L. Wilder.

The west road of the Neck, now the main street from the Sprague bridge to the North Village, extended from "goodman Waters barn [18] to Quassoponikin meadow, before the house of goodman Gates, [34,] both goodman Joslins, [36,] etc., as it is laid out and marked, five rods wide, and in the interval two rods wide." This road was probably some rods west of the present main street. It began near the bridge over the North river, some twenty rods above the Sprague bridge, and ran along the hillside west of the houses now situated on the west side of the main road; near the house of John W. Barnes, across the grounds of Rev. Mr. Bartol, and those living north, by the house of William McNeil, and onward to the road that now passes between Edward Phelps and Mrs. Benjamin Otis, into the Ponakin intervale. The eastern range of lots on the Neck, extended from Nashua river one hundred and sixty rods west, and as the river curves often, the western bound of the lots was not in a straight line. This road, by degrees, was moved eastward, up the hill, and made nearly straight, as it is at present. There is an angle of about twelve degrees near the house of Mrs. Emily Green.

Next in the Records we find "one way to the Mill at the head of the lots of John Prescott, Thomas Sawyer, E, Jacob Farrah, five rods wide from the country highway to the mill." Prescott's Mill was in Clinton, where now stands the Clinton yarn mill. The road laid out was from the south part of South Lancaster to Clinton.

There is some difficulty in locating the next road. The Record reads as follows: "One way, called the street or crossway, from goodman Kerley's intervale, and the rest of the intervail lotts, and so south between the double range of lotts, five rods wide, and so towards Weshacome when it is past Jacob Farrow's lot; and also it receives the same width between the house lotts and intervale lotts northward to the walnut swamp." The intervale lotts here mentioned, extended from the North river, on either side of Roper's brook, south by west towards the farm of Mr. Thayer, where William A. Kilbourn now resides. It is supposed that the road began at the south end of the intervale, and went southerly, on the west side of the little brook behind the house of Mrs. Mary Ware, and rising to the top of the bank, passed to the rear of all the houses on the west side of the street in south Lancaster, and southwesterly to the house of Jonas Goss. Not far from the house of Mr. Goss, it passed up the hill, and thence onwards to Weshacome. All these early roads are indicated by double lines.

Another road extended from the "millway at the end of goodman Prescott's rye-field to the entrance of his intervale, five rods wide, and through the intervale over Nashaway river and the Still river to the outside fence of Jacob Farrar's lott, two rods and an half wide." This road began, probably, about ten or twelve rods west of Mrs. Ware's corner, and went easterly, by the present way to the Atherton bridge. Crossing the river it kept along the eastern bank of the river to the "Neck bridge" where it met the Concord road, which went over Wattaquadock hill.

Finally, "one way from that intervale way down along all the intervale, to the Still river, and towards Groton, on the east side of the river, two rods wide." This road began at the crossing of the Penacook, and was directly in the line over which "Dead river" now flows, in times of high water, with a volume nearly equal to the main stream.

Bridges were ordered to be built over the Nashua, near Carter's mills, I, and the North river above the Sprague bridge, J, in the year 1659. The Records, under date of January 14, 1659, read: "The Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, that they that are on the Neck of land do make a cart bridge over the North river, by goodman Waters', and they on the south end do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place, at their own expense." This is enough for the present. The matter of bridge-building will claim more attention in later pages.

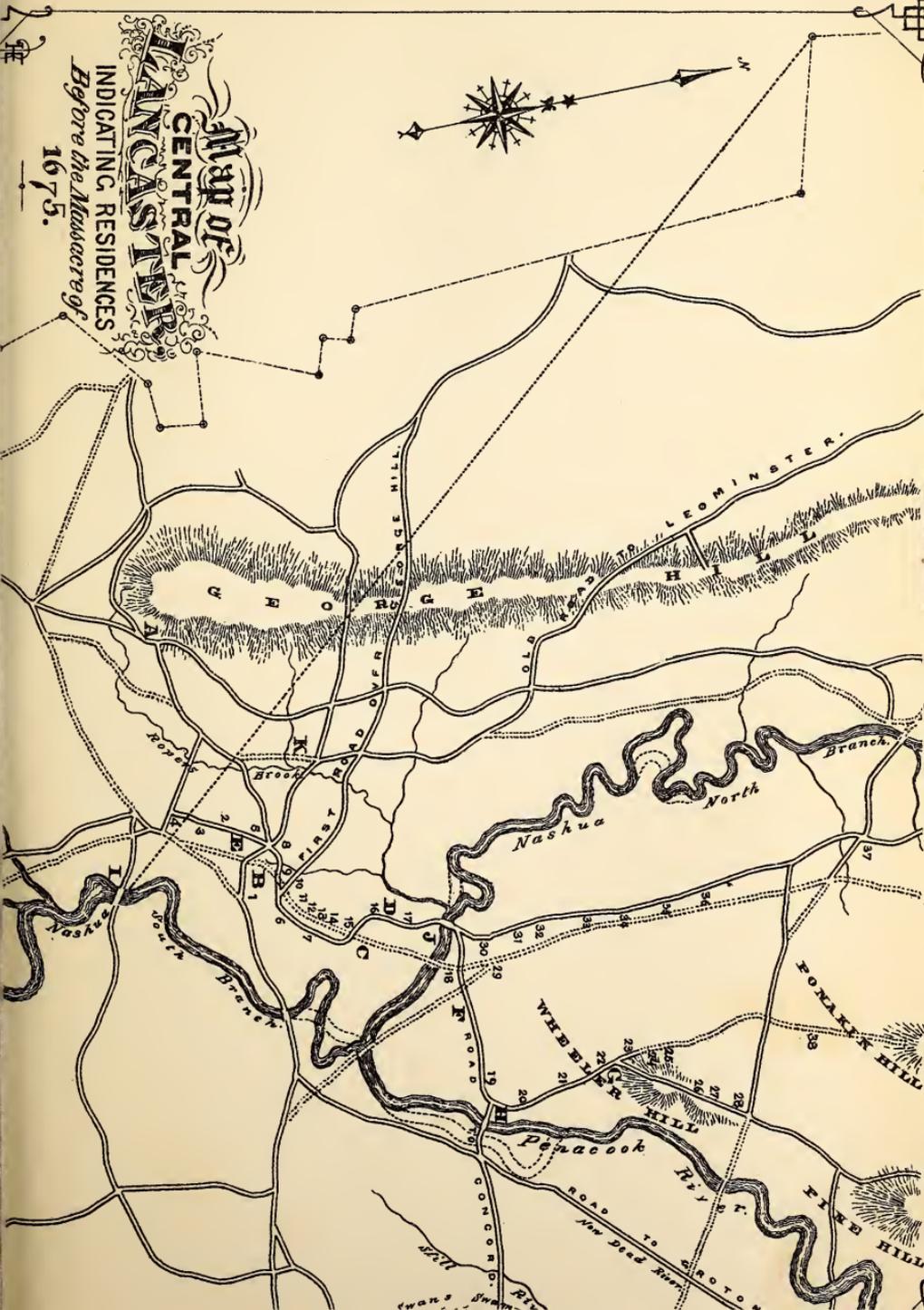
It is now easy to show the reader where the first inhabitants set up their rude homes. Beginning at the cross-road in South Lancaster, the first lot belonged to John Prescott, [1]. His lots were in two ranges, one on either side of the road. The lots in the east range were forty rods wide, north and south, and eighty rods long, extending from the road between the North river and South Lancaster, to the intervale east of the railroad. The lots in the western range were twenty rods wide, and one hundred and sixty rods long, extending from the road on the east, to another parallel road up the side of George hill, perhaps fifty rods west of the present road. The lots were made thus narrow that the settlers might be kept in close proximity. Prescott had a lot in each range. On the east side of the road running north and south, and north side of the road running east and west, his lot was forty rods wide and eighty rods long. The double line on the map will show his bounds on the west. Next north was the lot of John Moor, [6,] of the same measurement. But between the two was a road one rod wide. This was the way "betwixt John Moor's lot and Prescott's rye-field." John Tinker [7] came next with a lot of the same size. Then came church lands, meeting-house hill, C, and intervale to the North river.

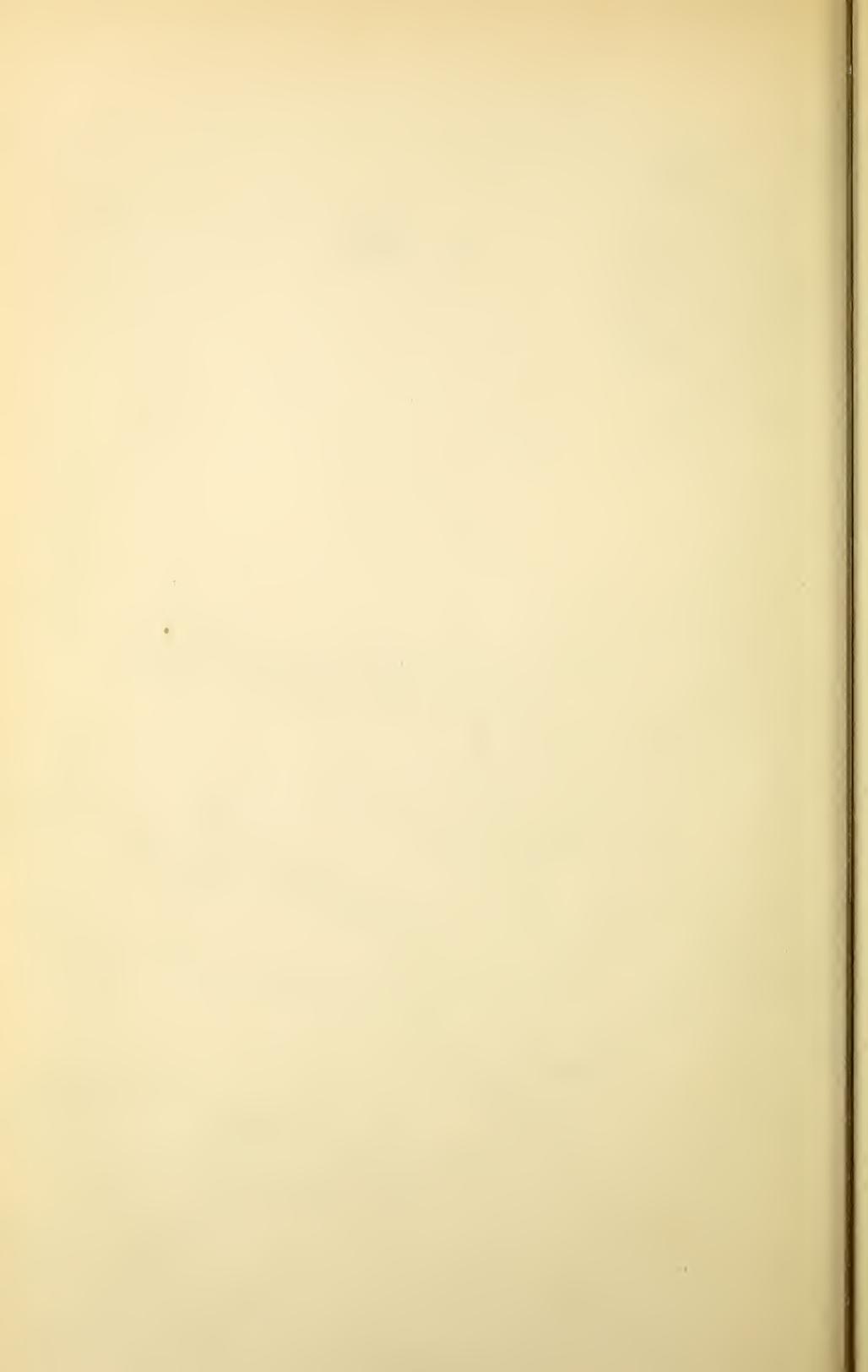
South of Prescott and across the road were the lots of Thomas Sawyer, E, Jacob Farrar, [3,] and John Rigby, [4,] of similar dimensions.



Map of CENTRAL LANCASTER

INDICATING RESIDENCES
Before the Massacre of
1675.





Going back to the starting point, John Prescott had a lot, [8,] on the west side of the road to the Center, twenty rods wide, and one hundred and and sixty rods long. Opposite on the south side of the road, where Mr. Graham now lives, Jonas Fairbank, [5,] had a lot, forty by eighty rods, and south of him was "commons land," [2].

North of Prescott, and extending to the North river, lots twenty rods wide were assigned as follows. Stephen Day, [9,] the printer. He never came, and the lot seems to have been occupied, if not owned, by John Johnson, [9]. Next came Philip Knight, [10,] and perhaps John Roper. It would seem that John Rugg had a half lot next to Roper. Between the lot of Roper and the next one, a road extended westerly, across the farm of Mr. Thayer, up George hill, by the house of Frank Taylor, and so on where "human needs may require." Daniel Gains [11] came in somewhere in this vicinity. Probably he bought the south half of the lot of John Rugg, [12]. It is impossible to indicate precisely the ownership between Prescott and Henry Kerley, who owned the fifth lot. The men just named owned either in succession or in common. Henry Kerley's lot [13] covered part of the land where the house of Mr. Thayer now stands. His father, William Kerley, [14,] lived nearly opposite the cemetery; though at one time, John and Richard Smith [15] had a foothold in that vicinity. Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, D, though he had land between the North and Penacook rivers, lived next north of the senior Kerley. His house was the garrison, and the meeting-house, C, was a few rods to the southeast, across the road, and near the eastern brow of cemetery hill. Next north of Mr. Rowlandson was the lot and house of William Kerley, jr. [17] Between him and the river was an intervale lot.

Crossing the North river about twenty rods above the present, or Sprague bridge, the first lot and house belonged to Lawrence Waters, [18]. If we suppose the road coming west from the railroad between the Mansion house and

Mr. Stowell, and along between the houses of Mr. Vose and Mr. Royce, about twenty rods into the intervale, it would meet the road coming from South Lancaster near the bridge. Lawrence Water's was somewhere southeast of that road, and not far from the residence of Mr. Symmes. The first lot situated between the road to the North Village on the west and Penacook river on the east, was owned by Edward Breck, [19]. Like all the lots on the eastern side of the road, it was twenty rods wide and one hundred and sixty rods long. Mr. Breck's house was near the turn of the road between the houses of C. L. Wilder and Daniel Bemis, Esq. The next lot north was assigned to Richard Linton, [29;] Ralph Houghton came next. But Houghton and Linton made an exchange, the former taking the east end of Linton's lot, and the latter the west end of Houghton's lot, so that each had a lot forty rods by eighty. Houghton [20] lived on the east road of the Neck, and Linton on the west end, somewhere in the vicinity of Mrs. Carleton's house. The third lot in the range was owned by Ralph Houghton. This was one hundred and sixty rods in length.

Next in order came the lot of James Atherton, [21,] extending from the river on the east to where the Hotel Lancaster stands. The owners in succession going up the Neck road, were John White, [22,] William Lewis, [23,] John Lewis, [24,] Thomas James, [25,] Edmon Parker, [26,] Jacob Farrar, [27,] and Roger Sumner, [28]. All these lots were bounded on the east by the river, except the last, which butted on the Neck road, then running east of the Lane place. The north boundary of Sumner was the road extending from the Whiting place, where Mr. Powers now lives, by the Lane place, and on beyond the brickyards. Gamaliel Beaman's lot [38] was north of this road. All the owners above-mentioned, (unless perhaps Atherton,) had their homes on one or the other side of the eastern, or in modern phrase, the Neck road.

Coming now to the west side of the Neck and starting from Lawrence Waters' lot, the first lot on the west of the road which goes by the churches to the North Village, we find the lot of Richard Linton, [30]. This extended from the spot where Mr. Royce resides, up the road forty rods, and eighty rods west, or to the North river. Next came the lot of Robert Breck, [31,] forty rods, extending along the west side of the Common. Breck never resided in town. In order came John Whitcomb, [32,] John Whitcomb, jr., [33,] John Gates, [34,] Nathaniel Joslin, [35,] and Thomas Joslin, [36].

All the above-named proprietors were settled compactly together, south and north of the North river, or in South Lancaster, and the Center, then styled "the Neck." The meeting-house stood as near the center of the plantation as possible, if it were to be on high land, and south of the river. And remembering that the settlement soon extended to the Prescott mills — what is now Clinton, — it will be seen that the convenience of all was consulted in the location of the house of worship. The original plan was to have the center of the town near the "meeting of the rivers." One standing on the site of the first meeting-house could see nearly every dwelling-house in the whole plantation, provided the view was not obstructed by trees, and one of the first necessities of the planters was to level the forest around their habitations.

The location of the other settlers need not be exactly determined. As new families came, they either purchased of those already here, or took lots in other parts of the town, though at first, not very remote. Mordecai McLoud [37] was somewhere near the cemetery in the North Village. John Houghton took a house lot in what is now Bolton, but his land extended into Lancaster. Richard Wheeler was next north of John Houghton. His intervale came to the Nashua river, east of South Lancaster. Later John Houghton had his home on the Old Common. The upland and intervale of

Thomas Wilder extended from the North river on the east and north sides towards the road where Henry D. Stratton now lives, [the Keyes place,] and there was a road from the bridge above the house of Sprague Vose to, and probably through, or by Wilder's farm. The second Thomas Wilder lived on the north side of the Old Common.

The upland and intervale of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was between the Penacook and the North river, as the Records say, and was "laid out southwardly by the North river, easterly by Penacook river, and westerly by the lot of Richard Smith." This was all in one lot of thirty-nine acres, thirteen of upland and twenty-six of intervale. He had land also near his house, called the garrison.

The "Church Lands" were in the vicinity of the meeting-house, and probably covered the land included in the middle cemetery. There were about thirty acres in the upland, and the lot reached, on the east, to the intervale lots of Prescott and Sawyer. Some of the Church Lands were near Clamshell pond.

The various proprietors had, besides their twenty acres of upland, parcels of intervale, meadow and swamp lands, in different parts of the town.

Having fixed the location of the settlers on their farms, and indicated the lines of road by which they were bound together, the way is clear to attend to their action as a town. And here it may be noted that they acted at one time in the capacity of a town, and at another as a body of proprietors. But since the proprietors, for a long period, constituted the great body of the town, the record of the action of either body may be considered as legitimate town history.

For about three or four years after the act of incorporation, the town proceeded in the ways above indicated. But it was soon found that there were serious matters of difference which the settlers could not adjust to their satisfaction. Therefore the town sent the following Petition to the general court, signed by the inhabitants. "Whereas sundry

persons in this town, the last year, at the general court, by petition did obtain the full liberty of a plantation to choose selectmen, and to order our prudentials as other towns do, supposing the town to be furnished for that purpose; but now, upon this short time of experience, this plantation finding ourselves unable to act and order our prudentials, by public town meetings, as a township, by reason of many inconveniences and incumbrances, which we find that way, nor by selectmen by reason of the scarcity of freemen, (being but three there in number,) we want liberty of choice, and the law requires, (as your petitioners do conceive,) the greater vote [majority] of them that act to be freemen. The premises being considered, your petitioners do humbly crave that the honored court would be pleased to take our condition into their consideration, and appoint a committee invested with power from the general court to put us into such a way of order as we are capable of, or any other way which the honored court may judge safest and best, both for the present and future good of us and our town, and those that are to succeed us. And such a committee, so appointed, and so impowered, may stand till they be able to make return to the general court, that the town is sufficiently able to order our prudential affairs according as the law requires."

A word of explanation will clear up what is doubtful about the object of this petition, and show that the town could not go forward without some such arrangement as was sought. The general court, at its first session, in 1631, ordered "that no man should be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of this jurisdiction." This was the law till 1664. As there were some thirty proprietors in Lancaster in 1656, and among them only three freemen, the whole legal power of the town was in very few hands. As the petitioners conceived that a majority of the selectmen must decide, it might be, when a difference of opinion

occurred, that the whole town would be governed by two men. This was intolerable. The court felt this, and gave a favorable answer, and judged "it meet to grant their request, and do therefore order and appoint major Simon Willard, captain Edward Johnson and Thomas Danforth commissioners, empowering them to order the affairs of the said Lancaster, and to hear and determine their several differences and grievances which obstruct the present and future good of the town; standing in power till they be able to make return to the general court that the town is sufficiently able to order its own affairs according to law."

This was passed at the May session, 1657, on the seventeenth of the month, and the commissioners soon entered on the duties of their office. Major Simon Willard became a proprietor and inhabitant of the town. The other two never came here to reside, but made visits of business. Major Willard was invited to come, and received liberal grants of land as an inducement. He was distinguished in our early history as a member of the council, and as a military officer. He is largely referred to in the genealogy of the Willard family, prepared with great care and judgment by his descendant, Joseph Willard. He was exceedingly valuable as a citizen from his ability, probity and sound discretion. His name will appear often in the course of our history.

Edward Johnson lived in Woburn and was the author of a volume, often referred to, which has survived to our time, entitled, "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England." Mr. Willard styles this "a very singular, curious and enthusiastic work." He was evidently a man of character and of prudence in affairs.

Cambridge was the home of Thomas Danforth. He certified to the copy of the Act of the court just recited, and may have been Clerk. He was one of the assistants, so called, and deputy governor, and on the whole a man of distinction in his day. When the witchcraft delusion was at its height,

he was one of the few like Increase Mather and Samuel Willard, president and vice-president of Harvard college, who acted like men of wisdom. It appears therefore that the general court dealt kindly by the town in the choice of commissioners. The good and wise Winthrop was present no longer to guide, having died in 1649. Richard Bellingham was governor from that year till 1673, except two years, when John Endicott was in the chair.

The first meeting of the commissioners was held, on the nineteenth of September, 1657, at the house of John Prescott. Their first act was to choose five men, residents of the town, and proprietors, and two if not three of them freemen, to do the work of selectmen. The entry on the Records read thus: "That master John Tinker, William Kerley, sen., John Prescott, Ralph Houghton and Thomas Sawyer, shall be, and are hereby impowered to order and manage the prudential affairs of the said town, for this year next ensuing, and until such others be allowed and confirmed by the commissioners in their stead and place."

This was a singular, but proved to be a judicious plan for governing the town. The commissioners chose the selectmen, but the latter performed the duties of the office as if they had been chosen by the town. They were, however, under the supervision of the commissioners, and received directions from them. Some of the orders of the commissioners, which were of general import will be read with interest at this late day. The first related to the work of the ministry in the place, and directed that the selectmen take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, laboring in the "Ministry of God's holy word, and also that they take care for erecting a meeting-house, pound and stocks, and that they see to the laying out of town and county highways, and the town bounds, and the making and executing of all such orders and by-laws, as may be for the common good of the place." They were also to regulate concerning cornfields, meadows, common pasturage land,

fencing of herding cattle, restraining swine, and for recovering fines and forfeitures of those persons who had taken up land without fulfilling the conditions thereof. It was their business to pay town debts, and levy and collect taxes, and they had authority to compel payment of taxes.

A wise direction was "that there be accommodations of land reserved for the meet encouragement of five or six able men to come and inhabit in the place, as may be helpful to the encouragement of the work of God, and the common good of the place." The Commissioners confirmed the "deed of a gift made by the town unto Master Rowlandson, of a house and land which was set apart for the use of the ministry," upon suitable conditions which were fulfilled.

The next regulation, which would seem strange now, when the need of it has passed away, but which was acted upon by towns for more than a hundred years after the time under review, provided that no persons should be "entertained as inmates or tenants," or be allowed to "inhabit within the bounds" of the town, without the consent of the selectmen. This consent to be valid, was to be entered upon the Records of the town. The penalty was twenty shillings per month, both to the person who should so "offend by intruding himself, and also to the person who should offend in receiving or entertaining" such new comer. No other persons were to be "admitted to the enjoyment of the privileges of the place and township, either in accommodations, votes, elections, or disposals of any of the common privileges and interests" of the town.

The reason for such regulations is obvious. The one forfeiting the rights of original proprietors who refused to become residents, prevented many of the best lots from remaining in the hands of absentees. It was needful for security that the first settlers should live in the closest neighborhood, and therefore the lots were so narrow that the houses could be only twenty, or at most only forty rods apart. Absentee ownership would break up this arrange-

ment. This plan also prevented speculation on the rise of land without sharing in the toil and danger of improvement. But this alone was not enough. What was to prevent those who acquired lots by purchase, from coming here, (and bringing servants or hired men,) however hostile to the manners and customs of the place, or from sending up men of loose habits and bad character, to cultivate their land. In laying the foundation of the town these were considerations of the utmost importance. After the solid foundations were laid, there might be safety in admitting other materials. Having a basis of "gold, silver and precious stones," there might be a capacity for enduring a certain amount of "wood, hay and stubble."

Another reason for exclusion is given by Willard, and is certainly entitled to great respect. "Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement." They had provided, as we have seen, for the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men of the right stamp.

Under the Covenant to refer certain matters to arbitrators, three men who had been chosen to act in that capacity, Simon Willard, Edward Johnson and Edmund Rice, in May, 1656, passed upon several matters of interest. One decision was that proprietors should abide by the measure of land made by the appointed surveyor, and not measure for themselves. On the complaint of some that their lots were too small, it was decided that justice should be done to them "with care, what speed they may."

There was a complaint of "the want of recording lands in the town book." The arbitrators therefore appointed Ralph Houghton to keep a Record of lands. Much of the early history of the town depends upon that vote. Without the "Record of Lands" existing now in a copy from the original book, it would be impossible to locate the settlers, or scarcely

guess where the larger part of them lived. The arbitrators also made the following sensible suggestion in regard to the prudential affairs of the town. "First, the town are to consider what their occasions are that shall be attended to therein, and write it in their town book; and this being done, then to choose their selectmen to act thereupon."

The selectmen, or townsmen, as they were styled, seem to have had their first meeting on the twelfth of January, 1658, at the house of John Tinker. They ordered every inhabitant that had lands laid out to him to bring in a perfect list in regard to "quantity, quality, place and manner of lying of their said lands, with their several butts and bounds." These lists were to be fairly recorded in a book kept for that purpose. The copy of the Record thus provided, is among the volumes of town Records and is of great value to the student of our history.

At a meeting held in February, at the house of goodman Kerley, it was ordered that all "highways laid out and allowed for the town and countries use, be amply recorded for posterity, and the way marks be yearly repaired by stakes or otherwise." If they had also provided for the making of a map of the town, and the insertion of each new road, when opened, the convenience of posterity would have been subserved, and much time saved which has been vainly spent in the effort to find the starting point, the angles, and the end of roads, by pine and other trees which have been dead more than a hundred years.

A vote passed by the selectmen, who met with Ralph Houghton in February, 1658, is interesting in as far as it shows us one feature of town life which long since passed away with the division of the land held in common. The order provided that two gates should be set up where the fences were made against the commons and common pasturage lands, on the east side of the river. That is, a highway passed between the common lands over the river, east of John White's house, and a gate opened on either side of the

road. At the same time, three gates were to be set up on both sides of the Nashua, somewhere on the road that now crosses the Atherton bridge.

There was a town meeting on the twelfth of March, 1658, when the orders made by the selectmen were read to them. The town agreed to all the orders "except that of the gift of goodman White. And it therefore crossed it because he feared not to speak in his own cause." What there was offensive in goodman White, either in the matter or manner of his speech, has not come down to us, and conjecture must be forever at fault. But it appears that he had right on his side, because the selectmen, in July of the same year, "upon serious consideration," granted him substantial justice.

Upon trial it was found that the governing apparatus did not work efficiently, and Master Tinker, the most prominent member of the board of selectmen, procured in their behalf, from the committee, Messrs. Willard, Johnson and Danforth, an addition to their powers. His petition reads: "May it please you to understand, that since your session with us, and commission granted to such as you are pleased to entrust in the prudentials, the Lord has succeeded our endeavors to the settling, as we hope, of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town in some silent,* (at least) we hope in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the boilings and breaking forth of some persons difficult to please, and some petty difference will arise among us, provide what we can to the contrary. Wherefore be pleased to consider whether our power already given be not sufficient, — that is, insufficient — to add a small penalty to the breach of our orders made for the good of the town, each neighbor, etc.; else it is a sword tool, and no edge." He says farther, "if we may not receive power from you to hear and determine of differences amongst us under twenty shillings damage; otherwise the oppressed in small things bears his burden, because it is a greater burden to go far for ease."

In other words, an oppressed or injured man could not afford to carry his cause to court at a distance from home.

Master Tinker inquired farther if the power of the townsmen or selectmen, extended to the giving and granting of lots, divisions, and additions, of lands and meadows; and if they might "choose an artist" among themselves or their neighbors to lay out the town bounds. In closing, the petition said: "Gentlemen, be pleased to resolve these cases, and vouchsafe us an addition to our powers where defective, in any of these, as without which we are, or seem of little courage; and by which, through God's assistance, we may be theirs and yours humbly to serve."

This application, made by Master Tinker, in behalf of himself and colleagues, who were not masters, but goodmen, according to the style of the time, met with a favorable response. There is such a fine flavor of antiquity to these old papers, that one takes pleasure in giving them at full length, at the risk of prolixity. The committee replied: "1. That it is in the power of the selectmen to impose any meet fine for the breach of any of their prudential orders, not exceeding twenty shillings for each offence. 2. That if the town please to nominate three meet persons to be your commissioners for ending small causes, and present them to the county court, they may there be allowed for any case under forty shillings. 3. That it shall be in the power of the selectmen, and not in the hands of the inhabitants, who may make their address to the committee in case of any grievance." They say in reference to the fourth point—the choosing an "artist" to lay out the town bounds,—that it is not in their power to act; but "in case it be done," that is, if the selectmen should appoint some man to the service, the committee "would further the acceptance thereof to their power."

There was a strong desire among the selectmen, and doubtless the feeling was general in the town, to have Major Wil-
lard take up his abode here, and give the aid of his sound

sense and wise discretion for the guidance of affairs. This sentiment found expression at a meeting of the townsmen on the eighteenth of February, 1659. They met at their houses in rotation, and were all present generally except William Kerley, who seemed to have a grievance. When his turn came, they met at the meeting-house, near his home. The meeting under notice was held with goodman Prescott, and the action there taken is recorded as follows: "they think meet and do order that a letter of invitation be sent to Major Simon Willard to come to inhabit among us, with such measures concerning accommodations as have been formerly propounded; and the hands of the selectmen are fixed, and a copy of it recorded." What the "measures concerning accommodations" were, cannot be found in the selection from the Records which remain to us; but the inducements offered to incline "the Major" to become a resident must have been liberal as appears by the subsequent grants made to him.

As the town became consolidated and began to feel the force of a settled community, the feeling grew up that the restrictions in regard to receiving additions to the population might be safely relaxed. This does not, however, prove that the restrictions were not prudent and wise at the time of their adoption. The door was now opened for the admission of inhabitants besides the "five or six families more that were then in being, [to] be admitted for the good of the town and church." And the selectmen, July 15, 1659, "conceived it to be most for the good of the town, that so many inhabitants be admitted as may be meetly accommodated, *provided* they are such as are acceptable, and therefore the former order is repealed. And that admittance be granted to so many as shall stand with the disposition of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance, according to the committee's acceptance." Surely the door of entrance was duly guarded when the approbation of the selectmen and also of the committee must be first obtained.

This was the last meeting of the selectmen which Mr. Tinker attended, being about to remove to Pequid, or New London, where he took a respectable and prominent position. The rest of the selectmen, in view of his departure, on the seventh of July, "petitioned the committee that goodman Wilder might be appointed by them to act as a selectman; which was granted." This was Thomas Wilder, who had recently moved into the town.

There was a meeting of the town on the sixteenth of February, 1660, which took action in regard to a second division of land, and relates therefore in a special manner to the proprietors. It is of interest to the student of our history chiefly for two things. The meeting was held in the house of Major Willard. This shows that he had listened to the overtures made to him by the selectmen, and taken up his residence here. His house stood on the site now occupied by Sewall Day, where "the Major's" descendants have lived, for several generations, almost down to the present time. He was a great acquisition. The coming of Thomas Wilder was, prospectively, scarcely less important, because the families of Willard and Wilder, in every generation, have occupied a prominent and useful position in the town. The other point of interest connected with this town meeting relates to the method adopted in making the division of land. Having made ready for settling the division by casting lots, the Record goes on in these words: "which being finished, and all the orders and instructions aforesaid agreed on, and the Lord being sought unto for his blessing upon his own ordinance, Lots were taken as followeth, without any disturbance or distraction."

There is nothing recorded of special interest for two or three years; but we can readily believe that the town was well managed by its multiform government. The committee in Boston chose the selectmen. At one time the committee directed the selectmen in regard to their action; at another time the latter acted on their own discretion. The selectmen

called the town together, at times, and asked their concurrence in what had been done. And on one occasion, in 1658, the town being met "at a training," passed a vote in relation to the "setting up of a saw mill." What legal validity could pertain to a vote passed at such a meeting, may be questionable; but the mill was set up, and the town made a liberal grant in aid. There was still another complication, for the town often acted as a body of proprietors.

In 1664, there began to be an expression of opinion in favor of self-government, which led the townsmen, or selectmen to call the attention of the people to the subject. Simon Willard, having moved hither, was immediately made chairman of the selectmen. He was also chairman of the committee. The town felt confident of their ability, with his guidance, to manage their own affairs. The selectmen, in their communication to the town, say that, "we conceive, by some expressions of several of our brethren and neighbors, that there is not such a loving concurrence as we could desire. Therefore if it be your desire to have the liberty to choose officers, and to order the prudentials of the town as other towns; if our endeavors herein be of use to you, and also acceptable to you, we desire to bless God for it; but if not, we desire not to create trouble to ourselves, and grief for our loving brethren and neighbors, but rather choose this love tender to you." They say farther that they were ready, if such was the desire of the town, to join "lovingly and cordially" in petitioning the "honored committee to appoint a meeting and to have a hearing of what hath been acted by the townsmen here since they committed the care of the prudentials to us." The same kind and unambitious spirit pervades the letters to the close. "If any be grieved at anything that has been acted, that then and there they may be eased; and if the committee please to return liberty into the town's hands, we hope it will be as acceptable to us as unto yourselves." This bears date, January 14, 1664,

and was signed by Willard, Prescott, Wilder, Sumner, and Ralph Houghton.

Meantime the selectmen continued to act in relation to all matters committed to them. The larger part of their business related to the division of lands, and was therefore only of private interest. John Roper was chosen a selectman in place of Roger Sumner. The selectmen called a town meeting at which it was voted that "all gifts, grants, acts, orders, conclusions and records, acted, ordered or recorded by the town, townsmen or committee, shall be confirmed and ratified by the town, from the beginning of the plantation to this day." This was unanimously voted, February 13, 1664.

At the same time it was voted that the selectmen should "further a second division of meadows to be laid out," but were not to "dispose of lands," or make grants. Ralph Houghton was chosen clerk for the year and allowed £2 18s. for his trouble herein. Some action of the town, as proposed by the townsmen will be referred to in connection with ecclesiastical affairs.

The time had arrived when the town was to pass from its state of pupillage, and become self-governing, under the general court. On the seventeenth of March, 1665, the town, through the selectmen, "earnestly desired that the honored committee would be pleased to put forth their power to ratify and confirm this act of confirmation of the town, and also to give liberty to the town to choose townsmen within themselves, so long as yourselves see a loving concurrence therein among ourselves; and in so doing, your worships will engage us yours in all Christian service."

This courteous and respectful address was answered, March 19, in the same tone, and perhaps came from the same pen, since Major Willard was chairman of both boards. The reply is pleasant reading. "Gentlemen, and loving friends: We have, although through straits of time, but briefly, provided and considered what you have above pre-

sented, and do with much thankfulness to the Lord, acknowledge his favor to yourselves. And not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people and children, in your loving compliance together, that this mercy may be continued to you is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord and you, and for that end do fully concur and consent to your proposals for the ratifying of what is. And for liberty among yourselves, observing the directions and laws of the general court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

The town had now "come of age," and was henceforth to conduct its own business, without a body of supervisors living at a distance, and making occasional visits. The action of the town ever afterwards proved its capacity to order its affairs with discretion. There are records of many meetings between 1665 and 1670, when the Records come to a long hiatus, but the action generally related to lands. The brief references to roads and bridges give no additional information worthy of recital. The Records fail between February 10, 1671, and the time of the massacre. And from that event to the year 1724, there are no town Records. The volume, said Mr. Willard, in 1824, "mysteriously disappeared about forty years since," that is, about the year 1784. We must feel our way through this period by the help of the Proprietors' Records, which cover a small part of the time; by the "Book of Lands," and by the manuscripts in the archives of the state relating to military, civil and ecclesiastical affairs. During this period there are no church Records to lighten our way, previous to 1708.

Glancing at events contemporary with the history of Lancaster from the first step towards its settlement in 1643, to the spring of 1676, we find that the governors of the colony had been Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott, Bellingham and Leverett. Winthrop had been impeached in 1646, and

acquitted; a synod of the churches of New England had been held; Eliot had been engaged in preaching to the Indians, and had translated the Bible into their tongue; the colony had had a controversy with the Long Parliament, and come off victoriously; had, in 1651, as ever after, the favor of Cromwell, and had in 1656-60 encountered its trials with the Baptists and Quakers. At the same time great events had taken place in England. The Long Parliament had dethroned and executed king Charles I.; Cromwell had succeeded to power, and till the close of his life, had ruled the three kingdoms with splendid success, while raising his country to the highest point of honor and influence among other nations. Richard Cromwell had been pushed aside; the Rump, after brief sway, had yielded to the rising tide of loyalty which welcomed Charles II. in 1660.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION. EDUCATION. CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE MINISTER. THE INDIANS. THE BURNING AND MASSACRE, 1676.

THE ecclesiastical affairs of the town, as revealing the character of the people, deserve special mention. It has been already stated that the services of a minister were had as early as 1654, a year after the first enabling act of the corporation. The Rev. Joseph Rowlandson came to the place, and continued from the year above named till 1676, as the only religious teacher and pastor. The provisions of the Covenant entered into by the town in 1653, relative to the church lands, the building of a meeting-house, and the support of a minister, have been recited on a former page. Eighty-two acres of land, including thirty of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, were set apart forever as church lands for the use of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being "or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God." The lands might be rented, or the minister might improve them if he chose. They agreed to build a house for the minister, as well as a sanctuary for God. All of these stipulations appear to have been fulfilled. The date of the erection of the first meeting-house is fixed by the two following facts. In 1657 the committee ordered the selectmen to take care for the "erecting a meeting-house." A meeting of the selectmen was held in the meeting-house in June, 1658. This house was placed on the northeast corner of the lot which is now the Center or Middle Cemetery, between the road to South Lancaster and the railroad.

It was on the brow of the hill which then sloped gently towards the river. The old burying yard was about sixteen rods northeast of the meeting-house, and was, doubtless, visited by the people during the noon intermission of every Sabbath-day. The first house stood until 1686, when it was taken down and a new one erected in its place. The second house was burned by the Indians, July 31, 1704. The first house of worship had been spared by the natives in 1676. Had they lost their reverence for "God's house," or had their feelings become more embittered?

Mr. Rowlandson subscribed the town Covenant, February 23, 1655, and received his allotment of land. By order of the "arbitrators" in 1656, the town was to pay him fifty pounds annually, valuing "wheat at six pence per bushel under the price it is as they buy, and so for other grains by their proportion; and as God shall be pleased to enlarge their estates, so they shall enlarge therein answerably." In August, 1657, according to Willard, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson, "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry.

In the same year, September 19, the committee or commissioners, ordered the selectmen to "take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, who now labored amongst them in the ministry of God's holy word." They probably saw the need of such encouragement in more ways than one. Up to this time there was no organized church; no deacons; no seasons of communion, and probably but a small number of Christian men to hold up his hands, and encourage his heart. At the same time his support must have been meager except as he cultivated his farm. It would not be strange if he became discouraged, and willing to listen to overtures from another field of labor. However this may have been, the following extract from the Records of the town will always be read with interest. With all the gravity of the subject there is a touch of humor intermingled.

Under date of the fourteenth of May, 1658, the Record reads: "On the certain intelligence of Master Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was; and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for aught he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other; so discharging him."

But the selectmen were too hasty in their action. The voice of the town was soon heard; and perhaps the female portion of it, whose wishes are often potential in calling and sustaining a minister, had a word to say. Let us see what occurred eleven days after the selectmen got the resolutions "for aught he knew" of Mr. Rowlandson. "A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away; upon which the town, having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us; and after some debate, it was voted as follows: 1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle among them in the work of the ministry? The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up. 2. Whether it was their minds to allow him, for his maintenance, fifty pounds a year, one-half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions; or otherwise, fifty-five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the court? The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up. 3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling-house which he lives in as his own proper right, according to the deed made by the

town, and confirmed by the committee; with the point of land westward, and some land west, and some north of his house, for an orchard, garden, yard, pasture and the like. This was put to the vote, and granted by the major part, and opposed by none but old goodman Kerley, only there was a neuter or two, with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land intended to lie for the next minister, to be reserved convenient to the interval lot now improved by Henry Kerley; all which was left to the selectmen, to be laid out according to their best discretion."

This was to be the minister's home lot, and was situated around the minister's garrison, on the land now owned by Mr. Thayer. His upland and intervale, it will be remembered, was northeast of the Center bridge, the very point of the Neck. None opposed the grant but the senior Kerley, who seems to have been, for a series of years, the minority of the town, neglecting to attend the meetings of his fellow-selectmen, and in an unhappy frame of mind. The gift of this piece of land, for some reason, did not please him, and his son Henry, and goodman White, Henry's father-in-law, who held the same relation to the minister, were all mixed up in the question. Finally, the town taking a firm attitude, the Kerleys acquiesced. It was a very proper proviso of the "neuter or two," in regard to the passage way to the old burying yard, to the river, to the intervale, and to the land intended for the next minister. These points being arranged to general satisfaction, we have the following result.

"Upon this Master Rowlandson accepted of the town's invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion concerning his maintainance, and promised to abide with them in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

These proceedings evince the grave deliberation of the people, and the popularity of Mr. Rowlandson, after four years of trial. But it appears that there was one exception to the

general unison, for it is recorded in the Middlesex county court Records, in this very year of 1658, as found by Mr. Willard, that Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, "for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God's word there," upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence, and was discharged, on paying for the attendance of the witnesses.

Though the people desired their minister to abide and settle with them; and though Mr. Harrington supposed that he accepted the invitation, yet it is nearly certain that he was not ordained and installed until 1660. There was no church here before that time, and according to usage, ministers were not ordained without a call of the church; and as a general thing, without an ordaining council. In the Records of Dorchester, under date of August 26, 1660, it is written that "Roger Sumner was dismissed" from the Dorchester church, that "with other Christians at Lancaster, a church might be formed there." It is the settled conclusion now of all writers on the point, that the church was organized in Lancaster, and the first minister ordained in the autumn of 1660. Here he continued in faithful and unbroken service till the massacre scattered the survivors. His life and character will find a place on a subsequent page.

The teaching of the church must be supplemented by the training of the school. Without an educated laity, the clergy will become a priestly tyranny. Without an educated clergy, the people will become a superstitious and vicious mass of beings, needing the control of force. Given an intelligent population, and an educated and godly clergy, we have the conditions needed for the highest possibility of human society. This our fathers knew full well, and they came to this country with the purpose of founding churches and colonies on the broad and solid basis of intelligence and religion. With them it was a first principle that all the children should

be taught to read, and all the people be able to peruse and understand the laws of the commonwealth, and the Word of God. In view of this great fact, it is astonishing to find men who speak of the fathers of the New England colonies as ignorant and narrow-minded men. Their principles and their laws show the value they placed on universal and free education. Their practice was in harmony with their principles. "The Fathers who colonized Massachusetts Bay," says the Hon. Horace Mann, "made a bolder innovation upon all pre-existing policy and usages than the world had ever known since the commencement of the Christian era. They adopted special and costly means to train up the whole body of the people to industry, to intelligence, to virtue, and to independent thought." The general court, in 1642, the year before a few persons from Watertown began to fell the trees in the woods of Lancaster, passed an act enjoining the towns to see that *every child* should be educated. The selectmen were required to "have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see first that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and [obtain] a knowledge of the capital laws; upon a penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein." By the same act parents were required to give religious instruction to their children; and farther it was enacted that "all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest, lawful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade, profitable for themselves and the commonwealth; if they will not, or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments."

The law of 1642 laid a penalty upon parents and masters who neglected the education of the children and apprentices under their care, but it did not make the schools free, nor did it impose a fine upon the towns which failed in the duty

to support schools. But many of the towns, as Roxbury and Boston, made most liberal provision for the education of the young.

A step farther was taken in 1647 when the support of free schools, for every child of suitable age, was made compulsory, and in towns containing fifty householders a teacher was to be appointed "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read." A town having a hundred householders was required to maintain a free grammar school of such a high grade that its master should be "able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university."

It may be said that these laws concerning schools did not apply to towns so sparsely settled as Lancaster, during the seventeenth century; but, in the first place, it can be truly answered, that the settlers here came from towns where schools were in operation. Their children were trained, or according to the phrase then used, "nourished," in the common and grammar schools. It is probable also that there were families enough here before the massacre, to bring the town under the law of 1647. But in the second place, the families in small towns were under the requirements of the act of 1642, imposing a penalty of twenty shillings on all heads of families who failed to teach their children letters. As a matter of fact, the great body of men in Lancaster between 1652 and 1660 had been taught at home or at school. Among the fifty-seven men who subscribed to the Covenant on pages 51 and 52, only three made their mark. There is no reason for supposing that their wives and daughters could not read and write as well as themselves. John White was a "goodman" and not of the rank of "master," like Mr. Rowlandson, Mr. Tinker and Major Willard; but his daughter Mary, the wife of the minister, was certainly a woman of some culture. She had read good books, and could express herself as a woman of thought and sensibility, in clear, terse and fitting language. What reason is there for believing that she was better educated than her

sisters, Mrs. Kerley, Mrs. Divoll and Mrs. Drew? Is there any ground for thinking that the children of goodman White were more familiar with books and the pen, than the children of Prescott, Kerley, Sawyer, Houghton, or the larger part of the other families? In those days the mothers taught their children at home, until there were families enough to make up a school, when the services of a "school dame" were secured.

The character, manners and customs of the early settlers next claim attention. The influence of the minister in those days, was so great in every regard that a correct estimate of him will help in understanding the manners and character of the people. The Rev. Joseph Rowlandson was probably born in England, in 1632. The name of his father was Joseph, and of his mother, Bridget. They came into Lancaster in 1657, perhaps because their son was here. Their son Thomas was killed in the general massacre. Joseph, the minister, received a liberal, or as then styled a "University education," and took his first degree at Harvard college in 1652, and if the date of his birth be correct, in the twenty-first year of his age. His relative scholarship cannot be known, because he was the only member of his class who graduated; but it can be said safely that he took the highest honors. That he was a man of nimble wit and ready pen, is proved by a singular occurrence. In his senior year, September, 1651, he wrote a pasquinade in prose and verse, which was called a "scandalous libel" on some person obnoxious to himself, and perhaps to others. This was posted on the door of the meeting-house in Ipswich. It seems that the object of his satire, (which may be found in the edition of Mrs. Rowlandson's Removes, of 1828,) was a man of doubtful veracity, which fact is hinted by the following curious collocation of words. "When he lived in our country, a wet eel's taylor and his word were something worth ye taking hold of." For this "scandalous libel" he was convicted by the court, and sentenced to be whipped, pay a fine

of five dollars, and the costs, amounting to thirty shillings. The sentence was not inflicted, as the young collegian made a proper apology. This affair does not seem to have hurt his reputation, as it did not reveal a bad character. Probably his "libel" would be considered in our day as a mere squib, written by a lively student. Our political papers are daily spiced with attacks far more libellous, but they pass by as idle wind. But in those days decorum was guarded by law, and the young were taught to hold their wits in subjection.

It is supposed that Mr. Rowlandson spent the next year or two in reading divinity with some respectable and learned minister, in accordance with the custom of the time. It is quite possible that he studied, under the guidance of president Dunster, after his graduation. In his day the students were required to converse in Latin, and they were in the daily habit of translating the Hebrew Bible into Greek without the use of a lexicon. President Dunster was one of the ablest and most learned men that has ever presided over old Harvard. He held the office and was the principal instructor from 1640 to 1654, two years after the time when Rowlandson took his degree. The young minister began to preach in Lancaster in 1654, and continued until a church was formed in 1660, when he was ordained. Thus we find him established in the ministry after six years of trial, a period longer than the average duration of pastorates in many of the neighboring churches, in recent times. Here he lived and labored about sixteen years longer, enjoying the confidence and respect of his people, who constituted the whole community. That he was respected away from home seems to be indicated by the fact that in 1672, when the Old South church of Boston was in need of a council to settle matters of considerable consequence, which had arisen between it and other churches in the vicinity, the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson was present as a clerical member. A sermon preached by him in 1678, near the close of his life, was published in 1682. This was one of the "lesser composures" which Cotton Mather mentions as

indicative of his authorship. His library was very respectable in the number of its volumes, and doubtless also in the value of their contents. It would be interesting to find a catalogue, and thus learn what he loved in literature, and from what sources he kept his own mind informed and invigorated for the benefit of his people. After the destruction of this town he was settled in Wethersfield in Connecticut, where he died in 1680. The church made liberal provision for his widow and children. His descendants were living there as recently as 1813.

While here he was surrounded by many relatives and friends. His father's family have been mentioned. By his marriage with Mary White, he became connected with an important family, since Capt. John White, senior, was the largest property-holder in the town, and the father of several children. Another of his daughters, Elizabeth, was the wife of Henry Kerley; and the three Kerleys, father and two sons, held more property than any other family. Two other daughters, Mrs. Drew and Mrs. Divoll, were married and settled in the town. In short, about seventeen—some say nineteen—persons, (not including old Mr. White, who died the year before,) who were related to Mrs. Rowlandson, were murdered or taken captive at the time of the massacre. The minister and his wife were blessed with a family of children, — three or four — who were exceedingly dear to them, as is abundantly evident in the thrilling narrative of her "Removes."

They were surrounded by an industrious and virtuous people. Nearly all were farmers. It appears that John Prescott, in addition to his farming, had a store which he bought of Symonds & King, the first who had a "trading-place" here. Besides, he was the first blacksmith, and he set up the first grist mill and the first saw mill in the region. People came to his mill as far as from Sudbury. Mr. Tinker was a trader in Pequid; probably he kept store in Lancaster. It is supposable that he might have bought out the much

occupied Prescott, as he lived in close neighborhood. Ralph Houghton was a surveyor, and town and proprietors' clerk. The Hon. Simon Willard, or "the Major," as he was generally styled, resided here ten or twelve years, although absent often in the civil and military business of the colony. He was a pillar in church and state. The settlers generally belonged to the great middle class which is the strength of a country. The town by degrees, had become respectable in numbers and character. They were thriving and moral. The log houses which were a necessity before the erection of the saw mill, in 1659, soon gave way to more comfortable habitations. Gardens were cultivated, and orchards were planted without delay. Persons living have seen the old apple trees which formerly marked the site of Mr. Rowlandson's house.

The inhabitants were good neighbors, living close together and rendering kindly offices in health and sickness. They trained their children well in the ancient way. They could read and they all read the Bible, which is a library in itself. They were educated by the necessities of their daily life. They were deeply interested in all the fortunes of the Bay, and of the sister colonies. The successive revolutions in England; the mighty march of events under the great Protector, and the coming in of Charles with the "regimen of harlots," as the news slowly floated across the ocean, furnished food for thought and conversation.

The town had its own life and incidents. Local gossip was rife enough for comfort or provocation. The love affairs of the young were known through all the plantation, and unhappy widowers made work for match-makers. If Henry Kerley, quarreling with an affianced maiden, tore up the post on which his publishment was posted, and tossed it into the river, that caused a general buzz; and when the quarrel was made up tongues wagged again.

A public scandal was a general grief. In those days there was much visiting between families. If they had no holidays

except Thanksgiving, yet they enjoyed more seasons of recreation than do we, their descendants. Frequent journeys were made, on horseback, to Boston and the lower towns, to visit the homes and friends of former days. Bees, raisings, huskings, trainings, hunts and fishing parties, as well as weddings and other festive occasions, often brought them together in social and cheering scenes. Funerals also, which must be more numerous where births are most frequent, since all who are born must die, while saddening to the heart, were the occasions of sympathy and served to bind the families in closer and more affectionate neighborhood.

The Sabbath, with its public and social assemblies, was a delight. Mrs. Rowlandson, referring to her feelings while in captivity, says: "Upon the Sabbath days I could look upon the scene, and think how people were going to the house of God to have their souls refreshed; and their homes, and their bodies also. I remember how, on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and refresh ourselves with the good creatures of God." What a vision of pious cheerfulness in the days of old!

Such were the people who two hundred years ago, lived in this beautiful valley, and on its sloping hill-sides. Here they tilled the soil, and reared their families. From the first they had dwelt in safety, fearing no visible enemy, except bears, wolves and wild-cats. They had been at peace with the Indians, and had found them convenient neighbors. By them their tables had been supplied with fish and wild game, and some rude articles of manufacture which the ingenuity of savages could produce. There is no proof that the settlers had encroached upon them, or interfered with their hunting, fishing or planting. It is quite possible, however, that the natives began to feel that the increasing number of whites would soon crowd them out of their wonted haunts. Nor would it be strange if at some time, a reckless fellow offended the susceptible Indians' pride, and provoked revenge. There

is however nothing of this kind on record to account for the change in the conduct of the natives towards the settlers.

The founders of Plymouth had lived in peace with the Indians during half a century. The settlers of Salem, Boston and vicinity had been on good terms with them from the beginning. Sholan, the sachem at Washacum, welcomed the English to this place, and sold them an extensive tract of territory. His deportment towards the settlers never changed, and he was held in esteem by his white neighbors. Matthew, his nephew, walked in his steps; but Shoshanin, or Sam, as he was commonly styled, the grandson of Sholan, became estranged, and was ready to listen to the machinations of king Philip, who went up and down the country, and as some writers report, as far as Canada, in the fall and winter of 1674-5.

It would be out of place to give an account of the origin and progress of what is known in history as king Philip's war. What occurred in Lancaster comes properly into the history of the town. Being on the frontier, with no settlement on the west this side of the Connecticut valley, it was much exposed to the attack of an enemy who lurked in the woods, and only emerged to strike a deadly blow, and then hide again in its secret retreats.

The war broke out in June, 1675, by an attack on Swansey, near Mount Hope, the home of Philip. Not far from this date an English spy among the Indians learned from Monaco, a one-eyed Indian, that in about twenty days the natives were "to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."

The storm of war actually burst upon this town on the twenty-second day of August, old style, 1675. On that day eight persons were killed in different parts of the town. These are their names: George Bennet, grandson of Mr. Linton,

William Flagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, Mordecai McLoud, his wife and two children. The location of some of these victims cannot be precisely determined. Mr. McLoud had a house lot not far from the house of Edward Phelps, at the east end of the North Village, and it is probable that he occupied it. There is some reason for supposing that Bennet's home was near the North Village bridge. Jacob Farrar lived on the Neck road, somewhere north of the house of S. R. Damon. Wheeler's home was probably in Bolton, and Flagg had land on George hill in the neighborhood of the house of Charles E. Blood. But these facts do not absolutely fix the spot where the strokes of death were given. This was probably a stealthy movement of the Indians, who killed as many as possible before an alarm was given, and then slunk away into the darkness of the forest or the swamp.

War being thus actually upon them, what preparations did the people make for defence? Had they any military organization? There were, according to the estimate of Willard, more than fifty families in Lancaster at the outbreak of the war. A vote of the town "at a training" has been cited on a former page. There were several garrisons or block-houses, in different neighborhoods, to which the families could resort, on occasions of alarm. But situated remote from other towns, the people were in a poor condition for defence from a wily and numerous foe. The few soldiers stationed here by the general court added but little to their strength. The event proved their weakness, for though they defended themselves with dauntless bravery, this only served to aggravate their doom, inasmuch as it excited the Indians to make fearful reprisals.

It may be a convenience to the reader to have the location of the garrisons pointed out in this connection. One was the minister's garrison, D, its site being familiar to all. Another, called Sawyer's, was just behind the house, E, of John A. Rice. It was on Thomas Sawyer's land, and the road

was west of it in those days. A third was in Clinton, and on the land of John Prescott. The fourth was on the north side of the river, near the corner by the house, F, of Dr. Thompson. At the John White place, H, on the Neck road, was a fifth. There may have been one or two others remote from the central part of the town.

When the first attack was made on Lancaster, in August, O. S., the people were obliged to depend upon their own efforts. At this time Major Willard, who had removed to his home at Nonacoicut, now Ayer Junction, was on an expedition for the defence of Brookfield and Springfield. Thus it was that the place was left defenceless just at the time when the savages fell on the inhabitants with ruthless vengeance.

In about six months, on the tenth of February, 1675-6, the second act in the tragedy opened, more awful and bloody. It was in the depth of winter, and most of the colonial troops, exhausted by the last campaign, were at home, or in winter-quarters. Major Willard was engaged in civil affairs in Boston, and broken by hard service, he did not long survive after the ruin of the town he had loved and served so long and so faithfully. Thus it happened that Lancaster was almost as defenceless as in the preceding autumn. A few houses had been garrisoned, but the people were not very vigilant, supposing that the severity of the weather would keep the Indians in quiet till the opening of spring. In this they were deceived. The natives living in various parts of the town to the number of twenty-five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty persons, were now in league with, or under the domination of Philip. By their knowledge of the approaches to the place, the enemy were able to make a plan of attack.

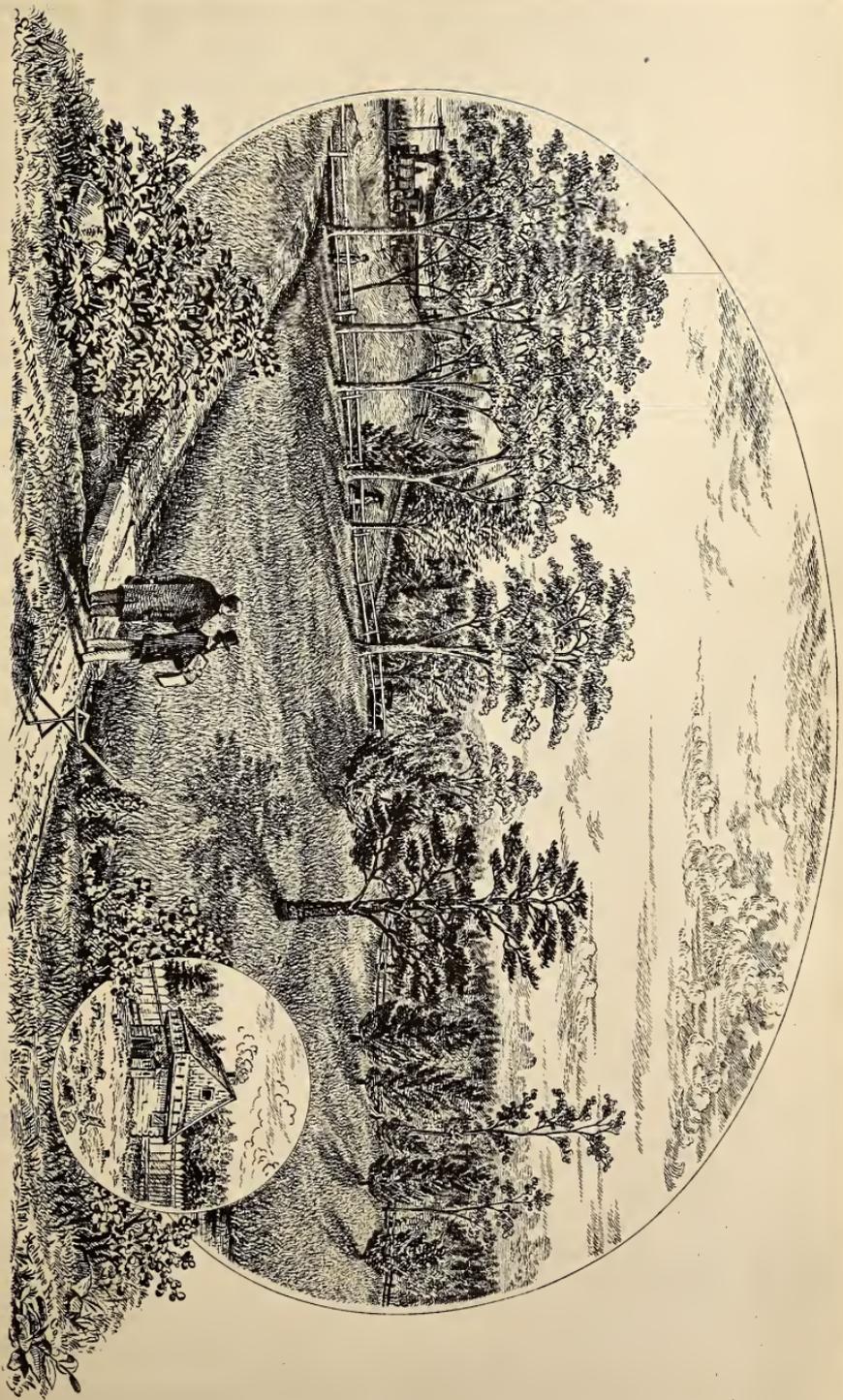
On the evening of February 9, the people retired to rest, as usual, with perhaps some eye to watchfulness. Whether they gathered into the garrison, that night, or hurried thither, at alarming signs, on the break of day, is not known. But it is certain that early in the morning of the tenth, king

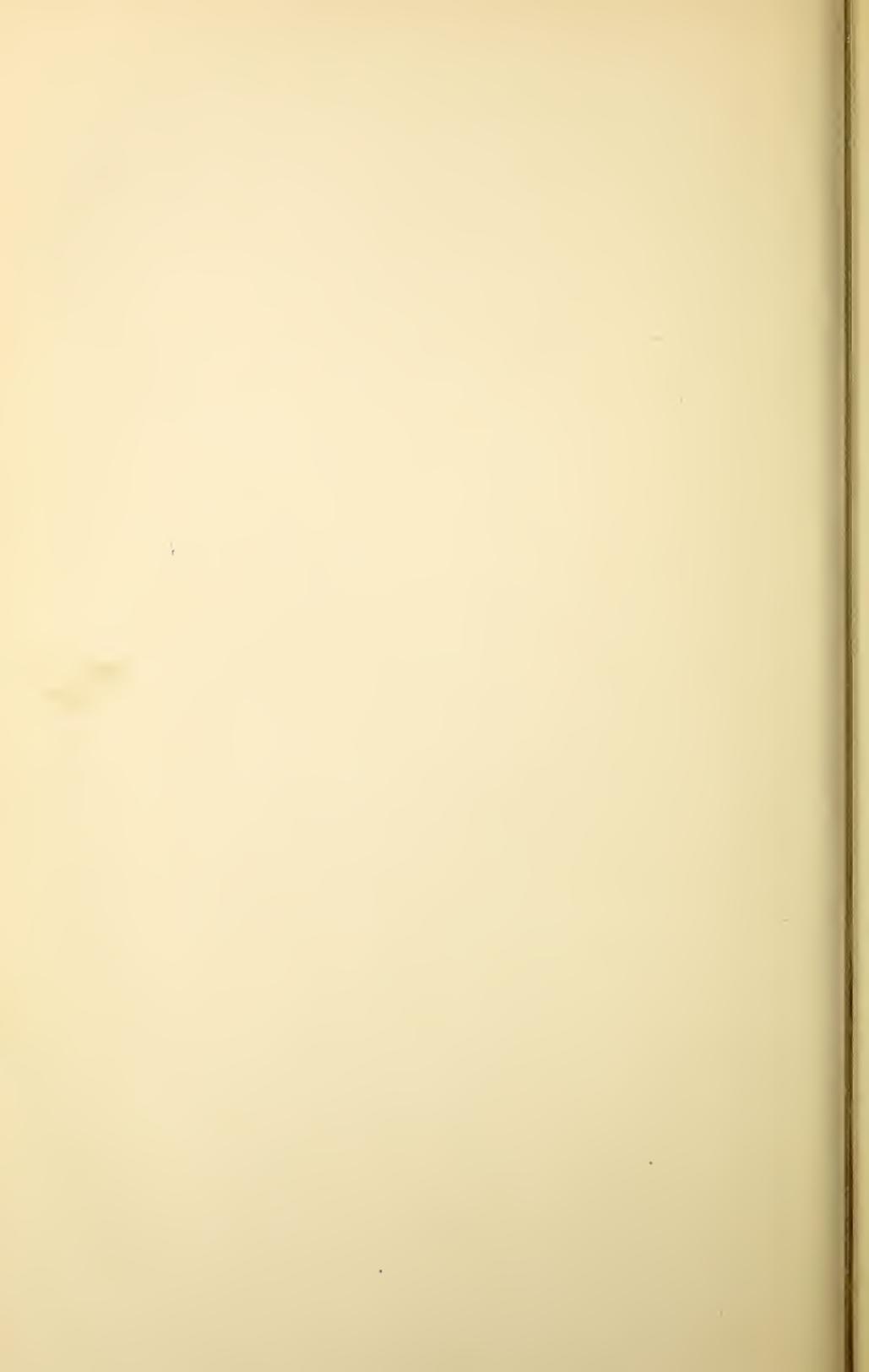
Philip, followed by fifteen hundred warriors of the Wampanoag, Narragansett and Nipmuc tribes, made a desperate assault on Lancaster. They invested the town in five different places. Three only of these can be fixed. The first was probably at Wattoquoddoc, southwest part of Bolton, where Jonas and John Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler were killed. Wheeler had a garrison house. The second known point of attack was at Prescott's garrison, now in Clinton, about twenty-five rods east of the old counterpane mill, now called the Clinton Yarn Mill, and near the house of Dea. Parkhurst, on Walnut street. Here Ephraim Sawyer was killed. Henry Farrar and a Mr. Ball and his wife, were slain in an unknown locality; but perhaps one of them fell in South Lancaster, on the east side of the main street, where was the house of one of the Farrar families.

The main attack was on the house of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson. This was the central, fortified house, and it was vulnerable on one side. The destruction of this house, and the murder or capture of its inmates and defenders, would be a mortal blow to the plantation. This house was on the land now owned by Mr. Thayer, and about half way between his house and the Sprague bridge. The meeting-house, C, was on the north brow of cemetery hill, on the east side of the road, while the garrison, D, was on the west side of the road, and nearly three-fourths of the distance between the road and the pond, and a few feet south of the spot where a single pine tree utters its lonely sighs over the scene of massacre and death. The place is marked by the letter D on the map. But in order that the spot may be identified, if the map should be lost, the following report of a survey made by Edward H. Lincoln, civil engineer, May 24, 1878, is here inserted.

"The point taken (supposed to be in the cellar of Mr. Rowlandson's house) bears S. 59° 5' W. 819.8 feet from the S. W. corner of the south abutment of the Sprague

SITE OF THE ROWLANDSON GARRISON.





bridge, and N. 84° 21' W. 662.12 feet from the S. W. corner of the Old Burying Ground.

"The S. W. corner of the Old Burying Ground bears 82° 25' E. 227.5 feet from the N. E. corner of the Middle or Central Cemetery."

Into this house the people living in the neighborhood, and perhaps some from the Neck hastily ran for protection. The enemy tore up the planks of the bridge, to prevent passing, but doubtless there were boats then as well as now on the river. It may be observed that the meeting-house stood where it was visible from every habitation on both sides of the Neck, and in South Lancaster. It is believed that some had taken refuge in other fortified houses, and others had fled to the woods and swamps, as only about one in six of the inhabitants was killed and captured. The remainder were in some way preserved from the fury of the savages.

There were at least forty-two persons, old and young, male and female, in the house of Mr. Rowlandson. This garrison was guarded only on the front, (which probably faced south,) and the two sides, with no flankers to cover the rear, and no port-holes in that direction. This is the statement of Mr. Harrington; but Hubbard, the historian, says that the "fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire-wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a leanto."

The attack was made early in the morning, and says Mrs. Rowlandson, "quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended upwards of two hours with determined bravery. The Indians, "after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible materials, and approached the defenceless rear. In this manner the house was soon enveloped in flames. According to Mrs. Rowlandson's recollection of that "amazing time," the Indians had been near the house about two hours before setting it on fire. The enemy from the barn, or behind the hills, or any shelter, watched every

opportunity to shoot the defenders, if any one were exposed at window or loophole. "The bullets seemed to fly like hail." Soon one man was wounded, and then another, and then a third. The fire from the combustibles in the cart seized on the house, when one brave man ventured out and quenched the flames. Would that his name was on record! But the fire was again lighted, and soon spread over the house. Some in the house were fighting for their lives, and some wallowing in their blood. The fire was over their heads, and the "bloody heathen ready to knock all who stirred out on the head." Now might be heard mothers and children crying out for themselves and one another, "Lord, what shall we do?" Then, says Mrs. Rowlandson, in her touching narrative: "I took my children, (and one of my sisters hers,) to go forth and leave the house; but as soon as we came to the door, and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had taken a handful of stones and thrown them, so that we were forced to give back." Their six stout dogs, at other times brave, and ready to fly at an enemy, lost all spirit, and would not stir. The fire increasing behind them, they were forced out of doors, where the Indians were eagerly watching to shoot them. Immediately Thomas Rowlandson, (brother of the minister,) who had been shot in the neck while in the house, fell down dead, whereupon the enemy shouting fell upon him, and stripped him of his clothes. A bullet went through the side of Mrs. Rowlandson, and also through the hand and bowels of her little daughter, six years old, by her side. The son of a sister, Mrs. Kerley, wife of Henry Kerley, had his leg broken, when the Indians knocked him on the head. "Thus," says her narrative, "were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed with the blood running down to our heels." She goes on in these words: "My elder sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and her eldest son telling

her that her son William was dead, and myself wounded, she said, 'Lord, let me die with them;' which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. Then the Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way and the children another, and said, 'come, go along with us.'" Of all in the house, whether thirty-seven or forty-two, only one, Ephraim Roper, escaped. Twelve were killed, some shot, some stabbed with spears, and some knocked on the head with hatchets. One was "chopped into the head with a hatchet and stripped naked, and yet was crawling up and down." All of the dead were "stripped naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, ranting, singing and insulting as if they would have torn our very hearts out."

All accounts speak of the great bravery of the defenders. One writer tells us that eight men sacrificed their lives in the effort to rescue Mrs. Rowlandson. The true statement is that ten or twelve men, with women and children, took refuge in the garrison with her family, and the men were victims, with one exception. The rest were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Mr. Harrington states that there were twelve men, and he gives the names of the eleven following, "Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, and Josiah Divoll." He adds an "&c.," which completes the twelve. William Kerley was probably the brother of Capt. Henry Kerley. The wife of Ephraim Roper was killed in attempting to escape. Mrs. Drew, sister of Mrs. Rowlandson, was taken captive; also the wife of Abraham Joslin, and other women and children to the number of about twenty.

The fight was over. How many of the savages were killed is not recorded, but it was supposed that many were slain or wounded. The remainder, who were numerous, immediately began to plunder the houses, strip the dead of their

clothing, and remove every valuable which could be taken away. They also drove off all the live stock that were at hand. Fearing the arrival of troops from Marlborough, they started before night for the summit of George hill. There the hours of darkness were spent by the Indians in savage revelry. The poor captives were kept awake, near the great boulder, by the singing and howling of the victors; and according to the intimation of one writer, by the dying groans of some of the victims. Lurid lights rose from the burning timbers of numerous houses; and the flames where the husbands, and fathers, and brothers were enduring torture, gave a tenfold horror to the darkness.

The women and children were taken into captivity with the purpose of obtaining ransom. And nearly all, after almost incredible sufferings, were restored to their friends. A son and daughter of Mrs. Rowlandson, one sixteen, and the other eleven years of age, were of this number. One woman, Mrs. Joslin, met a different fate. She had a little child about two years old, and expected soon to have another. Wearied by travel through the wilderness and over the snow, after several days of extreme suffering, she was, as we might well suppose, extremely unhappy, and often begged the Indians to return her to her friends. At length, when in or near Bayquage — now Athol, or Orange — impatient with her complainings, they built a fire, deprived her of clothing, killed her child, knocked her on the head, and cast her into the flames. The remainder were spared, though the little child of Mrs. Rowlandson, worn out by wounds, hunger and cold, died on the way. Leaving for the present, the fortunes of the captives, we return to the scene of devastation.

Different accounts vary in regard to the whole number of the slain, and the captured. There were fifty persons at least, and one writer says fifty-five. Nearly one-half of them suffered death on the spot, or in the wilderness. When Mr. Rowlandson, Capt. Kerley and Mr. Drew, all

brothers-in-law, who had been seeking aid from the general court, in Boston, returned, a scene of horror met their eyes. The anguish they felt cannot be described, yet the tradition is that the minister was sustained by a strong persuasion that his wife would be restored. But this was uncertain. One child was wounded; the whole three, with their mother, were in captivity, and many of his friends, as well as the friends of his two companions, were killed or taken. Their dwellings had been burned. The wife of one, though he knew it not, was buried in the ruins. The wives of the other two were in the power of the savages, threading their way through the trackless forest in the midst of winter, with no comforts, and no friends to cheer them, either starving with hunger, or preserving life by eating the most loathsome offal, separated from each other, and with nothing but death or hopeless captivity in prospect.

One incident seems affecting almost beyond parallel. When Henry Kerley assisted in burying the dead, there was one woman whose body was burned beyond recognition. He supposed or hoped that Mrs. Kerley was among the captives, and when, about eleven weeks after the event, Mrs. Rowlandson returned, he inquired of her in relation to her sister. He was then informed that the poor, blackened remains which he had helped to bury in the earth, were those of his own wife.

Some of the houses, but not all, were burned on the day of the massacre, as the Indians made haste to escape. The flames glared luridly all over the Neck, on the east and west roads, as far north as the settlement extended, and through South Lancaster as far as Clinton. The cause of the hurried departure of the enemy was their fear of the valiant and famous Capt. Wadsworth, who marched immediately from Marlborough, where he then was, with forty brave men, to the relief of the town. "As there was then a considerable flood," says Mr. Harrington, "and the river of consequence everywhere unpassable but at the bridge; the Indians had

taken from thence the planks to prevent the passing of horse-men, and ambushed to prevent the passing of footmen; but had left their ambushment before the arrival of Capt. Wadsworth, who therefore passed it unmolested, and entered the town undiscovered, and forced the enemy for the present to quit it. He quartered his men in various parts of the town, and tarried some days; but before his departure, lost one of his men by the Indians." This was George Harrington, who was killed or taken at Prescott's mill.

The remaining people soon came from their lurking places, and with the aid of the soldiers, buried their dead. Some of them were probably interred near the spot where they fell. Those who were killed at the minister's garrison house, may have been buried on the spot; but it is supposed that their remains are somewhere in the old burying yard east of the railroad. The survivors would naturally lay the victims with those who had previously passed away, whether moved by sentiment or convenience, as the yard was near. But no mortal knows of their sepulchre. Not a slab, or mound, or group of unlettered stones, give any indication of their resting place. We only know that they were buried, hastily, it may have been, but not without sad and solemn rites, and thus left in "God's acre" till the resurrection.

The survivors took shelter, with what they could gather, whether of goods, provisions, grain or stock, in and near two fortified houses or garrisons; one of them on the land of Lawrence Waters, not far from the house of Mr. Symmes, F, and the other at Thomas Sawyer's, not far in the rear of the house now occupied by J. A. Rice, E. In these circumstances, they sent a most moving petition to the governor and council, signed by the occupants of both garrisons. The names of those who were in the garrison on the east side of North river, were Jacob Farrar, John Houghton, sen., John Houghton, jr., John Whitcomb, Job Whitcomb, Jonathan Whitcomb, John Moore and Cyprian Stevens. The signers in Sawyer's garrison were John Prescott, sen., Thomas

Sawyer, sen., Thomas Sawyer, jr., Jonathan Prescott, Thomas Wilder, John Wilder, Nathaniel Wilder, John Rigby, John Roper, and widows Wheeler, Fairbanks and Roper. The absence of several names will be remarked, as White, James, Parker, Gates, Rugg, Kerley, Drew, Rowlandson, and others who were still alive. The probability is that many families who were "burned out of house and home," left as soon as possible for the lower towns. The petition of those who remained implored the governor and council that a "guard of men with carts might be ordered to Lancaster, to remove them to a place of safety." They go on to say: "Our state is very deplorable in our incapacity to subsist; as to remove away we cannot, the enemy has so encompassed us; otherwise for want of help and cattle, being most of them carried away by the barbarous heathen; and to stay disenabled for want of food. The town's people are generally gone, who felt the judgment but light, and had their cattle left them with their estates. But we, many of us here in this prison, have not bread to last us one month, and our other provisions spent and gone for the generality. We are sorrowful to leave this place. Our women's cries does daily increase beyond expression; which does not only fill our ears, but our hearts full of grief." The above was drawn up by those in garrison on the east side of North river. Those on the other side add touchingly, "We are in like distress, and so humbly desire your like pity and fatherly care, having widows and many fatherless children." According to Mr. Willard, "more than a hundred and seventy births are recorded" before the year 1676, and many of these were young at the time of the massacre. The parents of others had died in their beds, so that the fatherless, as well as the widows, were numerous in proportion to the whole population.

The place being considered untenable, troops were sent up with carts, who transported the people, with their remaining movable property, to the eastern towns, where they

found homes with their friends. Then the Indians, who seemed to have been lurking around, came out of their lairs, and set fire to the buildings still standing; and with the exception of the house of God and one dwelling, when they ceased to burn, there was nothing left but smoking and blackened ruins in this lovely valley. The settlers in the outskirts of the town, as well as in the center, withdrew under the protection of the soldiers. The settlement was abandoned. The town was destroyed. For a year or two it was without a white inhabitant. Thus closes the second act in this awful drama; this carnival of arson and murder. Both acts were included in the latter half of the year 1675, according to the computation then in vogue, when the year began in March. From August 22, to February 10, 1675, old style; or from September 2, 1675, to February 21, 1676, new style, the town was a scene of alarm, violence and death. And thus was brought to pass a result which may be expressed in words of ancient writ: "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down!"

Two or three matters require a brief notice before closing this chapter. The sufferings and release of Mrs. Rowlandson are known to thousands who have read her "Removes." It may be said here, that after being taken, by slow but painful marches, as far north as Fort Dummer, below Brattleboro', according to some authorities, or even to Charleston, N. H., according to others, less trustworthy, she was slowly brought back to Lancaster, where she was met by Mr. Hoar, of Concord, who took her, on horseback, to her husband and friends. She, her surviving children, and her sister, Mrs. Drew, were all ransomed.

Quite a number of aged people escaped massacre or captivity by previous decease. In this number Mr. Willard places "Joane the wife of goodman John White, and mother of Madam Rowlandson; Mary, the wife of goodman Richard Smith; Mary, the wife of goodman John Smith; Elizabeth,

the wife of goodman Edmund Parker; Ann, the wife of goodman John Moore; Martha, the wife of goodman John Rugg, surviving one of her twins but six days, and dying on the same day with the other; Ann, and after her, Bridget, the wives of goodman William Kerley, senior." Not only the matrons, but the fathers of the settlement had been thinned out by the reaper death. Richard Linton, the old man of the settlement, who had built the first house on the southeast corner of the Neck, Thomas James, John Smith, William Kerley, sen., together with Thomas Joslin, John White, sen., John Whitcomb, sen., Thomas Wilder, and Thomas Rowlandson, the father of the minister, had all passed to their long home. The old burying yard held their ashes, where not a single lettered stone marks their resting-place.

The fate of the Nashua Indians cannot be read without a feeling of sadness. For though there is no proof that the fathers of the town ever violated their agreement with the natives, or treated them unjustly, yet there is something painful in the thought that the first occupants of these plains, hills and forests were involved in a contest, by the arts of Philip, which led to their death, or dispersion. Some were killed in Philip's war; some were sold into slavery with other Indians; some were dealt with as malefactors; and the rest abandoned the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their fathers. Some joined the Nipmucks and other Indians, to the number of two hundred and fifty fighting men, besides women and children. They fled westward, were overtaken beyond Westfield, and many of them slain or captured. More than two hundred crossed the Hudson below Albany and became incorporated with a tribe of Indians in that vicinity. Another part of the tribe took their way eastward to the right bank of the Piscataqua, where they were surprised by the troops, and those who had been engaged in the war were separated from the rest, taken to Boston, and sold into perpetual slavery in the West Indies.

Shoshanin and several other leaders were executed, a fate which they preferred, doubtless, to banishment and servitude. Those Indians who escaped capture, took refuge among the Pennecooks, and nevermore returned, unless as stragglers, to revisit the scenes of childhood, and drop a tear over a mother's grave.

CHAPTER V.

REBUILDING. KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

IN a few hours the work of a generation had been burned, and many of the workers slain, while the remainder were scattered. Cultivated farms, gardens and orchards had redoubled the natural loveliness of the valley; but these were left without cultivation. The lowing of cattle, and the friendly greeting of neighbors, and the voice of song were heard no more. Besides one dwelling, the location of which is unknown, the meeting-house stood alone, on the brow of the Middle Cemetery hill, keeping watch and ward over the scene of desolation. It has come down to us that the Indians feared to set fire to "God's house." Therefore it remained, inviting the former worshipers within its plain, but hallowed walls to return.

But for years they did not come. The minister received an invitation to settle with the large and intelligent congregation in Wethersfield, Conn., and not knowing when, if ever, his people would rebuild the old wastes, he accepted the call, and in 1678 entered on his ministry there. But his time of service was brief, since his death occurred in 1680. The church provided liberally for Mrs. Rowlandson and the children. They became connected by marriage with respectable families in the place, and descendants were there in the early part of the present century.

One relic of the family of Master Rowlandson remains, and came into the possession of the town recently in so singular a manner, that it properly finds mention in this connection. Early in the year 1876, the Postmaster of Lancaster,

Mr. Humphrey Barrett, received a letter from J. W. Dunlap of South Hadley, saying that he had in his possession an article of furniture that once belonged to the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, and that he would sell it for the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, though reluctant to part with it on account of its history. The Library Committee, on learning the facts, requested one of their number, Horatio D. Humphrey, to visit the owner, see what he had to sell, and learn, if possible, its descent; or in other words, its connection with the first settled minister of the town. The quest was successful. The article, whether bureau, buffet, sideboard or locker, was of solid English oak. It was four feet and seven inches high, four feet and one inch long, and nineteen inches deep. It had drawers, and a closet or cupboard, and other capabilities of a useful piece of household furniture. There was considerable carving on the doors, and it was adorned with egg-shaped balls made of a softer wood. The ownership was traced directly back to Mr. Rowlandson. Mr. Humphrey being authorized to give one hundred dollars, made the offer which was accepted.

Happily the committee did not have to draw from the annual income of the Library. Miss Mary Whitney, in her will, had left one hundred dollars for the library, to be used according to the discretion of the committee. It had been their intention to purchase some costly, illustrated work, and inscribe her name upon it in lasting honor. It now seemed that the best use to which the money could be applied, would be to exchange it for the antique sideboard or locker. This was done. The article was covered with a coat of paint, and two of varnish. An ingenious painter removed the covering and brought out the real surface. It stands now in the cabinet, in Memorial Hall, with a suitable inscription in reference to Miss Whitney. The Chairman of the Committee, Rev. Mr. Bartol, with great felicity, selected the following motto for the plate which is fastened to the furniture. *Sic siti Lares laetantur.*

One interesting question remained to be decided, if it were admitted that Mr. Rowlandson was formerly the owner. The question was this. Was the article ever in Lancaster? It was the general opinion that the furniture was burned in the universal conflagration. Therefore the probability was that the locker, if such it may be called, was bought when Mr. Rowlandson began house-keeping in Wethersfield. But inquiry elicited the fact that it had belonged to John White, who brought it from England. He came over in the early years of the colony. The minister married Mary, the daughter of Mr. White. The latter died not long before the massacre. Hence it follows that the article was brought to Lancaster, and at the division of Mr. White's personal estate, probably fell to the Rowlandsons. The connection was complete. It is supposed that the sideboard had valuables in it, and that the Indians, after getting possession of the burning garrison, hastily carried it out, in order to save its contents from the fire, and then rifled it at their leisure. These things being so, Memorial Hall, Lancaster, is the fittest depository for it in all the earth, and truly as well as classically may it be said to rejoice in being so placed.

It is too late to learn what became of the other fugitives during the years of their absence. And a thousand thrilling incidents and anecdotes, which once were told around roaring fireplaces, till the children's hair stood on end, have passed from human remembrance. The orators of the town, at successive commemorations, from Mr. Harrington onward to more recent times, have referred to these events, as well known to their hearers, but have failed to commit them to paper. Tradition has been fading out, in each succeeding generation, till now nothing but the shadow of a shade remains of all that once was stamped deep on the memory of the sufferers and their descendants.

Nor have we any Records of the town to instruct us in regard to this portion of our history. From 1670 to 1717, a

period of forty-seven years, there is a total hiatus in the town and the Proprietors' Records. A volume of Records was "mysteriously lost," says Willard, about ninety years ago. The "Book of Lands" gives the patient searcher a few stray facts; but the main dependence of the historian, for these years, is the history of the Province, and the Records in the State House in Boston. These last are rich in facts, and well reward the explorer.

It is not possible to fix the date when the rebuilding of the town began. In the fifth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, page 270, it appears that the Middlesex county court, in October, 1679, by authority of a law then existing, appointed a committee to renew the settlement. The names of this committee were Capt. Thomas Prentice, distinguished as a cavalry officer in Philip's war, Dea. John Stone and William Bond. What service they rendered is not on record. A French traveler went through the town in 1679 and found a few families. It is certain that quite a number of the proprietors had returned, and begun to build as early as 1681, because we find in the Records at the State House, the following petition, dated February 28, 1682, which shows how many were on the ground at that time. It is headed: "Petition of the poor inhabitants of Lancaster," and goes on to show, "that whereas your poor petitioners, by the late Indian war, were much ruined, our houses and other buildings and fences burned, and most of our substance wasted, and some of our children slain and some carried into captivity by the enemy, and some never returned; and we with the rest forced to fly for our lives, and to leave our places of living to seek shelter in other towns where we could, and have gone through many straits and difficulties upon that account, so that few towns in the country have suffered the like; and now through the good hand of God about seventeen or eighteen families have again returned, with a desire to rebuild the plantation again; and through many difficulties by reason of our poverty, are about build-

ing and fencing, that so they may provide for their families, and not be troublesome and burdensome to other towns, which of necessity must have done if we had continued where we were. And this year the Hon. Treasurer sent his warrant for a countries' rate; and though it be but a little, yet to our grief we must say, we are not able to pay it. Therefore your poor petitioners humbly crave this honored court to remit this rate, and grant an exemption from countries' rate for the future for some years, — so many as this honored court may judge meet. And in so doing you will oblige your poor petitioners, as in duty we are bound for ever to pray for a blessing upon all the concerns of this honored court." This paper was drawn up and signed by Ralph Houghton, "by a general desire and vote." The rate was remitted for two years.

It is a matter of regret that the inhabitants did not sign the petition, and thus leave their names on record as the first planters of the resuscitated town.

The next definite date is June 8, 1684, when there was a move made towards building a new meeting-house. All historical accounts of the town which refer to the subject, affirm that the first meeting-house remained till the thirty-first of July, 1704, when in the words of Mr. Willard, "it was burned by the Indians." But this is a mistake. A new house was erected, probably in 1684-5, which continued till 1704. The action of the town in relation to the matter is reported in these words.

"June 11, 1684, the town being met together upon adjournment of a public meeting, the town made choice of Josiah White, and gave him order to gather in all the rates due from all that live out of town to the meeting-house and ministry in this last year's rate. This was confirmed by a vote of the town." A petition was sent to the general court, dated September 21, praying for legislative interposition. It reads: "Josiah White, in behalf of the town of Lancaster, now upon a resettlement, humbly prayeth this

honored court's order, (if it may seem good,) for the confirmation and strengthening of the order passed by the town as above written, that all those who are proprietors of lands lying within said town, although not dwelling there, may be assessed in proportion to the value of their estates as the said inhabitants are, towards the erecting of a meeting-house, maintenance of a minister, and other public charges; the rate for this year being made as above. And that you be pleased to grant the levying of the same." The petition was granted, and all "persons, their heirs, executors or administrators" concerned, were levied upon to build the house, and support public worship. The papers contain the signatures of John Houghton and Josiah White. The names of the absentees show that many had not yet returned. Some of them never took up their abode here. Here follow the names: Henry Kimball, Thomas Swift, Stephen Waters, Edmund Parker, Archelos Corser, Daniel Gains, Simon Gates, Thomas Gates, Major Willard, Mr. Robinson, William Lewis, John Lewis, Christopher Lewis, Mordecai Mukload, John Divoll, Thomas Harris, Jeremiah Rogers, Jonas Fairbank, George Adams, Ben Allen, Lawrence Waters.

This action of the town and of the general court does not prove that a meeting-house was built in 1685, or the next year; but there is other proof. At the time when the house of worship was built on the Old Common, in 1704, there was a question whether it should not be built where a meeting-house had been built "twice before."

The process of rebuilding went forward from year to year, former settlers returning, and new settlers taking up new land, or purchasing of those who had found a permanent home elsewhere. It is not probable that the population increased very fast by migration, because the state of the country was still unsettled, the town was on the frontier, and the long-lived revenge of the baffled Indians might lead them back to inflict stealthy vengeance.

In the meantime great changes were occurring in the mother country, which affected deeply the welfare of the colony. The reign of Charles II., base in its progress, had come to a welcome end. James II. had succeeded him, in 1685, and by a course of arbitrary and cruel rule, had raised regrets that Charles was dead.

While the fathers of the new town were building a house in which to worship God, after the Puritan fashion, James was madly trying to revolutionize Great Britain, and restore the supremacy of Roman Catholicism. But his attempt failed. In the autumn of 1688 the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and marched towards London. James fled the country, and in the early part of the next year, William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne of England. The news was received in Boston with unbounded delight. The king and queen were proclaimed, and the news of their accession was hailed with joy throughout the colony.

Andros and Randolph, the minions of tyranny, were defeated. They had used every art to subvert the liberties of the people, but their master was an exile, and the Rev. Increase Mather had returned from England with a new Charter. The new royal Governor, Sir William Phipps, by permission of the king, had been named by Mather. He was a native of the soil, and in perfect sympathy, politically, religiously and socially with the people. While faithful to his sovereign, his only aim seemed to be how he might best promote the well-being of the colony.

The new charter was a great event in our history. This is not the place to narrate the means by which it was secured. It is only necessary to state that the chief agent in securing it, Dr. Mather, was the first man in the colony, as regards education, ability, and address, and that, while he failed to secure all he aimed at, and all which the people wished, he did obtain an instrument which guarded all the great and primal rights and interests of the colonists. In one respect, the change was important. The king and queen were friends of

religious liberty. Mary was a protestant and a member of the church of England. William was a protestant who conformed to the national church, but at the same time, was a Calvinist with presbyterian affinities. In this state of things it was impossible to obtain a charter which would confine political ascendancy to a single sect or denomination. The basis of suffrage was extended. The head of the church of England would not authorize the colonists to exclude its members from citizenship and office. And thus, in spite of the reluctance of the ruling influence in the colony, its charter was an advance on its predecessor, and the way was opened for the enfranchisement of all the people.

But while the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, and indeed all New England, the middle and the southern colonies, had occasion to welcome the accession of William and Mary, yet this event involved them in serious calamities. William was the head, heart and soul of the league of European powers at war with France. His accession was followed with hostilities, which extended to our shores. The French power menaced our fathers on the north and west, and could infest the trackless forests with sly and ruthless enemies. The effects were soon visible.

In the summer of 1689 the inhabitants of Lancaster were alarmed. Then began a course of hostilities which continued, with intervals of peace, till 1759, when Wolfe broke the power of the French in America, on the heights of Abraham. On the fourteenth day of July, 1689, a town meeting was held, which took the following action. "Whereas we the inhabitants of Lancaster, being under some fears of being surprised by the Indians, we being by former experience sensible of their malice and cruelty, and being at present destitute of any officers in power to order the military affairs of the town, they do mutually nominate Mr. Thomas Wilder for a lieutenant, and sergeant John Moore to be ensign, and do hereby address ourselves to our

honored council for allowance and confirmation of the same. By order of the town, John Houghton, clerk." The petition was granted.

This was the sequel to more significant action taken by the town on the seventeenth of the preceding May. The reader of our revolutionary history is often impressed by the sagacity and heroism of the people living in our country-towns as evinced by their votes and resolutions in support of the provincial congress and the general congress of the United Colonies. They bade defiance to the mother country, and pledged fortune and life for the defence of their liberties. But their action had been anticipated by their great-grandfathers one hundred years before. Thus when the news came of the revolution of 1688 in England, but before the settlement of William and Mary was known, the people of Lancaster joined with Boston, and the other towns in espousing the cause represented by the prince of Orange. The following extract from the town Records found in the Archives at the State House, reveals the free revolutionary spirit of our forefathers.

"The inhabitants of Lancaster, meeting together, — May 17, — according to advice from the honorable council, given at Boston, May 13, 1689, do accordingly choose and empower Mr. Ralph Houghton to serve with the council on the town's behalf, as occasion shall require; which was confirmed by a vote of the town. 2. The town's desire and expectation is, that our honored governor and assistants that were elected by the freemen of this colony in May, 1686, or so many of them as by the said honored governor and company shall be judged meet, together with the deputies that shall be sent down from the several respective towns, shall resume and exercise the government as a general court, according to our charter, for the year ensuing, or until that orders from his highness, the Prince of Orange, appear for the settlement of our affairs; which was declared by a vote of the town, as attests John Houghton, town clerk."

This was the final farewell to the house of Stuart by the freemen of Lancaster. The town had already chosen military officers, in view of threatened hostilities, and on the twelfth of July, the general court sent up a "party of soldiers to guard Lancaster, and places adjacent, and to discover, surprise and destroy the enemy."

During these troublous times the people were not destitute of the "ministry of the word." Mr. Harrington states that "after the re-settlement, diverse gentlemen for the space of seven years supplied the pulpit." This covers the time from 1681 to 1688. The names of four ministers are given, viz., Rev. Messrs. Carter, Denison, Woodroffe and Oakes. Samuel Carter graduated at Harvard in 1660, and Edward Oakes in 1679. These men may have been temporary supplies in Lancaster. Mr. Woodroffe or Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices, under the act of conformity in 1662, when Baxter, Howe, and other great lights of the English pulpit were put under the ban. Mr. Woodrop came to New England, in the words of Cotton Mather, "after the persecution which then hurricaned such as were non-conformists." It is hard to imagine how the people in their poverty and hardships could support a minister; but in February, 1688, they had the courage to invite Mr. John Whiting to "preach on probation." He continued to preach and perform pastoral duty until November, 1690, when he was invited "to settle in the ministry." He accepted the invitation, and it is believed was ordained soon after. This is an instance of the caution of the ancient churches in settling ministers, and it goes far to account for the stability, influence, and usefulness of the clergy in those early days. It is also an illustration of that regard for a faithful ministry of the gospel which distinguished our pious ancestry. The formation of a church, and the services of a minister seemed to be the first public action of a settlement. According to Capt. Edward Johnson, in his book entitled, "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New

England," it was as "unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able minister, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire; therefore this people that went about placing down a town began the foundation-stone, with earnest seeking of the Lord's assistance, by humbling of their souls before him in daies of prayer."

The "Canada Expedition," under Gov. Phipps, fills a sad page in our early history. Many impediments concurred to make it a failure. By its casualties homes were made desolate in all the eastern colonies. One circumstance connected it with the origin of many towns forty or fifty years later. The soldiers were not fully paid, but their claims were acknowledged by the general court, when the survivors or their heirs, nearly fifty years afterwards, were made the grantees of large sections of land. In this way Ashburnham, Winchendon and many other towns were settled. The soldiers from Dorchester had a tract called, "Dorchester Canada," now Ashburnham, and the soldiers from Ipswich had a tract styled, "Ipswich Canada," now Winchendon. Lancaster had been settled long before, but her soldiers in the expedition had claims which were recognized by the general court. In 1738, a petition was sent to the general court in "behalf of those who went in the Canada Expedition of 1690, under Capt. John Withington." The names of the petitioners were as follows.

"Oliver Wilder, in right of his wife Mary, daughter of Jona. Fairbank, who went under Capt. Champney.

Thomas Wilder, in the right of John Pope, his wife's father.

Joseph Wilder, in right of his uncle, Samuel Wheeler, his mother's brother, who served under Major Wade.

Joseph Wheelock, in right of his uncle, Timothy Wheelock, who served under Capt. Anderson."

These four men, viz., Jona. Fairbank, John Pope, Samuel Wheeler, and Timothy Wheelock, were the first soldiers of Lancaster who went on long expeditions. They had many successors in after years.

Though the frontier towns had been alarmed from the opening of the war between England and France in 1689, no attack was made on the inhabitants of this town before 1692, when, on the twenty-ninth of July, the "Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslin, who was at his labor in the field, and knew nothing of it till entering the house, found his wife and three children and a woman,—the widow Whitcomb,—that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore." His wife's sister, Elizabeth How, continues Mr. Harrington, "with another of his children, were carried into captivity; but that child was murdered in the wilderness. Thus was he stript naked, and called to bitter weeping and lamentation."

There are faint traditions connected with this massacre which have some human interest even to this day. The location is commonly supposed to be where Mr. McNeil now resides; but in all probability it was on or near the site of Mr. Frederick Johnson. The former lives on the old lot of John Gates, and the latter on the lot of Nathaniel Joslin. Somewhere between the houses of Mr. McNeil and Mr. Johnson, and a little farther west of the road, was probably the scene of the bloody deed.

It has come down to us, on what authority is not given, that the Indians did not intend murder when they entered the house; but that they were provoked by the sharp tongue, and the long oven-shovel of Mrs. Joslin, and in their rage, slew her and the other victims. This is quite credible, because the Indians were accustomed to enter houses freely, and in an insolent and lordly way, demand food, drink and whatever they desired. Besides, they had no patience with scolding women or crying children. The proper resentment of a spirited woman might have been the occasion of a ruthless massacre, by men who had no self-control.

The other tradition brings out an Indian trait. With all their saturnine gravity, the natives had a turn for boisterous mirth and jollity. It is related that two of the Indians, at

this time, mounted a horse with a boy between them, — perhaps the child taken captive, — and that, as they trotted along, feeling the pressure before and behind, he struck his elbows into them with great vigor. Pleased with the pluck of the boy, they rode along shouting with laughter. And so the whole scene vanishes from our view; but fear rested on many homes, and grief in many hearts for many a year.

Three years passed, when, on a "Lord's day morning, Mr. Abraham Wheeler, going from garrison to his own house, on some occasion, was there shot by an enemy that had lain in ambush for him." Though mortally wounded, Wheeler wrested the gun from the Indian, and carried it towards the garrison till he was met by his friends. This was the only act of violence done at the time, and whether it was an outbreak of private revenge, or the single eruption of a general, but frustrated plan of attack, is not recorded. Wheeler's home is supposed to have been on the southwest slope of Watoquadoc, in Bolton.

In September, 1697, one of the greatest calamities that ever befel the town, was experienced. And the event seems doubly sad because peace had already been declared between the great belligerent parties in Europe. Before dawn, on the eleventh of September, the treaty had been signed. But in those days of slow communication, war, like a wounded serpent, though killed in the head, could continue to strike with its far-reaching extremities. The good news of peace was many weeks in coming to our shores.

On the twenty-second of September, eleven days after the signature of the treaty, and eight days after London had hailed the event with bon-fires, bell-rings and general rejoicings, the Indians entered Lancaster under five leaders, but one chief. They had been lurking in the "woods for some time, sending in scouts by night to observe the posture of the town. Having done this, they determined to begin the attack on Mr. Thomas Sawyer's garrison." This was near the barn of John A. Rice, in South Lancaster. The

firing there was to be a signal to all the other divisions "to fall on in their respective stations." When the inhabitants, on the morning of the twenty-second, "suspicious of no enemy," says Harrington, from whom we often quote, "were gone out to their labor, they came in several companies into the town, and were very near surprising said Sawyer's garrison, both the gates being left open; but that Mr. Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designing to bring his little son from said garrison, mounted his horse which came running to him in a fright, and rode full speed into the gate, but yet nothing suspicious of an enemy." The Indians, who were just ready to rush through the open gates into the garrison, supposing they were discovered, desisted from their design upon Sawyer's garrison, but in their retreat, fired upon the people working in the fields.

Detached parties seem to have made havoc in different parts of the town, to such an extent, that at no time, according to Willard, "excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost." The Rev. John Whiting was met at a distance from his garrison, B, by the enemy, who surprised and killed him. He was offered quarter, but chose rather to "fight to the last than resign himself to those whose tender mercies are cruelty." At the same time, twenty others were killed; two were wounded, but not mortally, and six were carried away as captives, of whom five returned. Here follow the names of those who were killed. Rev. Mr. Whiting, Daniel Hudson, his wife and two daughters; Ephraim Roper, wife and daughter; John Skait and wife; Joseph Rugg, his wife and three children; the widow Rugg; Jonathan Fairbank and two children. The captured were the wife of Jonathan Fairbank, widow Wheeler, Mary Glasier, and a son each of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and Joseph Rugg. The names indicate that the larger part of those killed and captured belonged to South Lancaster. At the same time two garrison houses

and two barns were burned. "On this sorrowful occasion," says Mr. Harrington, "the town set apart a day for prayer and fasting." There was mourning in many households, and sympathy in all; and doubtless as the people crowded their house of worship, on that day, and joined with some neighboring minister who stood in their beloved pastor's place, leading them in their devotions, their tears fell fast. Their only comfort was unfaltering faith in God.

The peace of Ryswick, signed in September, 1697, lasted until 1702, when war was renewed between England and France. About the same time, king William died, and was succeeded by queen Anne.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN WAR IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE. TRAGICAL DEATH
OF MR. GARDNER. THIRD MEETING-HOUSE. GARRISONS.
NEW TERRITORY.

QUEEN ANNE came to the throne of England on the eighth of March, 1702, and reigned about twelve years. Joseph Dudley was governor of the colony. The queen inherited the war which had broken out just before the death of William III. The origin of the war was such as to unite all true Englishmen in its prosecution. It was this. William, after a severe contest, had been acknowledged by the court of France, as king of Great Britain and Ireland. At the decease of James II., Louis XIV., in a moment of foolish weakness, acknowledged the pretender, in violation of his treaty. William resented the perfidious act, recalled his ambassador from France, and ordered the French minister to leave London. The nation took up the quarrel with spirit and energy, and the king was about to enter on a campaign when death cut short his career. Marlborough became the general-in-chief of Anne and her allies, and waged the war till the pride of Louis was humbled. The great battles were fought on a narrow section of Europe, extending from the North Sea to the upper Danube, but the remotest dependencies of England and France were involved. The English colonists on the Atlantic coast, and the French settlers on the St. Lawrence, with their Indian allies, were forced into deadly collision.

But the flame of war did not reach this lovely valley till the summer of 1704. In the meantime matters of interest to the

community had taken place. After the murder of Rev. Mr. Whiting, several ministers had supplied the pulpit, viz., Rev. Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman. Mr. Jones was invited to settle, but "difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented, and he removed." In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner came here to preach, and in the succeeding September was invited to settle in the ministry. He remained, but for some unrecorded reason, was not ordained before his untimely death prevented the consummation of the mutual wish of himself and his people.

In the spring of 1703, a portion of the tax-payers of the town sent the following petition to the general court, stating: "That in or about the year 1653 the inhabitants of the town did agree among themselves to pay to, and for the use of, the minister of the town, the sum of ten shillings a year, in consideration of their house lots; and if that should fall short of a maintenance, then to make up the same by an equal rates upon their goods, and other improved lands, in such way and order as the country rates was raised; which way and method was equal so long as the inhabitants of the town continued upon their home lots. But now so it is, may it please your excellency and honors, that some of the inhabitants are removed from their home-lots, (which are left destitute and unimproved, and thereby disabled to pay any rate at all,) to their second division of lots which pay no rate, and the charge of the maintenance of the minister wholly falls upon your petitioners, to their great wrong and damage; and if not timely rectified by your honors, will be of standing and intolerable inconvenience, and matter of division in the said town, for that they are not able to bear the charge thereof. And forasmuch as the said town had never any settlement made by law, but such agreement as above, which is neither binding nor equal; and whereas said town cannot agree among themselves how to raise their minister's salary; therefore your petitioners humbly pray that your, etc. will be pleased to take the premises into your serious consideration, and

settle the maintenance of the minister of the town in such methods and ways as to your honors, shall, in great wisdom, seem to be most equal, just and right, and which may be binding on them and their posterity forever." Benjamin Bel- lows, John Johnson, Joseph Glazear, Simon ———, Nathaniel Wilder, Peter Joslin, Josiah White, Samuel Bennet, William Divoll, Jonathan Whitcomb, Nathaniel Sawyer, Joseph Wheelock, John Glazear, George Glazier, Thomas Rosse, Samuel Prescott, Ephraim Wilder, Nathaniel Hudson, Samuel Carter, Daniel Rugg, Cyprian Stevens.

The petition was dated May 28, and on the second of June the deputies, or lower house resolved "that inasmuch as the inhabitants of the town of Lancaster within mentioned, were driven out by the enemy, and the place wholly deserted, their former agreement for the maintenance of the minister is now null and void, and they ought to proceed to levy their minister's rate upon their inhabitants in equal proportion, as the law directs." This was sent up for concurrence. Under the date of September 7, this entry is found. "The other side having been heard, Ordered, that the minister's salary in the town of Lancaster be levied and collected of the several inhabitants by the same rules, and in the same proportions with the province tax for the present year." This arrangement continued for several generations.

By the necessity of the times the matter of establishing garrisons had been reduced to a system. The following copy of a public document, in the possession of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Boston, was kindly furnished by Samuel A. Green, M. D., city physician of Boston. It shows how many garrisons were in Lancaster, in 1704, and how many men were assigned to each garrison. It is given here in the form in which it came, with one obvious correction.

"Pursuant to command from his excellency bearing date April 15, 1704, for the settling of garrisons in ye towne of Lancaster, and ordering men to ye same, We the subscribers do hereby direct and command you ye Inhabitants of sd

Lancaster to repaire to your severall garrisons according to appointment as follows, and attend your duties therein. Dat. 20 April, 1704.

(1.)		(5.)	
On ye east side of ye River.		Ensign Peter Josllin a garrison.	
	p'rsons	Himselfe commander.	1
John Moore and Jonathan Moore		Will'm Divoll	1
Allowed a Garrison, ye said		John Beaman, jr.	1
John Moore cominander.	2	John Johnson	1
Jonathan Moore	1	Cyprian Stevens	1
Will'm Sawyer	1	Simon Stevens	1
Joseph Sawyer	1	Sam'l Bennitt	1
Josiah Wheeler	1	Jonathan Whetcomb	1
John Hinds	2	George Hervey	1 9.
James Keyes	1 9.		
(2.)		(6.)	
Josiah Whetcomb, sen allowed a Garrison, himself commander, 2		On ye east side Nashaway River.	
Josiah Whetcomb, jr.	1	p'rsons	
David Whetcomb	1	Capt. Thomas Wilder and	
Hezekiah Whetcomb	1	John Houghton, sen. allowed a	
Jacob Houghton	1	Garrison, Capt. Wilder command 3	
Henry Houghton	1	John Houghton, sen.	2
John Wilder, jr.	1 8.	John Wilder, jr.	2
(3.)		Jonas Houghton	2
Bare Hill.		Robert Houghton	2
John Priest, sen.	2	John Rugg	1
John Priest, jr.	1	Tho. Wilder	1
John Warner	3	Beatrix Pope, widow	
Caleb Sawyer	2	John Houghton, jr.	1
James Atherton, sen.	1	Joseph Houghton	1 15.
James Atherton, jr.	1 10.	(7.)	
(4.)		Simon Willard and Benjamin	
On ye west side Penicook river called ye Neck.		Bellows allowd a Garrison,	
	p'rsons	Said Simon Willard command'r 1	
Sergt Josiah White a Garrison,		Benjamin Bellows	1
Himselfe commander	3	John Willard	1
Joseph Wheelock	1	Joshua Atherton	1
John Glazier	1	Henry Willard	1
George Glazier	1	James Houghton	3
Joseph Glazier	1 7.	Joseph Hutchins	1
		Joseph Waters	1
		Hezekiah Willard	1
		James Smith	1 12.

(8.)		(10)	
		On ye west side Nashaway River.	
Lieut Nath'l Wilder a Garrison.		Mr. Andrew Gardner	
himselſe commander.	3	Thomas Sawyer, jr. a Garrison.	
Samuel Carter	1	Thomas Sawyer Commander	3
Ephraim Wilder	1	Mr. Gardner	1
Thomas Ross	1	Jabez Fairbank	1
John Carter	1	7. Nath'l Sawyer	1
		John Harriss	1
		Daniel Rugg	1
		Sam'l Prescott	1 9.
		(11.)	
		At ye Corne Mill.	
Gamaliell Beaman	2	John Prescott, sen.	1
John Beaman, jr.	1	John Prescott, jr.	1
James Snow, sen.	2	John Keyes	1
James Snow, jr.	1	8. Ebenezer Prescott	1 4.
Jeremiah Willson	1		
James Buttler	1		

JONATHAN TYNG,
 THO. BROWNE,
 JOHN LANE,
 JERAHMEI BOWERS.

A few words of explanation are needed. Here are eleven garrisons, and ninety-five men. Where figures 2 or 3 are in line with a name, probably we are to understand that a family supplied more than one soldier.

I have taken the liberty to number the garrisons. No. 1 was on or southeast of the Old Common. No. 2 was probably on the southwest of Wattoquadoc hill, one seat of the Whitcombs. No. 3 was on Bare hill in Harvard. No. 4 was on the east Neck road, near the house of Edward Houghton. No. 5 was on the west Neck road, near the house of William H. McNeil. No. 6 was on the north side of the Old Common, near the center of the Industrial School buildings. The Wilders and Houghtons had settled there before this date. No. 7 must have been at Still River in Harvard. No. 8 was on George hill, not far from Frank Taylor's place. No. 9 was probably near the house of Charles Safford, for a long time the home of the Beaman family. Some of them moved to Sterling, but it is doubtful if they had moved at this early

day. No. 10 is headed in the document "on ye east side Nashaway River." But this is an obvious mistake, as Mr. or Rev. Andrew Gardner, the Sawyers, Fairbank, Rugg, etc., all lived near each other in South Lancaster. No. 11, "at ye Corne Mill," was in Clinton, the headquarters of the Prescott family, though Samuel Prescott still lived in South Lancaster.

Though the people lived in constant apprehension of danger, yet the enemy made no attack on the town before the summer of 1704. Mr. Harrington states that an army of seven hundred French and Indians came from Canada, under the command of Monsieur Boocore, — spelling the name by the sound, — with the design of assailing Northampton. By information received from a deserter, the people were put on their guard, and the "western frontiers were seasonably strengthened." The allied French and Indians were weakened by a mutiny which arose respecting the division of plunder. So violent was the contention that over two hundred returned home. The remainder, on their approach to Northampton, learned from their scouts, that the English were ready in great numbers, to give them a warm reception. Therefore in a council of war, they abandoned the original plan of the campaign, and raised a large volunteer force to attack Lancaster.

On the thirtieth of July, old style, or the tenth of August, new style, they came within two miles of the town, (probably from the west,) and encamped for the night. While the people were sleeping, Indian spies were abroad like night-birds, searching for the exposed places where assault would be most promising of success. Early in the morning they fell with savage fury on that part of the town which extends from the Middle Cemetery westward up the side of George hill. In their first onset they killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, youngest son of the first Thomas Wilder, near the gate of his garrison, which stood north by west of the house now owned by E. Warren Smith. During the day, three others, — Abraham

How, Benjamin Hutchins and John Spaulding,— were killed. The two former belonged to Marlborough. Perhaps they were here on garrison duty.

The people of Lancaster defended themselves with spirit. They were assisted by Capt. Tyng of Dunstable, who had command of the garrison. Moreover, Capt. How of Marlborough, on the alarm being given, marched with "what men he could suddenly raise" to their relief. But the enemy greatly outnumbered the English, and obliged them to retreat into the garrison. The besiegers then sent out parties who burned the meeting-house, several dwellings and barns, and destroyed much live stock, hay and grain. The alarm soon spread into neighboring towns, and before night such numbers poured in that the enemy were alarmed, and hastily retreated. It was thought, at the time, that if they had waited, like those in 1697, till the inhabitants had gone into the fields, they "might in all human probability, have done much greater mischief, if they had not entirely destroyed the town. But God had mercy on his people."

The following contemporary account of the attack, taken from the *Boston News Letter* of October 30, 1704, old style, gives additional facts. "On Monday morning past, the enemy, French and Indians, fell upon Lancaster, about four hundred of them, assaulted six garrisons at once, where the people defended themselves very well, until assistance came in from all parts, by the governor's order, so that in the evening there were three hundred men in the town. And the enemy was beaten off with loss, but are yet hovering on the head of those towns, to make some further impression, if not prevented."

Nothing but a detailed statement can give us an idea of the losses caused by such a raid upon a peaceful settlement. The easterly slope of George hill for more than a mile north and south, was all ablaze that day, besides the burning meeting-house. The blow was a severe one to Lancaster, and was deeply felt. A petition was sent to the general court, in behalf of the inhabitants, representing the destitute condition

of the town, in general terms, and praying for a remission of the tax of eighty-six pounds. Being informed that a more particular account was desired, the following was sent by John Houghton, dated October 25.

“ July 31, 1704. The Indians beset the town in several places, and particularly Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder’s garrison, where early in the morning one of the said Indians shot him in the thigh, of which wound he died the same day; and the said Indians killed of his cattle, six oxen, five cows, three calves, sixteen sheep, twelve swine, and burnt his barn, and about twelve loads of good English hay.

“ Of Ephraim Wilder, one ox, two calves, three cows, one horse, fifteen sheep, two swine, and a good dwelling house with two fires.

“ Of Jonathan Wilcox, two oxen, one horse.

“ John Carter, three oxen, one cow, one horse, three swine.

“ Samuel Carter, three oxen, one cow, one horse, two calves, two swine, and one good dwelling house with two fires.

“ Thomas Ross, one cow, two calves, one swine, one dwelling house with one fire.

“ John Houghton, jr., three swine, one large dwelling house with three fires, belonging to him and Philip Goss; and about sixteen pounds of personal estate, belonging to said Houghton, but in the house.

“ George Stevens, two oxen, two cows.

“ Samuel Bennet, three oxen, two cows.

“ Jonathan Whitcomb, two sheep.

“ Simon Stevens, one horse.

“ Jonas Houghton, one ox.

“ Jabez Fairbank, one new barn, with about eight loads of good English hay.

“ Thomas Sawyer, jr., one heifer.

“ John Priest, jr., one heifer.

“ Other cattle wounded, and horses injured, or stolen, and killed.”

The petition states that there were “ frequent alarms ” on the “ west side ; ” and that the men were on “ watch and ward ” near a third of their time, besides “ ranging the woods when rumors called them out. ” They were hindered in their work “ by peril of their lives, ” having “ little peace day or night. ” Many were “ greatly impoverished, ” and now the town must build a meeting-house to replace that burned by the Indians. Moreover, the people feared the return of the enemy. In

their privations they felt like "new beginners," with "spirits ready to sink," and almost despaired of subsisting another year. But under God, they relied on the favorable protection of the government. The tax was remitted, but did not make up a sixth part of the loss.

The historians of Lancaster state that it was never known what numbers of the enemy were killed, either in the field, or at the other garrisons, as the Indians were always careful to remove their slain, and conceal their loss. It was believed, however, that their loss was considerable. Among the rest a "French officer of some distinction was mortally wounded, which greatly exasperated their spirits." A ray of light is thrown on this matter of the losses of the French and Indians, by a petition of the Capt. Thomas How, above mentioned, who came with his company to the rescue of Lancaster. He states that he "defended the town from the insults of so cruel an enemy and lost two men." He took no scalps, but several barns were burnt, and on the spot were found the "bones of several of the enemy that were slain by the petitioners." Besides, "many Indians were wounded."

Scarcely had the petition presented by John Houghton, been heard by the general court, before the fears of the petitioners were again excited by the approach of the enemy. On the sixth of November a party of them was discovered at Still River, and the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to Rev. Mr. Gardner's garrison, with others, went in pursuit. They found no enemy, and returned at night much fatigued by the wearisome march. Then occurred, all things considered, the saddest death in the history of the town. The relation of Mr. Harrington is in these words. "Mr. Gardner, in compassion, took the watch that night upon himself; and coming out of the box late at night, on some occasion, was heard by one — Samuel Prescott — between sleeping and waking in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body, in the parade. But the fatal mistake immediately appeared, and he,

being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him, and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."

The reader will gladly take this additional report of the distressing event, from the *Boston News Letter*, of November 20, O. S. A previous number of the paper had stated the accident which caused Mr. Gardner's death. The publisher then took pains to get a "perfect and exact account from eye and ear witnesses." Here it is. Hearing "that a man being killed the day before between Groton and Lancaster, and the Indians having been seen in the night before nigh the town, Mr. Gardner, (three of the men belonging to his garrison being gone out of town, and two of the remaining three being tired with watching and traveling in the woods after the Indians that day,) being a very careful as well as courageous man, concluded to watch that night himself, and accordingly went out into the little watch-house that was over one of the flankers, and there stayed till late in the night; when and whence he was coming down, (as it was thought,) to warm him, the man that shot him, who was not long before sleeping by the fire, came out, and whether between sleeping and waking, or surprised with an excess of fear, fired upon him as he was coming down out of the watch-house, through a little trap-door into the flanker, where no man having the exercise of his reason could suspect the coming of an enemy, or expect him to be so, when in a clear moonlight night he was so nigh to him. Mr. Gardner, (though his wound was in the breast, being shot through the vitals,) came to the door; bid them open it for he was wounded. After he came in, he fainted away; but coming to himself again, asked who it was that shot him; and when they told him, he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him himself, for he believed he did not do it on purpose; and with a composed Christian frame of spirit, desired them that were bitterly lamenting over him, not to weep, but to pray for him; and comforted his sorrowful wife,

telling her he was going to glory, advising her to follow him ; and in about an hour died, leaving his friends to lament the loss of so worthy and desirable a person."

Hostilities in the vicinity ceased for nearly a year, but the memory of sufferings endured lasted a lifetime. In their distress the people again appealed to the general court. Between the years 1697 and 1705 the town had no delegate in the house of deputies ; but on this occasion they sent a petition signed by John and Jonas Houghton, bearing date November 13, 1704, which "sheweth that the distressed inhabitants of Lancaster, being under the awful rebukes of God's hand in the manifest tokens of his displeasure towards us, in permitting those barbarous heathen to be such a scourge to us," etc. stating in particular that many had sustained losses, and some were "almost ruined as to their estate," and that their meeting-house was destroyed by fire. They continue in these words : "The late awful stroke of God's hand, the last week, in the loss of our revered minister, who was very worthy and desirable ; whose loss is ready to sink our spirits, — and having formerly one minister slain by the Indians, and now another taken away by a more awful stroke ;" the poor people felt the need of help. The petition closed with the prayer that the tax of eighty-six pounds might be remitted.

The government of the colony, with a mixture of caution and public spirit "granted that the sum of forty pounds be allowed, and paid out of the treasury, to the town of Lancaster, towards building a meeting-house, as soon as they shall have erected a frame for the same, and paid the taxes already levied upon them."

Col. William Tyng reported to the same general court, in November, that when he was on the expedition to Lancaster, John Spalding, a youthful soldier, was killed. He was a good soldier, though a youth. He was poor, and his gun was taken by the Indians. At the same time, the horse of the colonel was killed by the Indians. For this loss he asked pay, and the court granted him four pounds and twenty shillings.

The following bill of funeral charges in the case of John Carter, of Lancaster, dated March, 1704-5, shows how a soldier was cared for by the public, and also what was supposed to be necessary in case of sickness in ancient times. The "rum," "syder" and "spice" were probably as much valued by the nurses as by the patient. But the bill needs no comment.

"To two journeys to Concord for ye Doctor,	0l. 7s. 0d.
" one " " Boston for things for said Carter in his sickness,	0-11-0
" Nursing one week,	0-10-0
" 4 Gallons rum,	0-15-7
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a barrel Syder,	0-4-0
" Sugar, fruit and spice,	0-5-6
" 6 pair of Gloves,	0-9-0
" ye Coffin and Grave,	0-8-0

NATHANIEL SAWYER, EPHRAIM WILDER."

The gloves were a present to the bearers according to the custom of the time. It did not beggar a poor family to have a funeral in those days.

The people, since August, 1704, had been without a sanctuary. Doubtless they had meetings on the Sabbath, but neither history or tradition informs us how they were accommodated. We can imagine them in the pleasant season of the year, meeting on the lawn near the minister's garrison, and under the young elms, which tradition reports, were set out not far from the time when Mr. Whiting's house was built. It is probable that in the winter, the meetings were held in Mr. Gardner's garrison-house, or in the commodious houses of other inhabitants living in South Lancaster, or on the Neck.

But though there was a felt need for a new house of worship, there was delay in meeting the want, growing out of a difference in regard to the location. Two houses had already been built on the brow of the hill just southwest of the first burying yard. Some wanted the new house where, in their

language, it had been "built twice before." Others wanted it on the east side of the river. Especially, there was a strong party in favor of the Old Common. Some doubtless would have preferred a location on the Neck. All on the east side of the river, (including the Neck,) the Old Common, Harvard and Bolton, combined, and outvoted those living on the west side of the river, including South Lancaster, George Hill, and the southern parts of the town. The majority fixed the site on the northwestern point of the Old Common, as near to the meeting of the rivers as possible before descending into the low land of the intervale. This was just opposite the cemetery on the Old Common.

But the people of the west side struggled resolutely against the transfer, and in a petition to the general court, gave strong reasons to justify their course. In the following words dated December, 1705, they represented "that your petitioners dwell on the west side of the river, fronting towards the enemy, and have suffered very much, and are diminished in their number, several heads of families having been cut off within these few years, and when the enemy were there about seventeen or eighteen months ago, they burnt down the meeting-house which always stood on the west side of the river. Now so it is, may it please the governor and general assembly, that those of the inhabitants who dwell on this [that is, the east] side of the river, (several of whom are removed, for fear of the enemy, down to the bounds of Marlborough,) use all their endeavor to have the meeting-house built on this side; whereas the meeting-house ground, and the ministerial land and meadow are both on the other [west] side; and moreover, should the meeting-house be built on this [east] side, the enemy might come, when the inhabitants are at meeting, and destroy the whole western part, and seize the bridge so that nobody should be able to resist them, or deliver their friends. But the meeting-house being built on the exposed side, (as it used to be,) the inhabitants on that side are a guard to the others on this side, as well as to themselves."

In addition to these reasons, (which the petitioners humbly hope would have their due consideration,) they stated also that those living on the east side, having "never had a man killed in the service" had grown so numerous that they outvoted those on the west side, and "carried it against them at their town meetings." They therefore prayed the general court to "make a final ending of the controversy, and the rebuilding of the meeting-house in its usual place." The signatures are copied below because they inform us in regard to the families living on the west side. They prove also that members of the White, Whitcomb and Joslin families had settled on the west of the river. A similar paper signed by the residents on the east side, would enable us to make out the census of the town in 1705. Samuel Bennett, John Johnson, Benjamin Bellows, Simon Stevens, Joseph Glazier, Bezaleel Saywear, Jonathan Whitcomb, Ephraim Wilder, Philip Goss, John Prescott, sen., Jonathan Wilder, Cyprian Stevens, Thomas Röss, John Prescott, jr., Peter Joslin, John Keyes, John Beman, jr., Nathaniel Sawyer, John Harris, William Divoll, Josiah White, jr., George Hues [Hughs].

A committee was appointed by the government to examine and report. One of them, Mr. Tyng, reported in favor of the petitioners; but the other two reported in the negative. A new petition was sent down, at the May session of the court, when it was voted to hear both sides before the whole court, on the seventh of June, 1706. The result in the upper house is given in these lines. "June 12. Upon full hearing of both parties of the town of Lancaster, by their committees, Resolved, that the meeting-house be erected and set up at or near the place where the old meeting-house stood, and has been twice before built." This was sent to the deputies for concurrence. The town had a representative this year, as in the year preceding, in the person of John Houghton. The house voted that the meeting-house should be placed on the east side, where two-thirds of the inhabitants lived, and also laid the charge of building on the rates. The council non-concurred in this action.

Another petition, signed in behalf of the town, by Thomas Wilder, John Houghton, John Wilder, Joseph Wheelock and Josiah Whitcomb, signified to the general court, same session, that the large majority would be pleased to see the house on the east side; that more than twenty families on the east side had to go farther to meeting than any on the west side; and that none on the west side had to go more than two miles. The subject was again referred to a committee, the majority of whom, James Minott and Thomas Brown, reported in favor of the east side. The court sent up word stopping all proceedings.

Another petition went to the court, by the hand of John Houghton, at its fall session, praying that the court would remove restrictions, and let the town proceed to build on the east side. This prayer was granted by the house on the first of November, and concurred in, next day, by the council. The house was accordingly built on the west end of the Old Common, south side of the road, where it stood and was occupied as a place of worship until 1743. Thomas and John Wilder, whose names are on one of the petitions above recited, were sons of the first Thomas Wilder, who came hither in 1659, and died in 1667. As the father settled on the west side, it would seem that these sons had moved over to the east side of the river; probably to the Old Common, where a branch of the Wilder family long had a home. John Houghton, second of that name, now lived on the south side of the Old Common, and gave the land on which the meeting-house was placed.

While the sections of the town were engaged in fixing the location of their meeting-house and center, the Indians were on the watch for prey. On the twenty-sixth of October, 1708, Mr. Thomas Sawyer, his son, Elias Sawyer, and John Biglow or Bigelow, were captured and taken to Canada. The facts in regard to their condition in that province, are derived from Whitney's History of Worcester County. It appears that Sawyer was a very brave man, as well as a good mechanic.

The name of Sawyer has been associated with "mills" in every generation. When the party reached Montreal, Sawyer offered to put up a mill on the river Chambly on condition that the French governor would obtain a release of all the captives. There was no difficulty in effecting the ransom of Bigelow and young Sawyer; but the Indians were determined that Thomas Sawyer should be put to death by lingering torture. Management was called in to secure his release. A friar appeared suddenly, doubtless by arrangement with the governor, stating that he held the key of purgatory in his hand, and that if they did not release the prisoner without delay, he would unlock the gate and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears being aroused, they unloosed Sawyer, who was already tied to the stake, and yielded him to the governor. He finished the mill, which was the first one built in Canada, before the year was out, and was sent home, in company with Bigelow. Elias Sawyer was detained awhile to teach the Canadians the art of "sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents." A grandson of Elias Sawyer, named Jotham, according to Willard, was alive in 1826, aged eighty-six, and "recalled riding horseback behind his mother to church to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 28, 1753." What a mass of local history and tradition he might have left to us!

Nearly two years passed when the Indians made their presence felt by the killing of Jonathan White, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1707.

In the month of August Joseph Wilder petitioned the general court for pay for "snow shoes" which he had provided for the use of Col. Tyng. The colonel had used them, in shoeing his soldiers, but had not paid Wilder. The use of snow shoes was a necessity in winter campaigns against the Indians. The court, in November, allowed four pounds and fifteen shillings.

The next act of violence was on the thirtieth of August, when Jonathan Wilder was killed. The circumstances, as

given by Harrington, were as follows. Wilder had lately moved to Marlborough. He was son to the Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704. On the twenty-ninth of August, twenty-four stout Indians, who according to their own account, says Harrington, "had all been captains, came to Marlborough, and captivated Mr. Jonathan Wilder." The next day they were pursued by about thirty of Marlborough and Lancaster men, who overtook them in the northwestern part of Sterling, at a place since known by the name of the "Indian fight." The van of the pursuers came upon the enemy before they had the least suspicion that they were tracked. They were unprepared for fighting, as their packs were all slung, and the day being misty, their cases were on their guns. They might easily have been destroyed, and the captive rescued, if the pursuers had rushed upon them in a body, when first surprised. They had determined, it seems, "to resign themselves to the mercy" of the English. But observing that only "ten of the thirty came down upon them, they took courage, unslung their packs, and fought like men, having first dispatched their captive." It is somewhere stated that the head of young Wilder was pressed against a rock, and the sutures of his skull were separated by some instrument of iron. Nine of the Indians were killed, and all their packs were taken. The rest escaped. Two of the attacking party, — Ephraim Wilder, brother of the slain captive, and Samuel Stevens — were wounded, and two, viz., John Farrar of Marlborough and a Mr. Singletary, were killed. The remissness of the twenty men who failed to assist the ten heroes of the fight appears to have made a deep impression. Mr. Harrington, after closing the account, returns to this fact, and says: "it ought to be observed again, that but ten of our men were in the action." The scene of the combat is between two and three miles northwest of the center of Sterling. Ephraim Wilder, though he survived, and had a numerous posterity, including the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, must have been severely hurt. A petition was before the general court, in June,

1708, from Samuel Bridgman, for expenses incurred in the nursing of Wilder, "wounded in the thigh in August last, and sick ten weeks."

The following petition exhibits most strikingly a phase of life in Lancaster in the early part of the eighteenth century. The people were in continual anxiety; they were often out scouting, or serving in garrisons, or engaged in combats; they "subsisted" the soldiers quartered upon them; and then were kept out of their pay. All this was in addition to daily toil. Life was indeed a burden; yet we have no doubt that their lot had many compensations, and that there was true happiness in their households. A life of struggle with difficulties, inspired by faith in God, enriches and strengthens the character. Here follows the petition.

"We inhabitants on the west part of the town of Lancaster, being the extreme front, and having subsisted Capt. William Tyng's men, are kept out of our money to our very great damage. Some of us being poor, and under engagements which cannot be answered for want hereof, which exposes to the penalty of the law, we have none to address ourselves but to your honors, and the fathers of our Israel." Jabez Fairbanks, Joseph Hutchins, John Glazear, John Prescott, Cyprian Stevens, Simon Stevens, Josiah White, Nathaniel Sawyer.

In this connection comes in another petition, probably relating to the same business. It was before the court in November, 1709, asking for pay "for billeting the men of Col. William Tyng" in the years 1707-8. The whole claim was more than twenty-eight pounds. The court resolved that Col. Tyng should not be paid until these petitioners had satisfaction. They obtained their money, and receipted to Tyng before the end of the month.

The last act of Indian violence in Lancaster occurred on the sixteenth of August, 1710, and the scene of it was on the eastern side of George hill. Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder had four sons. Jonathan was killed, as related above; and Ephraim

was severely wounded. The attack was now made upon the other two, Nathaniel and Oliver. They were at work in the field, with an Indian servant, when a party of the enemy, taking advantage of the bushes, came very near and fired upon them. They escaped to the garrison, but the servant was killed. Thus the last act of Indian warfare against this town, resulted in the killing of an Indian. But though the ravages of savage war never invaded the borders of the town again, yet the property and the sons of Lancaster were not exempt from demands, and the people were not entirely free from anxiety till the battle of Quebec gave supremacy to the English in North America.

One enterprise in this war engaged the interest of all New England. This was the expedition to Port Royal, the spacious port of Cape Breton, in 1710, when Massachusetts sent fourteen transports with troops and supplies, and the other colonies in proportion. The place was captured on the twenty-second of October. How many men went from Lancaster is unknown; but that one of her sons was there is evident from the settlement of the estate of Ralph Houghton. The first Ralph Houghton had a son James. This James had a son Ralph and another son, named James. This last James was, in the year 1711, administrator on the estate of his brother Ralph, grandson of the first Ralph. The appraisers were Peter Joslin, Josiah White, jr., and John Houghton, jr. In the Inventory is this item. "Wages due to said Ralph Houghton, at the time of his decease, for his services in the late expedition to Port Royal, £5. 14. 11." Such bits of private history show how the families of Lancaster were involved in all the hardships of the colony.

Peace was concluded between England and France in 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht. In the meantime, our people were on guard against surprises. Garrisoning the town seems to have been perfected by placing a garrison in a group of families. The garrisons now numbered twenty-seven. The following table found in the Archives of the state shows the

number of souls, of men, of families, of garrisons, and of soldiers to guard them in the year 1711.

	Families.	Men inhab- itants.	Soldiers.	Souls.
Hezekiah Willard,	3	4	1	8
Wm. Houghton,	4	5	1	25
Capt. Wilder,	7	11	1	47
Mr. Houghton,	2	4	1	13
Mr. White,	6	8	2	38
Lt. Joslin,	3	3	2	18
Mr. Bowers,	3	3	1	9
Mr. Bennet,	3	7	3	34
Mr. Stevens,	4	4	2	19
Mr. Prentice,	2	2	3	9
Ensign Wilder,	4	4	2	18
Mr. Sawyer,	3	7	1	23
Mr. Prescott,	3	4	2	15
Mr. Beaman,	3	4	0	14
Mr. Snow,	3	4	0	15
Henry Houghton,	3	2	0	15
Mr. Priest,	6	7	0	25
Caleb Sawyer,	2	3	1	11
William Sawyer,	3	3	0	12
Mr. Whitcomb,	4	4	0	17
Mr. More,	1	1	0	8
John More,	2	2	0	7
Mr. Houghton,	1	1	1	3
Mr. Wilson,	1	3	0	11
John Whitcomb,	2	2	0	7
Mr. Wheeler,	3	4	0	17
Mr. Fairbank,	2	5	0	25
27	83	111	24	458

The reader must locate the garrisons as best he can. The absence of Christian names makes it difficult in some cases.

A very large addition was confirmed to the town, on the west, in the year 1713. The purchase, as already stated, was made of George Tahanto, an Indian chief. The general court gave confirmation to the grant in 1713. The delay has been ascribed to the "distraction of the times," growing out of the Indian wars.

A copy of the Indian Bond is here inserted as it will always have a historical value. "Know all men by these

presents, that I, George Tahanto, Indian Sagamore, for and in consideration of what money, namely, twelve pounds, was formerly paid to Sholan, my uncle, sometime sagamore of Nashuah, for the purchase of said township, and also forty-six shillings formerly paid by *Insigne* John Moore and John Houghton of said Nashua to James Wiser, *alias* Quenepennett, now deceased, but especially for and in consideration of eighteen pound paid part, and the rest secured to be paid, by John Houghton and Nathaniel Wilder, their heirs, executors and assigns forever, a certain tract of land on the west side of the westward line of Nashua township, adjoining to said line, and butts southerly for the most part on Nashuah river, bearing westerly towards Wachusett Hills, and runs northerly as far as Nashuah township, and which lands and meadows, be it more or less, to be to the said *Insigne* John Moore, John Houghton, and Nathaniel Wilder, their heirs and assigns, to have and to hold forever. And I, the said George Tahanto, do hereby promise and engage to procure an order from the honored General Court, for their allowance and confirmation of the sale of said land as aforesaid, and also that I will show and mark out the bounds of said land in convenient time, not exceeding four months, and also to make such deeds and conveyances, as may be necessary for the confirmation of the premises, and that also I, the said George Tahanto, do by these presents, fully notify and confirm, all and every, the said township of Nashua, *alias* Lancaster, to the inhabitants and proprietors thereof according as it was formerly granted to them or their ancestors by my uncle Sholan, and laid out to them by Ensign Thomas Noyes, and confirmed by the Hon. General Court. For the performance of all the above-said, I, the said George Tahanto, have set my hand and seal, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the 13th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, William the Third, over England, &c. King. Anno Domini, 1701."

This document was properly signed and sealed. The grant was confirmed by the general court, at the May session, 1713,

in these words: "Read and ordered that the tract of land above described, be added and confirmed to the township of Lancaster, as a part of the township, not prejudicing any former grants."

This act of the general court made the new grant a part of the township of Lancaster, but by a vote of the town, February 5, 1711, it was provided "that all such as were inhabitants, might join in the purchase of the Indian Land, and all such as would do it, should signify the same by signing a contract which contained the following stipulation. "We, the subscribers, do hereby bind ourselves and our heirs to pay each one his equal share of the purchase of said lands and all charges that have or shall be expended about the same, and to run equal hazard of obtaining said land, provided, that if said land be obtained, we shall each one have an equal share."

By this it appears that neither the town as a corporation, nor the body of proprietors, nor the inhabitants of the town simply as inhabitants, were the owners of the "new grant;" but those inhabitants of Lancaster who joined in the purchase became the owners in equal shares.

The grant of Tahanto included the home or capital of Sholan, the sachem, who invited the whites to the valley of the Nashua. The original grant did not cover or include that place. The western boundary of Lancaster, old township, was east of Sholan's headquarters. His capital was between East and West Washacum lakes, on a gentle elevation, overlooking both those beautiful sheets of water. The stream which takes the water from East to West Washacum, runs a few rods north of the mound or rise of land. The brook is bordered by swampy land. The home of the chief was bounded and guarded on three sides, and was a fine strategic point, which could be easily defended. There is a ditch on the south side of the little hill, but that is probably the work of the white man.

As the new grant included both ponds, the Indian capital came under the jurisdiction of the town, but this did not

interfere with the right of the natives to plant, hunt or fish, which was their original and sole condition, in dealing with the first settlers.

The site of the home or fort of the Indian chief, and the iron mine north of the pond are well worth visiting by the curious.

“There glided the corn-dance, the council-fire shone,
And against the red war-post the hatchet was thrown.

There the old smoked in silence their pipes, and the young
To the pike and the white-perch their baited lines flung;
There the boy shaped his arrows, and there the shy maid
Wove her many-hued baskets and bright wampum braid.”

CHAPTER VII.

ANNALS. POPULATION FROM 1690 TO 1714. REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT. THE STATE OF EDUCATION. THE CHURCH. MINISTERS. SETTLEMENT OF REV. JOHN PRENTICE.

THE new territory, or "additional grant" on the west, contained about forty square miles, though the survey was far from being exact. The town had now reached its full dimensions, being ten miles north and south, twelve miles on its northern boundary, and about ten miles from east to west, on the southern line. The whole township contained not far from one hundred and ten square miles of land. Many years later an addition was made by the annexation of "Shrewsbury Leg," so called, but before that event, a large section had been taken from the eastern side of the town, to help form the towns of Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. The close of the war, near the end of queen Anne's reign, was favorable to the increase of population in the frontier towns, and Lancaster began to enjoy unusual prosperity.

Before proceeding farther it will be convenient to bring up the Annals of the town to this point, and ascertain the number of the people dwelling here, as near as possible, at the commencement of the reign of the Brunswick family over the British empire. These points, with the state of education, and the settlement of the Rev. John Prentice as pastor of the church, will be attended to in the present chapter.

The following are detached facts occurring from time to time, which illustrate the past, and show the character of the people in the primitive days of New England.

In 1652 Ralph Houghton, John Prescott and others, took the "oath of fidelity." This indicates that Prescott, whatever his theoretical views, accepted the government and laws, as a good citizen.

In early times the period of military service was between sixteen or eighteen and forty-five. But in seasons of peril, the time was extended towards old age. Hence the significance of such entries on the Records as the following. In 1662 Lawrence Waters was released from "ordinary traynings," on condition of paying five shillings per annum. Not far from the same time, the aged John White was relieved, on account of advanced years.

At the session of the Middlesex County Probate Court, in 1662, the town of Lancaster was presented to the court held in Cambridge, in April, for "defect in weights and measures," and enjoined to provide a remedy on penalty of forty shillings.

In 1672 a complaint was entered against Edmund Parker, for "entertaining" a bastard child of Silvanus, a negro, belonging to Roxbury, contrary to order. The case reached the general court, where it was ordered that while the child was in the place, the selectmen should take care "that it be provided for as humanity and religion" required. Parker gave bonds in £100 to save the town from damages, and to support the child, or return it to Roxbury.

The next paragraph may help to explain the above, as it reveals something in respect to Parker's fitness to bring up a child, whether his own, or that of another man. In 1674, Edmund Parker was before the court, on complaint, and was convicted of "neglect of God's worship on the Lord's day." Both himself and his family were admonished. The court commended it to the selectmen "diligently to inspect his family, and observe their manner for the future." If there was no amendment, the selectmen were "ordered and empowered to dispose of his son to service" where he might be better taught and governed.

The next year John Johnson was fined twenty shillings, and six shillings costs, "for abstaining from public worship."

The Middlesex Court, in April, 1682, convicted Cyprian Stevens of "selling strong drink" to the Indians. He was fined twenty shillings, money, and to pay costs to two Indian witnesses, three shillings. The prohibitory law of those times was intended to shield the Indians from harm in the use of strong drink.

In 1686 Stevens had a successor in Nathaniel Wilder, who was licensed by the Court of Pleas, and General Sessions of the Peace, to "retail wine, beere, aile, cyder, rum," etc. At the same time Stevens was appointed clerk to take account of all births and deaths in Lancaster.

As the town had neglected to pay Nathaniel Wilder for "sixteen wolves by him killed in 1684-5," the general court signified to the said town, "that the change of government does not discharge them from their duty in such cases," and they had to "satisfie" the petitioner. The change of government alluded to was the usurpation of Andros. That was not to insure immunity to wolves.

In 1688 Josiah White was allowed, by the county, twenty shillings for "killing one growne wolf" in Lancaster. Nathaniel Wilder was allowed forty shillings for killing two "growne wolves," and John Womsquan, an Indian, ten shillings for killing one "growne wolf." Why the Indian received only half as much as a white man for killing a "growne" wolf, is left to conjecture. Perhaps the wolf was not *full* "growne;" and possibly the whites wished to monopolize the business.

Cyprian Stevens, constable, in 1690, allowed a prisoner to escape. He was arraigned and convicted. He was either careless; or else in collusion with the prisoner. But the court was not to be trifled with, and he soon fulfilled his warrant. In consequence he was discharged on paying costs.

A petition was sent to the general court, in February, 1693, setting forth that the town had suffered greatly from war, and

praying for allowance for "their great charges in fortifying themselves in this troublesome time." The court allowed £20 out of the assessments of the preceding year.

In 1695 the town represented to the legislature that several persons had moved away, and others had died, before the year 1690. The town prayed to be relieved from paying their taxes. This petition is chiefly interesting as showing a change in the inhabitants, as nearly all the names cited, belong to old and well-known families. They are as follows: Cyprian Stevens, William Huttson, [Hudson,] Samuel Wheeler, Benjamin Willard, Joseph Waters, Nathaniel Harwood, Samuel Parker, Arthur Tooker.

This leads to the remark that the population of the town had not only increased, but had become widely distributed since the re-settlement. The number of inhabitants, at the time of the massacre, in 1676, has been variously estimated from three hundred to three hundred and fifty. There were in the town over fifty families. In 1684, there were about eighteen families on the ground; which would give from ninety to one hundred persons. There was a steady increase from this time for several years. New families came into the town, and children were born into those which had returned. By March, 1687, according to Willard, there "had been thirty births." A list of names, made in the next year, numbered eighty, mostly heads of families. The larger part of these belonged to Lancaster. Suppose that sixty of these names represented the male heads of families, the population would be about three hundred and thirty. And this would not be an unreasonable conclusion. By that time nearly all the absentees would have returned, except the few who had settled elsewhere, or had fallen by death. These last ten years had been free from Indian hostilities. But now war broke out again, and the increase was retarded, first by the partial stoppage of migration, and secondly by the many fatal casualties between 1688 and 1710.

In Mr. Willard's Centennial Address, page 101, he says that an "ancient authority states that there were seventy-nine ratable polls here in 1708." He does not give the authority, nor vouch for it. Allowing one ratable poll to every four and a half inhabitants, the population would be about three hundred and fifty-six. That is, the number of inhabitants had increased in twenty years to the number of about twenty-six.

From 1708 the increase was quite rapid, since we find, from the table of garrisons, on a preceding page, that in 1711, there were in the town, eighty-three families, one hundred and eleven men inhabitants, and four hundred and fifty-eight souls. This gives very nearly five and one-half souls to a family, and shows the increase to have been, if the data are correct, about one hundred in three years. This result is not improbable or surprising. No person was killed by the Indians, in this town, after 1707 except an Indian boy. There was comparative safety here, and the people from the lower towns flocked into this beautiful section in large numbers.

At the same time there was a great change in the distribution of families. Before the massacre, nearly all the people lived in South Lancaster, and on the Neck, or Center. There were, perhaps, a few families in the part which now forms Bolton and Berlin. But in 1711 there were several families on the eastern slope of George hill, and some in the south end of the town, towards Sawyer's mill, now in Boylston. The number who had settled in what is now Harvard, Bolton and Berlin, was still larger. There were scattered families also on the road to Still River and the road towards Lunenburg. There is reason to think that the population in the Center and South Lancaster, was less dense than at the first settlement. As yet Leominster and Sterling belonged to the unsettled wilderness.

It was optional with the towns to be represented in the general court. Lancaster sent no delegate previous to the year 1673 though represented by Mr. Thomas Brattle, of Cam-

bridge or Boston, in 1671. While Major Willard resided here, he as a member of the governor's council, doubtless looked after the interests of his neighbors. The name of the representative in 1673, is given as "Mr. Howton." This was either Ralph or John Houghton; probably the former. The town was not represented again until 1689, when Ralph Houghton and John Moor were sent. The successive representatives from that date to 1725, when the town Records begin again to help us, have been found by examining the manuscript and printed Minutes of the general court. There was no representation in the years not mentioned. In 1690 John Houghton, junior or second, was delegate. In 1692, John Moor and John Houghton. In 1693, 1697, 1705 and 1706, John Houghton. Thomas Sawyer was sent in 1707. John Houghton followed in 1708. In 1710, Josiah Whitcomb served. John Houghton was delegate in the years 1711, 1712, 1716 to 1719, and also in 1721 and 1724. Jabez Fairbank was sent in 1714, 1722 and 1723. Joseph Wilder was delegate in 1720 and 1725. The court always had a spring and fall session, but the representatives did not always attend both sessions. The towns paid their own delegates, according to the time they served, and probably did not insist upon their attendance beyond what was necessary for local or general good.

Nothing very definite can be known in regard to the schools in Lancaster at this period of its history. There is no reason however, to doubt that the requirements of the law were complied with as well as in other towns. The Records, soon after this period, show that schools were in operation, and that the town was in the habit of raising an annual tax for supporting them.

There is a notion, quite current in some quarters, that the times now under review may be termed the "dark age" of New England. It is said that the first generation which brought a certain amount of culture and refinement from the old country, and had imparted some flavor thereof to their

children, were now succeeded by a generation comparatively ignorant, rustic and superstitious. The darkness of interminable woods, filled with wild beasts and savage men, it is alleged, predisposed the people to wild imaginings and dark forebodings. Hence the prevalence of the witch delusion, and the intolerance of a bigoted church and ministry. But all this is itself mostly the spawn of imagination. Doubtless the third generation may have lacked some of the refinement of their grandfathers and grandmothers. But that the third and fourth generations were less educated than the first and second is a groundless supposition. The fathers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, at once established a system of education which reached all the children; a state of things unknown in England, at that time, and not enjoyed by the present generation of children. A college was opened at Cambridge by men who had received the best training that Oxford and Cambridge could give. Neighborhood schools, grammar schools, and a college trained the most intelligent and quick-witted people in the world. No people were so little infected with superstition; or so little deluded by witchcraft, or so free from bigotry and intolerance. These evils prevailed in the world, whether heathen, Mohammedan or Christian. They were felt here, for a time, but with ever diminishing force, until they were expelled by the healthy growth of a sound mental and religious constitution.

The people of Lancaster shared in this general enlightenment. An ignorant people do not voluntarily choose and sustain a learned and godly ministry. Religious leaders they will have; but these will be ignorant like themselves, or pander to their vices, while fostering their ignorance. Not so with our predecessors in these fair and fertile fields. Whether transient or permanent, their ministers were always University scholars. So far as known, they were men of abilities and culture above the average in their profession. In character they were pure; in reputation, unspotted. Rowlandson, Whiting and Gardner, all won and retained the respect and love of the church, and the community.

The affectionate esteem in which the clergymen of this town were regarded, is shown by a kind and graceful deed which illustrates the year 1688. The Rev. John Whiting was ministering here with a view to settlement. He needed a house, and the people agreed to build one for him in part by subscription. The paper contained about eighty names. These names belonged, with few exceptions, to residents in Lancaster. And of these latter, nearly all were heads of families.

A beautiful site was selected for the location of the dwelling. It was on the lawn of the Col. Fay estate, and near the corner of the roads. At the same time some of the elm trees which now adorn the grounds, were planted. The work went on, and the town, on the third of January, 1690, voted to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town.

On the same day, the house being finished, possession was given in the following singular and impressive manner. The voters, and probably others, in large number, assembled at the house, walked through the rooms, and after a pleasant and thorough inspection, passed out of doors, and formally gave possession to their minister. Those moderately endowed with imagination can picture that day as a "red letter day" in the history of the town. Doubtless there was a large gathering of parents and children. There was a "feast of fat things," and the voice of song and prayer, and an interchange of earnest congratulations. And when the people went to their own homes, who can doubt that they left many gifts to cheer the home of their minister?

The Records of the church which Mr. Whiting and his successors served, till the settlement of the Rev. John Prentice, are lost. It is known, however, that after the lamented death of Mr. Whiting, several very respectable gentlemen supplied the pulpit, each for a short time, until the Rev. Andrew Gardner came, in May, 1701. His most unfortunate and much lamented death occurred in October, 1704. The next May, 1705, Mr. John Prentice began preaching in the town.

After supplying nearly three years, he was invited in February, 1707-8, to become the settled minister of the church, and religious teacher of the town. He accepted the invitation, and was ordained on the twenty-ninth of March, old style, 1708.

There is nothing to show the number of church members at the time of the ordination of Mr. Prentice, but the Covenant renewed on the day of his settlement was owned by thirty-three male members, and signed with their names. The document, with the names appended, here follows, and brings this chapter to an appropriate close.

LANCASTER CHURCH COVENANT.

Renewed March 29, (O. S.) 1708.

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, in New England, knowing that we are prone to offend and provoke the Most High God, both in heart, word and deed, through the prevalence of sin that dwelleth within us, and through temptations from without us, for which we have great reason to be unfeignedly humble before him from day to day, do in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, with dependence upon the assistance of his Holy Spirit, solemnly enter into covenant with God, and one with another, according to God, as followeth.

"Imprimis. That having chosen and taken the Lord Jehovah to be our God, we will fear him, cleave to him, and love and serve him, in truth, with all our hearts, giving up ourselves unto him as his people. In all things to be at his sovereign disposal, that we may have and hold communion with him as members of Christ's mystical body, according to his revealed will, unto our lives' end.

"2. We also bind ourselves to bring up our children and servants in the knowledge and fear of God, by holy instructions, according to our abilities; and in special, by the use of orthodox catechisms, that true religion may be main-

tained in our families while we live ; yea, and among such as shall live when we are dead and gone.

" 3. And we farther promise to keep close to the truth of Christ, endeavoring with lively affection towards it in our hearts, to defend it against all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto ; which that we may do, we resolve to use the Holy Scriptures as our platform, whereby we may discern the mind of Christ, and not the new-found inventions of men.

" 4. We also engage ourselves to have a careful inspection of our own hearts, viz., so as to endeavor, by the virtue of the death of Christ, the mortification of all our sinful passions, worldly frames, and disorderly affections, whereby we may be withdrawn from the living God.

" 5. We moreover oblige ourselves, in the faithful improvement of our ability and opportunity, to worship God according to all the particular institutions of Christ for his church, under gospel administrations, with reverent attention unto the Word of God ; to pay unto him our praises ; and to hold communion each with other in the use of the seals of the covenant, viz. baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

" 6. We likewise promise that we will peaceably submit unto the discipline appointed by Christ in his church for offenders, obeying according to the will of God, those that have the rule over us in the Lord.

" 7. We also bind ourselves to walk in love one towards another, endeavoring our mutual edification, visiting, exhorting, comforting, as occasion [ability] serveth, and warning any brother or sister which offendeth, not divulging private offences irregularly, but heedfully following the precepts laid down for church dealing, (Matt. 18 : 15, 16, 17) forgiving all that do manifest unto the judgment of charity, that they truly repent of their miscarriages.

" Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good

work to do his will, working that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." Signed by

John Bennett,
Edward Phelps,
Joshua Osgood,
Joseph Whitcomb,
David Osgood,
Joseph Mores,
Joseph Wilder, jr.,
Oliver Moor,
John Harris,
John Priest,
Daniel Rugg,

John Warner,
Jonathan Houghton,
Josiah Wheeler,
Benjamin Wilson,
Jonas Houghton,
Samuel Willard,
Jabez Fairbank,
Thomas Houghton,
Hooker Osgood,
John Prentice,
Thomas Wilder,

John Houghton,
Josiah Whetcomb,
John Wilder,
Jeremiah Wilson,
John Rugg,
Jonathan Moor,
Joseph Wilder,
Jabez Fairbank,
Josiah White,
James Wilder,
Joseph Hutchins.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW FAMILIES. JOHN FLETCHER AND HANNAH PHELPS.
LANCASTER HEROES: FAIRBANK. THE WILLARDS. HART-
WELL. WHITE.

JOSEPH DUDLEY, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley, was appointed President of New England by the king, in 1685, and continued in office one year. In 1702 he became the royal governor of the Province of Massachusetts, and remained in that position until 1715, when his death left the executive department to Lieut. Gov. William Taylor. He was succeeded in 1716 by Samuel Shute, who continued in power seven years, when in 1723, Lieut. Gov. William Dummer became acting governor. His administration lasted till 1730, with the exception of the year 1728, when William Burnet, son of the famous bishop and historian, Gilbert Burnet, was governor. It fell to Dummer's lot to conduct the war with the eastern Indians, closing with Lovewell's fight, and he seems to have won a fairly honorable name in our colonial history. Dummer Academy in Byfield bears his name. Fort Dummer, and Dummerston in Vermont, serve to perpetuate his fame beyond our bounds.

George I. was acknowledged by our ancestors as their king, in 1715, and all writs ran in his name during the period included in this chapter, from 1713 to 1730. Bolingbroke and Harley, the ministers of Anne, during the later years of her reign, had been driven from power. The prompt action of the dukes of Argyle and Somerset baffled the partisans of the pretender, and a long succession of whig politicians upheld the throne of the Brunswick family. Of these, the most

capable, if not the most honest, was Robert Walpole, who held the reins of power from 1720 to 1743. His sagacity, his aversion to change, and his love of peace, made him a friend to the colonies.

Thus connected with the colonial and the imperial government, the frontier settlement of Lancaster was engaged in subduing its extended territory. But the resident proprietors were agitated, by a claim to the new purchase, which certain non-residents made in the year 1717. At a meeting of the proprietors in the month of February, the following paper was presented. "A claim made by several persons represented by Francis Fullam, to wit: We the subscribers, whose names are underwritten,

Daniel How,	upon the right of	Capt. Henry Kerley,	£100-0-0
John Barns,	" "	" "	50-0-0
James Keyes,	" "	Roper,	50-0-0
John Sherman,	" "	John Moore,	
Benjamin Bailey,	" "	John Houghton,	20-0-0
David Church,	" "	Capt. Kerley,	50-0-0
" "	" "	Edward Brick,	50-0-0
John Booker,	" "	Robert Houghton,	
Simon Gates,	" "	Stephen Gates,	314-0-0
Isaac Hunt,	" "	Samuel Bennet,	30-0-0
Samuel Wright,	" "	Cyprian Stevens,	40-0-0
Ira [or Fra.] Fullam,	" "	George Adams,	0-0-0

do hereby demand all and every of our respective rights and divisions of, in, and unto all rights and divisions of lands, made or to be made in that tract of land last granted by the great and general court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, the twenty-seventh of May, 1713, to be added and confirmed to the town of Lancaster, as part of that township, in which tract of land we have and claim our just rights of property in proportion, as being invested in the original right in said town of Lancaster." Signed by John Sherman, Daniel How, John Barnes, James Keyes, Simon Gates, Samuel Wright, Ira Fullam, David Church, Benjamin Bailey.

The matter was referred to a committee consisting of John Houghton, Ephraim, James and Joseph Wilder, who probably reported to a meeting held on the fifth of March. The town held that the "new purchase," now the greater part of Leominster and Sterling, was bought by certain inhabitants of Lancaster of George Dahonta and other Indians, and since added and confirmed to the town by the great and general court. The subject was "agitated," says the Record, and the conclusion was, that they, "the proprietors of the town of Lancaster have no right nor interest in said land purchased of the Indians, by any former rights of the town of Lancaster; and also farther conclude and agree that they will have nothing to do with the said land in point of division upon the original rights of said town, but conclude that it be to the inhabitants of said town of Lancaster who purchased the same, set off as a propriety, the first Tuesday of March, 1716, (O. S.) as their proper right and propriety, to order, divide, improve and dispose of the same according to their interest therein, by purchase, as the law in that case has made provision." The men who bought land of the Indians, which was confirmed to them by the general court, very properly repelled the claim of those who had not joined in the purchase.

The "new purchase" could be of value only as new roads were cut through the woods and swamps. The stream of settlers now pouring in on the west as well as on the east and the center, caused "highways and byways" to be opened in all directions. Three or four roads led over George and Ballard hills to Chocksett and Leominster. Old roads were straightened and improved, as the needs and the means of the people required.

Among the new families which set up their family altars here from the opening of the eighteenth century to the year 1730, we find the names of Carter, Fletcher, Phelps, Harris, Hutchins, Hapgood, Osgood, Hinds, Glazier, and others. A manuscript drawn up by a native of the town, Charles F. Fletcher, of Philadelphia, affords information illustrative of

ancient times and customs. Speaking of some of these families, the writer says that the Carters came in first. "Capt. Ephraim Carter moved from Chelmsford to Lancaster about the close of the seventeenth century, and took up a large tract of land extending far into Leominster. It is related that soon after the purchase of the Carter tract, Capt. Carter either gave or sold to his nephew, Joseph Carter, of Chelmsford, a small part of his purchase. The said Joseph—the year not given—built for himself a *log house* on or near the site of the house where Mr. Keyes lately lived, (now owned by H. D. Stratton.) Having finished his house, and made it as comfortable as circumstances would admit, he returned to Chelmsford and married Ruth Phelps, thus connecting the Phelps family with the Carter family.

"Returning to Lancaster with his bride, she took with her as companion her sister Hannah Phelps, to assist her in driving away the bears, and keeping off the Indians, when her husband was out in the woods, chopping and clearing preparatory to the next planting season.

"This family had been domesticated now for two or three months, had become better acquainted with their location and neighborhood, and had received and made a few visits among the old settlers. Some progress had been made in clearing and preparing for planting in the spring. Thanksgiving was near, and such rude preparation as the forest afforded had been made for its celebration. Towards evening of a pleasant autumnal day, the housework done up, the table spread for supper, a bright fire burning on the hearth, the *ladies* were waiting and looking for the return of Mr. Carter, that supper might be over, when they heard in the distance the sound of a horse's hoofs, and looking saw a horseman approaching, mounted on an iron-gray horse full of fire and spirit. [Whether it was the man or the horse, or both, that was full of fire and spirit, or their imagination only, history does not say.] Suffice it to say, the rider was John Fletcher of Chelmsford, come to renew his attentions to Miss Phelps. He was

soon at her feet, and then there was joy and gladness in that house. The news had to be asked and told, about all the relations and friends in Chelmsford, from whom they had heard but once since they left. * * * * Now a messenger had come to visit this outpost, he was overwhelmed with questions. This is the story of the advent of the Fletchers into Lancaster."

The marriage of John Fletcher and Hannah Phelps in 1712 is a matter of record. Fletcher lived, during several years, in the house with Carter. Family tradition reports that they "worked together with great unanimity, subduing the forest, and making the country habitable. Carter sold to Fletcher a parcel of land nearly due north of his own house, and assisted Fletcher to build a log house like his own." This may seem strange, since there had been a saw-mill at Prescott's mills more than fifty years; but probably it was cheaper to hew the logs, than to cart them to the mill, and bring back the boards. Timber was a nuisance, and had to be disposed of in some way. When the house was "finished and occupied, the family gave a *grand entertainment*, inviting the Carters, the Wilders, the Gosses, and some others. The descendants of Ruth and Hannah Phelps occupied their homesteads in Lancaster for four generations, and lived together in great harmony and friendship."

Though Carter and Fletcher begun with log houses, yet there were many framed houses in the town. Some of these are still standing. The houses of Mrs. Mary Ware and of Emory White probably antedate the coming of Fletcher. The house taken down in 1876 by Frank Taylor, was formerly in possession of the Carter family, and doubtless was built soon after the advent of Joseph Carter. The first house of Fletcher was built of logs. Then a frame was annexed to one side or end. Later, the log part was taken down, and a frame set in its place, making a framed house with its L part.

Resuming the narrative of the town, it will gratify a reasonable curiosity to give a report of the first town meeting

that is on record after the massacre in 1676. From that date on to 1716 there is a blank in our town Records. Then, in the Proprietors' Book, the record begins again, and on the tenth of March, 1717-18, we find the proceedings of a town-meeting to consider about building the Neck bridge. Next, on the fourteenth of May, 1718, (O. S.), we read the report of a town meeting at which John Houghton, jr., was chosen representative to the general court.

The next record of a town meeting bears date March 2, 1718-19. "The inhabitants of Lancaster met at the meeting-house according to appointment, in order to choose town officers, and first chose Ephraim Wilder moderator of said meeting; and then next a warrant was read for a choice of a grandjuror, and accordingly the town was warned per Samuel Willard, constable, to choose one, and then the town proceeded to the choice of John White, the person to serve on the grandjury for the year ensuing.

"The town proceeded to the choice of selectmen, and chose John Houghton, Capt. Peter Joslyn, Josiah White, Jonas Houghton, jr., and Joseph Wilder, selectmen. The town chose John Houghton, sen., town clerk, and voted to choose assessors."

The assessors chosen were John Keys, Joseph Wilder, and Jacob Houghton. The following constables were chosen. Daniel Rugg, Jonathan Houghton and Hezekiah Whitcombe. "Then the laws enjoined to be read, were read in said meeting."

The highway surveyors were George Glazier, Jonathan Moore, Jonathan Sawyer and Oliver Wilder. Treasurer, James Wilder. Tythingmen, Josiah White and Samuel Warner. Fence viewers, Bazalial Sawyer and Thomas Carter. Haywards, Hooker Osgood, jr., John Hinds, jr., Daniel Houghton and John Goss. Sealer of leather, Thomas Carter. He had a tannery on George hill. John Houghton, jr., gauger, and then the "meeting was adjourned to the second Wednesday of May next, at three of the clock in the

afternoon." There is no record of the adjourned meeting in the Proprietors' Book; but it will be borne in mind that the proprietors, being mainly the same as the voters in the town, did much town business in their capacity as proprietors.

At this time the relations between our people and the Indians at the east had become unsettled. The jurisdiction of the general court extended over the territory of Maine, and at times, the settlers in New Hampshire were under its protection. Expeditions were sent in successive years, with great loss of men and money, until the natives, instigated by French jesuits, were subdued. The people of Lancaster bore their part of the public burden, and probably volunteered more than their proportion of fighting men. Prominent among these were the Willards, White, Fairbank and Hartwell.

Though there had been occasional fights in the two or three years preceding 1722, yet war was not actually declared by the governor of the colony until the twenty-fifth of July of that year. The general court met in August, and approved of the proclamation of war, and proffered all necessary aid.

First in the order of time of our military heroes, in these days of trial, was Lieut. afterwards Capt. Jabez Fairbank. He was a famous scouting officer, and traversed large sections of country to the north, east and west, in search for prowling Indians. More than sixty scouting parties were engaged in this service. Some of the names of men under his command, between 1721 and 1724, were the following: Edward Hartwell, Ephraim Wheeler, Daniel Osgood, Isaac Farnsworth, Isaac Lacain, John Bennet, Joseph Wheelock, Ezra Sawyer, Moses Willard, John Eams.

On the twentieth of November, 1723, he received a letter from Gov. Dummer, saying: "Now you acquainting me that you can enlist very good men to complete the number for your command, these are to direct you forthwith to do it, and return me their names. I doubt not but you will keep them to their duty, and take all occasions, if possible, to perform some signal service."

Fairbank's answer, a fortnight later informed the governor that he had enlisted fifteen able-bodied men, including those previously in the service. All but two or three bore Lancaster names.

Edward Hartwell,	Benjamin Houghton, jr.,	Benjamin Harris,
Benjamin Osgood,	Samuel Sawyer,	David Osgood,
John Bennet,	Joseph Blood,	Ezra Sawyer,
Jonathan Shipley,	Ephraim Wheeler,	Phinehas Parker.
Aaron Willard,	Joseph Wheelock,	

Here follows the letter to the governor and council, saying: "May it please your honors: I have, in observance of your honored order, enlisted fifteen able-bodied men fit for service, and have sent the list of them herewith to your honors, with the list of those that were in my service before, and have put them on duty. We have made no discovery of the enemy as yet. The bearer is one that is in the service, and is capable, if your honor sees cause to demand, to give a fit account of our management."

A letter from Fairbank, dated the twenty-eighth of April, 1724, informs the governor of his proceedings as follows: "Sir: I have attended your order referring to the placing of the men at each town, and have also sent your honor the Journal of all the long scouts. * * I am not able to give your honor so particular an account of every day's work as possibly your honor may expect. I endeavored to improve the men constantly to the most advantage according to the best of my judgment. If your honor please, I would now and then send out a scout at considerable distance from the towns, and I think it would be very agreeable to the minds of the people so to do. I stand ready to attend your honor's orders, and am your honor's most obedient servant."

The next letter from Lieut. Fairbank bears date May twenty, and shows the fidelity of the writer. "I have posted the men committed to my care at the towns of Lancaster, Groton, Dunstable, and Turkey Hill, [now Lunenburg] and improve them in the best manner I can for the protection of the

people and discovery of the enemy, and I think to the general satisfaction. I have ordered one man to Mr. Prescott's garrison during his attendance at the court. I beg leave farther to acquaint your honor, that the people in these towns apprehend themselves in great danger, and cannot, in my humble opinion, be in any manner safe with so small a number of men."

A letter dated July 1, refers to an offer made by the governor, that Fairbank might have the choice of the office of sergeant if he remained at home, in Lancaster, or that of lieutenant, if he were willing to serve at Groton, or at Turkey Hill. He chose the latter, and sent out scouts, who found Indian tracks.

On the twentieth of July he was stationed at Groton, and ordered the soldiers under his command to be posted in "some of the most exposed garrisons as often as may be." He felt unable to represent to the governor the "necessities of the people," whose circumstances were very difficult and distressing. "The poor people," he writes, "are many of them obliged to keep their own garrisons, and part of them employed as guards, while others are at their labor, whose whole time would be full little enough to be expended in getting bread for their families. My own garrison at Lancaster is very much exposed." He concluded by asking leave to post a soldier there in his absence. We shall hear of Fairbank again in arduous service.

The next officer deserving notice was Lieut. Edward Hartwell, who has already been named. On the eighteenth of March, 1725, he sent word to the governor that most of the Lancaster soldiers had been scouting. When they were called to serve under Col. Tyng, and appear on a certain day at Dunstable, with fifty days provisions, the most of them "utterly refused to go." He concludes: "Some have enlisted in the scout, and several under Capt. White."

Whereupon Gov. Dummer wrote to Col. Tyng, informing him of the state of things, and urging him to assert his au-

thority. The governor evidently suspected Hartwell was at the bottom of the dissatisfaction, and ordered that Tyng should "make strict inquiry," that Hartwell might be dealt with accordingly. In consequence, Col. Eleazar Tyng came to Lancaster, and found that Lieut. Hartwell was not to blame in the least manner. He wrote in reply; saying that Hartwell "did all in his power to promote and further the design your honor commanded us to go upon. We marched yesterday and came last night at the mouth of Nessonkeeg brook."

The last service of Hartwell, of which we have record in this war, is reported in a letter which he sent, by the hand of ensign Oliver Wilder, dated August twenty-three, 1725, stating that he had been at Lancaster, inspecting the soldiers under the command of Capt. Josiah Willard. He had removed to Turkey Hills, where he had a house and intervale land. Asking leave to live there he assured the governor that he would be in as "good capacity to serve both his king and country."

Capt. Samuel Willard was engaged in the service during the year 1725, as appears by a muster roll, August to October, containing several Lancaster names among others; as Henry Willard, Benjamin Goodridge, Benjamin Richardson, Joseph Phelps, Ephraim Wheeler, Moses Chandler, Barnabas Tuell. In another company, at the same time, were the following soldiers from Lancaster: Lieut. Oliver Wilder, sergeant Samuel Sawyer, William Stevens, Joseph Whitcomb, John Divoll, Jonathan Bailey. Before the time expired, ensign Lemuel Howard took the place of Divoll. Capt. Willard went on a scouting expedition into New Hampshire, in the months of September and October. The march was long, and the service arduous. No trace of Indians was found, but the fact of such vigilance served to keep the enemy at a distance from this section of the colony. In his Journal, he records that Abel Chapin and Benjamin Atherton were sick; and that Richard Brick, who had cut his foot with a hatchet, was sent home. The last day's ride of Willard brought him

to Lancaster, a distance of forty miles. His men came in by easier marches. They had scouted five hundred and three miles through a wilderness, pathless except where an Indian trail might be struck.

In July of this year Willard went on a scouting-raid in search of the enemy. On the fifteenth his party reached Rutland. Thence they marched north, over hills and through swamps, to the Grand Monadnock, in New Hampshire. Here they camped on the thirty-first. From the towering summit, he saw Pigwacket, far off on the borders of Maine, Winnepesoukey, now called Winnepesaukee, and Cosage, or Kearsarge. In his march he saw signs of Indians, and suffered much from foul weather. At one point he was obliged to weaken his party by sending a sick man home. This officer became quite distinguished twenty years later as a colonel in the old French and Indian war.

A contemporary of his, Capt. Josiah Willard, of Lancaster birth and training, was a very active officer. His home was at Turkey Hills. Being summoned on the eighteenth of March, 1724, to be with all the men under his command, ready to march from home, with fifty days provisions, he stated that "most of their means were wanting. They will be much exposed." He goes on to say that Capt. White expected soon to go out again, and that the men would soon be ready; and therefore prayed to be excused.

Willard was not the man to make excuses instead of doing service. He was out scouting all over the region from December 2, 1724, till the next May. The following men were under his command at or near this time, viz. : Henry Willard, Benja. Goodridge, ——— Richardson, Ephraim Wheeler, Moses Chandler, Joshua Phelps, Barnabas Tuell, Simon Atherton. He is heard of again in the summer and autumn, from May to November, six months, as engaged in guarding and scouting. He guarded the people while plowing on the uplands, and working in the meadows. Such was life in those troublous times, when nothing but incessant watchfulness

gave security from the arrow and the tomahawk. Willard and his men watched over the farmers while at work on the west side of the river at Quassoponokin, at Plain Meadow, and at Maple Meadow.

In vol. 91, page 190, Mass. Archives, there is a roll of the men under the command of Capt. Josiah Willard, of Turkey Hills. Many of the names are familiar to the student of the early annals of Lancaster.

Capt. Josiah Willard,	Benjamin Harris,	Richard Wiles,
Lieut. Edward Hartwell,	Samuel Stow,	Richard Gore,
Aaron Willard,	Uriah Holt,	Josiah Witherby,
Philip Goodridge,	Thomas Russ.	Andrew Watkins,
John Dean,	Daniel Power,	Henry Houghton,
John Holden,	John Goodridge,	John Wilder,
Isaac Farnsworth,	Joseph Page,	John Wilder, jr.,
Benjamin Corey,	Jona. Willard,	Simon Atherton,
James Jewell,	Won, (Indian,)	Thos Fairbanks,
Samuel Davis,	Benj. Rugg,	David Osgood,
John Shepard,	Jona. Fairbanks,	Jona. Pierson,
Richard Rice,	John Heywood,	Edward Pratt.
Samuel Farnsworth, jr.,	Daniel Alberts,	

The name of Capt. John White has already been mentioned in connection with this eastern war. Of all the brave and intrepid men who represented the town in the field, perhaps no one was more zealous and efficient than White. From a letter dated in July, 1724, it appears that he was already in the service. Writing from Dunstable to the governor, he proceeds in these words. "May it please your Honor: Old Christian, being this morning taken with a violent bleeding, caused our company to stop, and within a few hours he died; and the other Mohawks are not willing to leave him before he is buried; and our desire is to march over Merrimac river and there to take a true list of our men's names, and shall march as quick as possible. Who remain still your honor's at command."

In September he was in service at Haverhill.

The following literal copy of a letter, found in the Mass. Archives, shews the service and the spirit of the man. It is dated May 7, 1725, and was sent to the governor :—“ May it please your honor : Being returned home, I thought myself obliged to inform you how that on the fifth of April last, I went from Lancaster to Dunstable, and on the eighth day of April from thence up the Merrimack with thirty men, two of which came back in short time, one of them being taken sick, and the other having scalt himself very badly. I marched up Merrimack about one hundred and thirty miles, and there discovered some signs of Indians. Some old, which we judged were made sometimes this winter ; and one new track on the bank of the river, and we judged had gone but a few days before. I sent out scouts, but could discover nothing further. We then turned off to northward, towards Coos. Marched ten miles the twenty-fourth of April. At evening one of the men, viz. Sam. Mossman, of Sudbury, being about encamping, took hold of his gun that stood among some bushes, drew it towards him with the muzzle towards him. Some twigs caught hold of the cock. The gun went off and shot him through. He died immediately. We went across to Connecticut river ; came down that to Northfield, and from there across the woods to Lancaster. We got in yesterday, and have endeavored faithfully to attend your Honor’s orders already received. And if your Honor hath any farther service for me, I desire your Honor would let me know it. I have not as yet completed my Journal, but hope to finish it in a short time, that it may be laid before your Honor. I am your Honor’s most obedient humble servant, JOHN WHITE.

LT. GOV. DUMMER.”

Early in July, orders came to Capt. White, saying : You are “ directed to exercise and maintain good discipline and government among your officers and soldiers, and to suppress and punish all disorder, vice and immorality, and to keep up the worship of God in your said company.” The expedition he was sent upon, extended to Pigwacket and the Kennebeck,

and covered the time of about one month. The following is the Journal of the captain.

"July 6. Mustered at my house at Lancaster. [He passed through Groton to Dunstable, where he remained with his soldiers three or four days.]

10. Waited for Capt. Wyman, [probably from Woburn.] Christian was taken with a violent bleeding, and died about one o'clock. The Canada Mohawk, not willing to go, was left behind.

12. Capt. Wyman overtook us, killed a bear and several rattlesnakes.

14. Thought we heard guns, and sent out scouts. They returned next day, but found nothing.

15. Killed two bears and divers rattlesnakes which pestered us very much in our march.

17. Scouted and killed a moose, excessive rain.

18. Took a lame Indian and sent him home. Reached Suncook.

20. Lay still by reason of rain. Several men taken ill.

21. Four of Capt. Wyman's men sent home with two sick men.

22. Several more of our men were taken very ill with a bloody flux, which we suppose was occasioned by excessive rains and immoderate heats. Rained. Lay still, but sent out scouts.

Moved round by Coheco. Bad weather. Men sick, but none died. And so to Lancaster" by the fifth of August.

The varied labors and sacrifices of Capt. White are set forth affectingly in a petition of his widow, Mrs. Eunice White, addressed to the general court, in 1727. It contains so much general as well as personal information as to insure its insertion without abridgment. The petition brings out a fact not found elsewhere in our local annals, shewing White's connection with the famous Capt. Lovewell. The document is as follows :

"Your petitioner's husband, in his lifetime in the years 1724 and 1725, as well as at other times, performed sundry marches against the Indian enemy, and did other services for the good of his country, and was active and vigorous in the defence thereof against those barbarous savages, not only hazarding his life, but expending good part of his substance therein, as is well known to some. Few instances whereof your petitioner would humbly represent to this honorable court.

"Your petitioner's said husband, although he had divers times the honor to bear command, yet voluntarily enlisted himself under the late Capt. Lovewell, and chose rather to go as an under officer, at that time, because he would do what in him lay to encourage others to enlist, and marched with him at the time when they killed the ten Indians, in which march they were out near forty days.

"Then he performed a march to a place called Cohasse, [Coos] on Connecticut river, thinking to meet with the enemy there, and came in at Fort Dummer, being out thirty-four days, though they missed of their desired success. Then in about eight days time, he had a company raised, and went to Pigwacket, [Fryeburg] to bury Capt. Lovewell, which he performed in a very difficult season of the year. Then he went to Connecticut, at his own cost and charge, to get a company of the Moheag Indians, in order to go down to St. Francis to take an Indian fort there; but failing of his aim, he returned home, and there enlisted a company of volunteers and marched, designing for a fort beyond Pigwacket; but was taken sick before he got there, returned home and died, leaving your petitioner his bereaved widow, with seven children, the eldest about fifteen years old, and four of them very young, and one she then went with who is now living. In all which services your petitioner's said husband cheerfully underwent many hardships and difficulties for the good of his country, and was at considerable cost and charge by supplying those that enlisted under him with necessaries which could not be readily obtained elsewhere, purely to make despatch.

“Now, forasmuch as the sickness of which your petitioner’s said husband died, was in all probability occasioned by means of the difficulties he underwent in the public service, and that he never in his lifetime had an opportunity of asking your honors’ favor for his past services, but was taken away in the strength and vigor of his life, without receiving anything from the public more than two shillings, six pence per day for the marches he performed as aforesaid; And in regard your petitioner is left a disconsolate widow, with several fatherless children to bring up, who stand in daily need of relief and support, your petitioner finding it very difficult to provide for them;

“She therefore most humbly implores your honors’ pity and compassion to herself and children, and that as you have been pleased, in like cases, to reward those that have served the Province, and the representatives of those that have lost their lives in the public service, so that she may experience of the bounty and goodness of this honored court to her in her difficult circumstances, and that you will be pleased to grant her two hundred and fifty acres of the unappropriated lands of the Province, that she may dispose of the same for the education and bringing up of her aforesaid children; or that your honors would otherwise relieve her, as in your great goodness and compassion you shall see meet.”

EUNICE WHITE.

The general court, instead of land, granted her one hundred pounds in money.

CHAPTER IX.

ROADS AND BRIDGES. SWARMING TIME.

TIME is the element which rules in regard to the size of towns. Daily and weekly recurring wants require a convenient center which can be reached without consuming more than a small portion of daylight. In the new states, about five miles square are allotted to a township. In New England the original towns were often much larger; but these have been broken up into lesser sections, in the exigency of events. Sometimes new villages have required a re-adjustment of old boundaries, but the one thing which above all others, has determined the number of square miles in a town, is time. As soon as the large spaces of the earlier towns were occupied by settlers in sufficient numbers to make a respectable municipality, the process of disintegration began. Some of the lower towns have been divided again and again. The same is true of the towns in the interior. A large part of the county of Worcester, at first, was included in a few townships. Lancaster, Brookfield, Sutton, Worcester and Rutland comprised nearly the whole of it, except a strip at the north and south ends. Lancaster contained more than a hundred square miles, and Rutland was twelve miles square.

These towns were settled at and near the center. In process of time, as remote sections became peopled, they were formed into new towns. This was the case with Lancaster, and in the year 1730, the first movement was made for the formation of a new town from her ample domain. The process went on until eight towns, in whole or in part, were organized.

Before relating the story of the swarming, it will be well to finish up the history of the united town, to the date of excision, and then dismiss the history of the new towns, except so far as they are connected with the "Propriety," or original owners of the soil of Lancaster, and their successors, who still held possession of many tracts of land in the new townships.

For it should be kept in mind that the government of the old town was a duality. The propriety or associated proprietors, by purchase of the natives, and by grant of the general court, owned all the land. This was sold or given according to discretion. When the town met as a *propriety*, it made grants of land for highways and byways, and for other purposes. When the town met in its *municipal capacity*, it chose officers, and appropriated money for religious, educational and general purposes. And sometimes when assembled at a muster, it entered upon town business, though perhaps informally. Thus it came to pass, that for nearly three quarters of a century, the records of the town and of the propriety are in the same book. From 1653 till just before the massacre in 1676, the records of the meetings alternate, according to the dates. Then, between 1674 and 1716, there is an entire blank — *hiatus valde deflendus* — in the records. In 1716 the records begin again, and we find town meetings and proprietors' meetings in succession, though the latter were far more frequent. This continues to the years 1726-7, when the records of the two bodies were separated. By degrees the business of the propriety became less important as their lands were divided, and sold, while the affairs of the town became more important with the increase of population and wealth. And thus it came to pass that the whole records of the propriety are contained in one book, while the records of the town fill several huge volumes.

A few items from the Records will show the progress of affairs, from year to year, until the time of division.

In 1716-17, February 4, [O. S.], a proprietors' meeting

was held, when it was voted that "the first Monday of March next be the meeting for choosing town officers." No record of the meeting is given, but a proprietors' meeting was held on the same day. The interest of the people was more in their lands, highways and bridges, than in merely town affairs. Action was taken in relation to the "stated common" on the west side of the river. No boundaries are given, but this common seems to have been a half mile wide as it reached towards the North river, and to have extended southerly on the west side of South Lancaster. There was a "common" also on the Neck, including the land in the neighborhood of Mr. Stowell.

The following vote shows the value of land in former times. "Granted eighty acres of land to John Houghton for serving as clerk and making of rates, lying above the Red Spring if found out of the stated common."

Action was taken at an adjourned meeting, April 22, 1717, relating to a new way to Prescott's mill. It was to be "moved and lie by the river, provided said way be kept four rods wide from the Scar bridge till it come to the hill from the top of the river bank."

At subsequent meetings, highways were petitioned for, extending to the "Plumtrees," and to Washacomb, and from the "Slab bridge" to Prescott's mill. The "Harrises" or brothers Harris obtained a "highway proposed for," provided they would "clear the old burying-field, and keep it well subdued five years." They accepted the condition, and satisfied the town. This was the "old burying-field" east of the railroad and south of the river. Probably the burying-ground on the Old Common was chiefly used at the time, and the first yard had been neglected. It was voted to have a town meeting for the choice of officers on the third of March following, 1717-18.

Doubtless the meeting was held, but it has left no trace in the Records. On the next Monday, however, March 10, the "inhabitants of Lancaster" met at the meeting-house on the

Old Common, in "order to consider about building the Neck bridge by Knight's pasture." The record is historical, and will throw light into the darkness of the past. John Houghton was moderator. "Then discoursed about the dementions of said bridge, and concluded it should have five trussels, and to be a foot higher than before to make good Butments; and to be 13 feet wide between the posts, which are to be of sound oake; and so the caps and braces; and to brace into the posts above the caps, and down into the mudsills, which are to be 40 feet long, and to cover said bridge with good plank or logs, as they who build it shall count best." Voted £35 to the builders, the town to help raise the bridge.

There is room for doubt about the date and the location of the bridge across the main or Penacook river. The "wading place" of the first settlers was at South Lancaster, near the Carter mills. The place where the "herds do cross," was the shallow some twenty rods northwest of the present Sprague bridge. The place of crossing the Penacook, or main Nashua river, was somewhere east of Charles L. Wilder's residence. The Indians had a fish wear thereabouts. At times the water there is very shallow. Mr. Wilder remembers crossing there on foot, in shoes, without wetting his feet. But the channel changes, and there is considerable depth of water at present. Moreover, the tradition is that the river formerly ran three hundred feet farther west of the present channel, and came near to the bank at the turn of the road between the houses of Mr. Wilder and Mr. Bemis. Probably the first crossing was at this place, on foot, or by boat. Later the crossing place was farther up stream, as the existing causeway shows. Later still, it was nearer the site of the present Center bridge, as the vestiges of an old bridge bear witness.

There is no record or tradition to show where the first bridge was built, in this locality. Willard supposed that there was no bridge here for two or three generations until he found the record of the meeting above cited, which, on the twenty-first of March 1718, N. S. says that the new bridge was to

be a "foot higher than before." My own belief is that a bridge was set up near the bend of the road, by the first generation of settlers. The reasons are brief but cogent. In the first place, this was the crossing place for all travel towards Concord and Groton. The principal road from the town, going east and north, extended from South Lancaster, across the North river bridge, and easterly by Dr. Thompson's and Charles L. Wilder's, to the Penacook. Crossing here, one road ran directly across the interval, and over the north end of Wattoquadock hill towards Concord. The other branch of the road, after crossing the river, turned sharply to the northeast, and extended diagonally over the interval, and so on to Still River, Harvard and Groton. Concord was the shire town, and probably there was more travel in that direction than by the Carter's mills route to Marlborough and Sudbury. There was therefore great need of a bridge.

Again, all the landholders on the east side of the Neck, besides others in other parts of the town, owned land on the interval east of the Penacook. This land was cultivated and pastured. There was daily need of a bridge, because not only spring and fall floods would make fording impossible, but frequent summer showers would impede travel. It is therefore quite difficult to believe that the inhabitants would be content to live without a bridge where it was so urgently needed.

The probability that the bridge was built early in the history of the town, is strengthened by the fact that there was no greater obstacle to building here, than at the crossing of the North river. The river is wider, but not more rapid. The bridge might require "five trussels," instead of three or four trestles.

The most probable conjecture is that the crossing place was near the bend of the road. Perhaps the first bridge was located there. As said above, the Neck road, in time, was run up stream, several rods, and the bridge was built opposite to the long row of trees which extends from the east bank of

the river across the intervale towards Bolton. This was the road across the "Swans' Swamp" so often mentioned in the old Records. In later years the bridge was built still farther up the river, or towards the south. And later still it was located a few rods north of the present Center bridge, the site of which was first used for bridge purposes in the year 1871. Going back to the original crossing, and taking position on the east side of the river, one road ran east to what is now Bolton and on to Concord; the other ran northeast to Groton. At the present day, the body of water called "Dead river" covers the bed of the road to Groton, and the prospect is that the main stream will take that direction.

In those old times, a road came down the river from the Atherton bridge, on the east side, to the point where the roads to Concord and Groton diverged. Before the middle of the last century the road across the Swans' Swamp was abandoned, the bridge was moved up stream, one third of the way to the present Center bridge, and the travel from the present Center of the town to the Old Common and the eastern towns, was as follows: Turning east, at the corner by the house of Dr. Thompson, and going to the bend of the road east of C. L. Wilder's, the traveler would turn sharply to the right, and pass to the bank of the river over the causeway. He then would ascend the river about eighty rods, to the bridge. Crossing, he would take the road that came down from the Atherton bridge, and after going perhaps a furlong, would turn to the left, and make his way to the Old Common. [See the map showing the changes in Nashua river, where the position of the bridges is given.]

At a town meeting on the fourteenth of May, 1718, it was voted "to have Mr. Samuel Howe for a school-master for the year ensuing, beginning the first day of May current, and to allow him £40 for the year, or proportionably for what time he shall serve." Also, "12 shillings to Mr. Osgood for going after a school-master."

At a proprietors' meeting, the next day, it was voted to "leave six acres of land for a training field by the highway before Thomas Sawyer's door, to be laid out by the committee for that use." At the same time, by exchange with Joseph Wilder, the town secured "three acres by the highway near Justice Houghton's barn, to lie common for a training field." The first field was in South Lancaster, and the second was on or near the Old Common.

On the twentieth of August, the inhabitants met at the meeting-house to give in an "invoice of polls and estates for the province tax and other assessments arising in said town." This would indicate that the people came to the assessors, instead of the assessors going to the people. The arrangement would bring all the inhabitants together, and tend to secure fairness in levying the rates. At the same meeting, the Rev. John Prentice requested that some addition be made to his salary. A few weeks later, it was voted to add fifteen pounds to his salary, making it eighty-five pounds, because "bills of credit were of so low a value."

There was a town meeting for the choice of officers on the second of March, 1718-19, the first of which a record remains, since the re-settlement. The action of this meeting was given in the preceding chapter.

The proprietors held a meeting on the third of May, 1819, and voted that "the land which lieth free in the Swans' Swamp and is not yet laid out, be stated and staked out for a highway as near the extent of the breadth prescribed in the town book for the same as may be." This breadth was eight or ten rods. The highway was there, but the bounds had not been staked out. The broad way may still be found, lined on the north side by a long row of ancient button-ball trees, extending from near the river far into the intervale.

As showing the relative value of labor and land, the following item is cited. "Paid Jonas Houghton five shillings a day for measuring the stated common; assistants three shillings. Pay in land at four shillings an acre."

In regard to roads these citations are given. "Began at the Swans' Swamp and ran a straight line from the end of Glazier's ditch to a white oak stump below Benjamin Bellow's house." Opened a "road from the stated common to Weekapeckit brook." This last was from some point near the brick school-house, and over George hill. A way was laid out from "Randevou tree"—rendezvous—to the north east corner of the town, now Harvard. Also various ways "high and by" in Harvard, Bolton and Berlin. These roads were authorised by a meeting of the proprietors, as were several in the next year, one of which extended to Weshacomb, now Washacum. This road was laid out by the first settlers, and probably it followed an Indian trail. It was altered, and straightened, and staked out often during two generations.

The proprietors at the next meeting voted to pay Ebenezer Wilder "73½ acres of land in two peaces" for a debt, due him for "work done for the town in finishing a minister's house, it being £14, 14sh. and 3d.," or about fifty dollars for "73½ acres of land in two peaces."

There is no record of the annual town meeting in March, 1720-21, but a meeting was held on the twenty-second to choose officers, it "appearing that some persons voted in the former meeting who were not duly qualified to vote." This proves that there was a meeting at the regular time; that some persons voted, by mistake or design, who had no right to the suffrage, and that the town considered the whole proceedings vitiated. John Houghton was moderator and clerk. The selectmen were John Houghton, Jabez Fairbank, Josiah White, Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Ensign James Wilder. Assessors, James Wilder, John White and John Houghton, jr.

The same selectmen and clerk were elected next year. James Wilder was chosen treasurer. Henry Willard and Joseph Stowe were elected tythingmen.

In 1722 the proprietors laid out a road from Jonathan Mores to Hog Swamp, and several highways in the eastern section of the town, showing that there was an increasing

population in what soon constituted Harvard, Bolton and Berlin.

In March, 1722-23, the proprietors, at the request of Joseph Wheelock, laid out a road from his land to Pine hill. This road extended from Wheelock hill, now owned by Samuel R. Damon, northerly by the clay pits to the southwest end of Pine hill, and finally the whole length of the hill to the John White place, west of Still river bridge.

It was voted that Edward Hartwell should have a "piece of land that lieth between his land and Walnut Swamp lot." This Edward Hartwell was noted as a faithful officer in the Indian wars. "Walnut Swamp" was a long tract of land extending through the intervale, on the west side of the river, opposite the town hall, far up the hill beyond the old Stearns place, including many acres. It was formerly covered with a magnificent growth of walnut trees.

The following is one of the yearly receipts given by the minister to the selectmen. "Feb'y 18th, 1723-4. Then reckoned with the selectmen for the town of Lancaster, and the subscriber has received the whole of his salary, till July 1st, 1723.

JOHN PRENTICE."

"Said receipt entered as above, being a true coppey, May 12th, 1724.

Per JOHN HOUGHTON, town clerk."

The selectmen this year were Joseph Wilder, Josiah White, Jonathan Houghton, Ebenezer Wilder and Samuel Carter. Jonathan Moore was moderator. John Houghton was chosen representative at a meeting held on the eleventh of May. This was the last town meeting recorded in the Proprietors' Book of Records.

Opening the first extant volume of separate town Records on the second page is found the account of the "prudentials" for the year 1723-4, as given in by the selectmen. By this it appears that Edward Broughton was paid £40 for keeping

school. In the year 1724 he kept school one hundred and fifty days on the Neck, and seventy-five days at Still River.

Mr. Broughton had secured the good-will of the parents, in proof of which may be taken the following action, in 1723. "John Houghton, with Peter Joslin, sen., Ephraim Wilder, Jabez Fairbank, sen., Samuel Willard, James Wilder, Joseph Wilder, Samuel Carter, David Whitcomb, Oliver Wilder, Josiah White, sen., Ebr. Wilder, Thomas Wilder, Thomas Wilder and Joseph Sawyer, all of Lancaster, gents., in consideration of love and respect to Edward Broughton, our present school-master, and other weighty considerations moving us, the aforesaid John Houghton, *cum cæteris*, with the free will and consent of our married wives, [grant] 24 acres of land to be laid out to" the aforesaid Edward Broughton.

At a town meeting held on the seventh of March, 1725-6, it was voted "that 27 days shall be paid by ye town to Mr. Flagg for his keeping school in Lancaster before this day." Then voted that the selectmen should "provide a school-master for one quarter of a year."

The schools were sometimes lengthened by subscriptions. For example, in 1724 it was computed that in consequence of subscriptions to each school, the "schoolmaster ought to keep school at Stephens hill [where Mr. Royce now lives] 104 days; and at Still River or Bare hill, 82 days; and at or on the Neck, 177 days," and a fraction of a day in each section.

At a meeting in May, the sum of fifty pounds was raised "to be laid out upon a school as ye town se cause." Then, voted that the money be divided to "each part of the town according to the pay belonging to each part."

The question came up whether the town would build an entire new meeting-house, and it was decided in the negative. This question was agitated several years, as the other question of dividing the town was mixed up with it. In the following January, a meeting was held at which fifteen pounds were added to the salary of the minister. The town then con-

sidered whether they would build two meeting-houses. This proposition failed; and the motion to build one new meeting-house met the same fate. A vote was then passed in favor of enlarging the existing house, and a committee was chosen to report a plan of enlarging the house. These men were the committee, viz.: Ensign Josiah White, Capt. Ephraim Wilder, Mr. Joseph Sawyer, Mr. Jonas Houghton, Lieut. James Wilder, Mr. James Keyes, and Mr. John Wright. In February another meeting was held when the committee reported in favor of making the house twenty feet longer, and fourteen feet wider, at an expense of three hundred pounds. This was voted down, and the plan of adding twenty feet to the length, at an expense of one hundred pounds prevailed. The matter was then put into the hands of Peter Joslin, Josiah Wheeler and Jabez Fairbank.

At the March meeting 1726-7, the usual officers were chosen, when Oliver Wilder, elected as one of the constables, declined to serve. Then the moderator asked Wilder if he refused to pay the five pounds as the law directs, and Wilder said he did refuse. Ancient law compelled a man who refused an office to which he was elected to pay a fine.

A spirit of modesty seems to have infected the people, this year, if we may judge from the way in which many declined office. At a meeting dated March 28, 1727, Jabez Fairbank was chosen moderator, but refused to serve. Then Joseph Wilder, Joseph Hutchins and Ebenezer Wilder were chosen in succession, and all declined. Finally James Wilder accepted the position. Fifty pounds were granted for schooling. Forty pounds were voted for the repair of highways. For the enlargement of the meeting-house forty pounds additional were appropriated; at the same time propositions to make the house wider, and to build a new house were voted down.

The doings of a meeting held December 20, 1727, cast light on ancient customs. The town granted to Mrs. Prentice, the minister's wife, "the pew at the foot, or next to the pulpit stairs." Probably she chose this in preference to some other

pew, the enlargement of the house making a new seating necessary. Then the town chose nine men to seat the enlarged house, as follows: Jacob Houghton, Joseph Osgood, Jonathan More, Hezekiah Willard, James Keyes, Jabez Fairbanks, Caleb Sawyer, Capt. Samuel Willard, and Lieut. James Wilder. These men were directed to "dignifie ye seats in ye meeting-house." Families were seated according to rank, and rank depended on several circumstances, such as family, property and office. Jealousies and heart-burnings were the usual result. It was voted at the same time, that "thirteen men be seated in a seat in the body of seats;" ten men in a seat in the front gallery; and twelve men in a seat in the side gallery. Then the town voted "that it be left to the said committee to seat aged persons as they shall think convenient and decent."

At a meeting in April, 1728, the salary of the minister was raised to £100. The question was put whether the town would bring their part of the £60,000 of bills of credit, which was £471, 5sh. into town, and choose three trustees to fetch up the money. The motion was affirmed, and Jonathan Houghton, Thomas Carter and Samuel Willard were chosen trustees. The money was to be let out in sums not less than £10, and not more than £20 to any person. At an adjourned meeting, fifty pounds were granted as a school rate for the year.

This year, 1728, witnessed the beginning of the agitation in regard to the formation of a new county, which finally resulted in the act authorizing the county of Worcester. At a meeting on the twenty-first of August, there was "discourse referring to a petition of Capt. William Generson, [probably Jennison] for a new county. The town voted that their representative be directed, in "case the superior court be holden at Marlborough, and two inferior courts be holden at Lancaster, annually, that then he further the proposal; but in case the courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with."

The enlargement of the meeting-house finally cost £150, and at a meeting in August the remaining £10 were granted.

In February, 1728-9, a special meeting was called in reference to a "new county in the westerly part of the county of Middlesex." The town was now in favor of the measure. The reasons are obscure, though it seems that a movement was made to break up Middlesex county, in part, by annexing several towns to Suffolk. James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents to act in behalf of the town.

At the meeting in May, the town voted £12, in addition to his wages, to Dea. Josiah White, representative. For schooling the vote was £50. In August action was taken for repairing the great bridge over the Penacook, by the Knight pasture. In the following January, it was voted, that the selectmen "are hereby directed to take effectual care that Mr. Josiah White, the present representative, be supplied with thirty-six pounds out of the town treasury, to enable him in the discharge of his duty for this present year." The need of this extra pay is not given. The schoolmasters this year were Samuel Willard, Thomas Prentice, Mr. Briant, Jabez Fox and Jacob Willard, and the schools were on the Neck, at Wattoquadock, Bare hill and Still River.

There was a special meeting on the eighteenth of May 1730, when a petition for a new town was presented by the following persons, nearly, if not all residing on the territory now belonging to Harvard: John Sawyer, John Nichols, Hezekiah Willard, John Priest, jr., Stephen Houghton, Simon Atherton, Henry Houghton, jr., James Whetcomb, Isaiah Whitney, John Whitney, Robert Foskett, Jonathan Couch, John Witherbey, Benjamin Atherton, Uriah Holt, Joseph Atherton, Joshua Church, Henry Willard, jr., Joseph Willard, Samuel Rogers, Seth Walker, Abraham Willard, Samuel Rogers, jr., John Willard and Jonathan Whitney. They wanted to take off a section about three miles wide, north and south, and the whole breadth of the old township, about eight miles east and west. The town opposed the project. The question

was then put in another form, to see if the town would agree to "set off that part of the land mentioned in the warning lying on the east side of Penacook river." The vote was in the negative.

There was a long contest about adding to the minister's salary. First, the addition of £50 was voted down; then £30 were proposed and rejected. The motions for £25 and £20 met the same fate. Then several men, all of whom were among the petitioners for a new town, "entered their desert against giving any more money to the Rev. Mr. John Prentice." The end was secured, however, by a flank movement, and £30 out of the interest of the "Lone Money," or money loaned by the province, was voted. A school rate of fifty pounds was granted.

The attempt to form a new town was not abandoned by the petitioners, but the old town was not yet ready for the inevitable event. It was natural for the inhabitants to cling to the ancient boundaries. Every excision would not only lessen the domain, but also the influence of the town in comparison with other towns. It was foreseen that the formation of one town from the territory of Lancaster, would lead the way to other amputations. Therefore a move was made to keep the whole together, by providing meeting-houses and ministers, as well as schools, in certain convenient localities. At a meeting held, August 7, 1730, the question was put "whether the town would choose five men as a committee in behalf of the town to take a survey of that part of the land petitioned for in Lancaster, and what distance the inhabitants of said lands live from the place of public worship, and how far from the place that the petitioners have (as they inform us) concluded to set their meeting-house; and also to find whether the petitioners be the major part of what is petitioned for both as to persons and estates; and also to make some computation who owns the proprietie, and to give reasons on the whole, to the court, (in the town's behalf,) and it passed in the affirmative." Five men were chosen to carry out the vote.

The next move was to run the western boundary of the proposed town about a mile west of the river, and thus set off nearly all of the old district No. 1, with all to the east of the river, for a new town. This was met by a new proposition as follows: "that the town would keep together, and not join with any other town or towns, and that they would come into some way by a vote of the town, that there may be two meeting-houses built, and ministers settled, (sooner or later as the town shall think fit); where said meeting-houses shall be judged most suitable to accommodate the whole town; and that the town would pay the charge of building said meeting-houses, and settling and maintaining of the ministers equally out of the town treasury, or as the town shall think fit and convenient."

This question was in the warrant of a town meeting held November 23, and was, no doubt, freely discussed throughout the town, before the voters came together. No direct vote seems to have been taken on the suggestion, but a committee was chosen to oppose the petition for a new town before the general court.

At an adjourned meeting a week later, Jacob Houghton and others made a move which proved effectual. They desired that "the town would do something in order to their release relating to building a meeting-house." In answer to this, it was voted that the "town are willing that the east part of the old township of Lancaster be set off and made a separate township, if the general court see cause." The condition was, however, that the west line of the new town should run "parallel with the west line of the old township, at four miles distance therefrom." This brought the boundary near the river, where it was finally fixed, and remains to the present time. But at a meeting held, March 22, 1730-1, the southern line of the new town was fixed at five miles from the north line of the township. When Bolton was incorporated, about two miles of these five were joined to that town. The town of Harvard, made up of sections from Lancaster, Gro-

ton and Stowe, was incorporated by the general court, June 29, 1732.

At the same meeting, sixty pounds were granted for schools. The town also voted that "they will buy a book of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard's putting out, which book is an Explanation of the Catechism." The selectmen were to make "some provision for the keeping of it in the meeting-house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause; and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting-house at any time, by any person, except by the order of the selectmen." The author of this work was a son of Major Simon Willard, and was the minister of the Old South Church in Boston, many years, and vice-president,—acting president—of Harvard College from 1701 to 1707. He died in the latter year, but his "Compleet Body of Divinity" in a huge folio of nine hundred pages, was not published till 1726. Rev. Joseph Willard, his great-grand-son, was president of the college from 1781 to 1804.

On the second of April, 1731, the general court erected the county of Worcester. The tradition is that Lancaster might have been the shire town of the new county, if Judge Joseph Wilder had given his consent. There were many reasons in favor of fixing the official center of the county in this place. It was the oldest, wealthiest and most populous town in the new county. At that time it was near the center of the towns already settled and about to be settled. Probably also if the center had been fixed in Lancaster, the towns in the north-west of Middlesex would have been added. If this had been made the shire town, the prosperity that has made Worcester the second city in the State, would have been the fortune of Lancaster. But the town missed its opportunity, and it never can be regained. The reasons given by Judge Wilder, as reported, were that shire towns were apt to be infested by gamblers, horse jockeys and drunkards, and that therefore the morals of a place would be sacrificed to its increase in numbers and wealth. The reasons were vain, though the

motive was good. It is proved by experience that the incentives to education, morals and religion can be accumulated in great centers of population. The state of morals in the town and city of Worcester, in every generation, would compare favorably with that of the smaller towns in the county. We may regret the folly of the past, which has prevented the growth of this town, but the regrets will be vain, unless we are incited to seize every occasion by which its future prosperity may be promoted.

There is little mention made of the poor in the early Records. The presumption is that few or none were at the public charge. The town used its power to exclude vagabonds, and "tramps" were unknown. But in time, persons born on the soil, became reduced in circumstances, while their friends had died or moved elsewhere. These were provided for by the authorities of the town. In 1731 the "widow Caly or Cealy" had aid, and the selectmen were authorized to be at the expense of removing her to New Hadley. The name has crept into print as "Carly," on the supposition that she belonged to the Kerley or Carley family, but of this there is not sufficient proof. About this date, the town raised thirty pounds for the support of the poor.

In August, at a town meeting it was voted, "that Mr. James Wilder, (delegate in place of Josiah White, who declined to serve,) their present representative, be directed to pay such a regard to his majesty's governor, as becomes the representative of a loyal people; and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the royal prerogative; nor on any of the privileges of the people, granted them by the royal charter, (by their late majesties king William and queen Mary, of blessed memory,) and especially by supplying the treasury without appropriation unless of some small quantity that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This was a step in the long contest between the colony and the royal governor in regard to the regular salary of that official. Gov.

Burnet, in 1728, was instructed to insist on a fixed salary. The legislature, abiding by the charter, voted annually such a salary as he might seem to merit. The governor intimated that parliament might be applied to, and that the charter would thus be imperilled. Then the general court appealed to the towns, and the response was in support of their representatives. The court resolved that "it is better that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." The towns echoed back the sturdy resolution. The response of Lancaster was in full accord. By the death of Burnet, in 1731, the contest was left to Gov. Belcher; but he, willing to avoid the controversy, obtained leave from home to accept the annual grants, and thus the colony was pacified by success.

By a vote of the town in 1732, several roads were opened or altered. One extended from the "Mill on the North river,"—now Shoeshank—starting west of Canoe brook, to Lunenburg. Another, beginning near the same point, east of Canoe brook, was extended through Gotham, and over Quassoponakin hill southerly to the intersection of the Still River road.

Sixty pounds were granted for schools, May 15, 1732, and the selectmen were directed to provide a school-master for the town, and that one master should keep school in each part of the town. Bare hill and Still River districts were in the new town of Harvard, and the master would be limited to the Neck and Wattoquadock, with possibly a school for the southwest section. Jabez Fox, Josiah Swan and Joseph Barbean, had the training of the children.

John Fletcher received thirty-six pounds for five grown wolves and sixteen grown wild-cats killed in and near the town. The ears of these wild animals were cut off in the presence of one or more of the selectmen, and sent to the treasurer of the province as vouchers, when the thirty-six pounds were remitted to the town treasurer. The province was wise in requiring the ears of "full grown wolves and

wild-cats," as is illustrated by the anecdote of an old and foxy hunter in New Hampshire. He appeared regularly, as the year came round, at the State treasurer's door with his tale of ears, and took his premium. At length the treasurer inquired why he always brought the ears of small animals. "Why not bring the ears of old wolves?" "Ah," said the old hunter, "then the business would be spoiled."

At a meeting held according to warrant May 16, 1733, to which time two old meetings were adjourned, there was an avalanche of petitions relating to new towns and meeting-houses which must have filled the timid and conservative people with consternation.

The first was a petition signed by Gamaliel Beaman, Ebenezer Prescott, Benjamin Houghton, Samuel Sawyer, Jonathan Osgood, Fairbank More, Jonathan Bealey, Thomas Ross, Joseph More, Shubael Bealey and John Snow, asking consent to be set up as a new township. The reasons moving them thereunto are worthy of insertion. "Whereas, we the subscribers, inhabitants of the westerley and southwesterley parts of the town of Lancaster have, by the providence of God, our habitations fixed at such a remote distance from the place of public worship, that it is with great difficulty, (at some seasons of the year especially) that we attend on the same, and is always attended with more labor, (as we conceive) than is proper for a day of holy rest if it could conveniently be avoided; and there being already settled a considerable number of families within such a distance of each other, and also with others that are settling among us, that we hope in a little time, by the blessing of providence, we shall be able to set up and support public worship among ourselves, which we hope will prove much for our ease, and comfort and benefit. That which we humbly move therefore is that the following," etc.; and then they proceed to petition for a separate township, with specified bounds. This petition was negatived; and though renewed from time to time, was not granted. But a few years later, as will be re-

lated more at length, in due time, the petitioners were set off as a separate precinct.

Then came a petition from Josiah Wheeler, William Polard, Joshua Moore, Jabez Fairbank, Jonathan Moore, William Keyes, John Whitney, Jeremiah Holman, Nathaniel Holman, Thomas Whitney and William Sawyer, wishing to be set up as a town, or if not, as a precinct. Their paper reads as follows: "setting forth the many hardships and difficulties which we for these many years have undergone in getting to the public worship of God, and in a peculiar manner in the winter season. These are therefore to request of you that you put it into your next warrant to see whether the town will set off all the inhabitants on the east side the river to be a separate town or precinct, beginning at Shrewsbury line, and so down said river till you come to Harvard line, excepting the interval lots of land on the east side of said river." The lots specified belonged to Daniel Rugg, Thomas Carter, Samuel Willard, James Houghton, jr., Robert Phelps, Edward Phelps, jr., Joseph Wheelock, Dea. Josiah White, and Capt. John White's heirs. This movement failed for the time being.

The third petition came from the Neck, and South Lancaster, and related to a new meeting-house. Peter Joslin, Samuel Willard, Hooker Osgood, Jabez Fairbanks, John Prescott, Ephraim Wilder, Thomas Carter, John Buss, John Bennitt, Hooker Osgood, jr., John Fletcher, Amos Sawyer, Joshua Osgood, and Hezekiah Gates, desired the selectmen to insert an article in the warrant to "see whether the town will build a meeting-house on the west side of the river, on the old meeting-house place upon the hill by Mr. Hooker Osgood's; or upon the school-house hill near where the school-house now stands." [Near the house of Mr. Royce.] This petition, like the preceding, had to wait, but all were sure of success in the course of events.

At the March meeting in 1734 the town directed the selectmen to send a petition to the general court, in behalf of the

town, with reference to the "building of Block Houses from Dunstable to Fort Dummer." It was thought that a chain of forts along the northern line of the province would serve as a barrier to keep the Indians and French from raiding on the exposed towns.

May 13, a new petition came from Gamaliel Beaman and others, asking to be set free from a part of the minister's rate for the ensuing year, on condition that they subscribed for preaching for one quarter of the year, (in the winter season.) But the subject was avoided by adjournment.

The subject was kept before the town at meetings held in August, October and December, with the variation that one petition presented the plan of two meeting-houses, one to accommodate the Center, and the other those living in what now comprises Bolton and Berlin, the parishioners of each parish to "pitch upon the place to set said house; and if the town think best, to build their own houses, separate from other charges."

At various meetings in 1735 the following appropriations were raised. For the minister, £150; for schools, £60; for the poor, £30; for killing wolves and wild-cats, £37. No progress was made in the effort to divide the town.

The warrant for the March meeting, 1735-6 gave the town much to deliberate about, and doubtless the questions were canvassed in every house, by men and women, old and young, as well as in the town meeting. Gamaliel Beaman and others pressed for their new town, at the southwest. John Moor and his allies urged their petition for a new town on the southeast. Their language will be read with interest, at this late day. In spite of their antique spelling, which may raise a harmless smile, there was solid reasoning and a touching pathos in their artless words. "We the petitioners whose names are underwritten for ourselves, and in the behalf of others our neighbors, the inhabitants of the southeasterly part of the town of Lancaster, living so remote from the publick worship, at least a great part of us, which makes the

Sabbath, (which should be a day of rest) to be a day of the hardest labor to us, especcally to our children if they come to meeting ; and we do look upon ourselves bound in duty to promote their futer good and well being as well as our own. And we think it may be a means thereof to bring them whilst young to the public worship ; but while we are at such a distance it is next to imposable to bring them, or many of them. We do therefore request that the town would take it into their serious consideration, and set us off as a town by ourselves, running the line according to the vote of the town passed before Harvard went off, that so we may be providing to build an house that we and ours may worship God in ; and that we may pay as we do now until we have prepared for ourselves, and have the word of God preached with us."

The inhabitants in the southwest part of the town complicated affairs still more, by petitioning to have their portion of the school money to spend according to their own discretion.

And yet more to "embroil the fray," came the proposition to divide the town into three precincts or parishes, excepting the northwest part of the new grant, which should be reserved for "another precinct [Leominster] when the people are able and ready." Each "parish to pitch the place to set their meeting-house, and to build and finish the same."

These questions were promptly settled on the first day of March, 1736. Gamaliel Beaman and his friends were voted down. A township was not granted, but a vote was passed, in answer to the petition of Benjamin Houghton and others, allowing those living in the southwest, to have their part of the school money, and spend it in supporting a school in "such time and season as shall be just and honest."

The petition of John Moore for a new town on the southeast prevailed, and Bolton went before the general court with the benediction of the old mother town. The act of incorporation was passed on the twenty-fourth of June, 1738. Berlin was set off in 1784. The church was formed in Bol-

ton, November 4, 1741, when the Rev. Thomas Gess was ordained their first pastor. The church was drawn chiefly from the church in Lancaster.

After this vote, the project of forming three parishes, and building meeting-houses for the same, fell to the ground as a matter of course.

The attempt to raise Mr. Prentice's stated salary was constantly negated, but a motion to add £50 to his salary, this year, raising it to £150 prevailed. It may be stated here, that when the church was formed in Harvard, in 1733, the proprietors of Lancaster gave the minister, Rev. John Secombe the two islands in Bare hill pond. At the same time they granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land on Pin hill "to set a meeting-house upon, and for a training field, and for a burying place."

At a meeting held May 17, 1736, a rate of £150 was granted for repairing bridges over the Nashua, the North, the Penacook, and Still river, and for mending highways and byways.

The Records have no account of the annual meeting on the first Monday of March, 1737, but a regularly called meeting was held two weeks later. An entry in the Records of the proprietors, dated March 7, probably explains the mystery. It is there stated that there was a "great flood," and in consequence the proprietors' meeting was adjourned two weeks, that is to the twenty-first of March. Doubtless both meetings were called the same day, and on account of the small number present, no business was done. The proprietors adjourned. Perhaps the town meeting was not even called to order. The few who came to the meeting-house, soon hastened home, or wherever they could mitigate the ravages of the flood.

At the meeting held March 21, another appeal for division was presented to the town. This was a petition from certain residents in the northwest part of the town, or the northern half of the "additional grant," and is dated, February 11,

1736-7. In the History of Leominster, by David Wilder, it is said that the petition to the general court, for the incorporation of Leominster had been lost. Perhaps it may be interesting, in such case, to see the petition to the town of Lancaster, especially as it defines the boundaries of the proposed town, except on the northern line. The petition was in these words :

“To the selectmen of the town of Lancaster,—Gentlemen : We the subscribers who are inhabitants of the additional grant of land made to said Lancaster, and we who are proprietors in said land, and we that live in the old township of Lancaster near or adjoining to the northerly end of said additional grant, desire and humbly request that this our petition be put in the next warrant that you shall put out for calling a town meeting, so as that the town may consider, conclude, act and do what shall then be thought proper to be done in answer to our request and desire, which is as followeth, viz. : that the town by a vote would set off the northerly end of said additional grant to said Lancaster, so far as four miles southerly from the northwesterly corner of the old township, and there to make an angle and run a line westerly over the southernmost Wecapacit hill, and so over the Rocky hill, extending said line to the westerly line of said grant ; and that the whole of the said additional grant lying to the northerly side of the aforesaid line that runneth over said hill, may be made into a separate township, in such time as the great and general court of this province shall think that the people inhabiting the land requested for shall be able to support a minister and maintain the word of God, so as that it may be constantly preached among them. Also to grant that so many as live in the old township as desire to be added and annexed to said additional grant for a township as aforesaid ; and as aforesaid we pray.” Signed by Jonathan Houghton, Thomas Houghton, Jonathan Carter, Thomas Wilder, William Divol, Jonathan White, Jonathan Wilson, Joseph Wheelock, jr., John Wheelock, Benj. Whetcomb, Noah Beman, John Goodridge,

Gardner Wilder, William Sawyer, Joseph Brooks, Ebenezer Dakin, Jacob Houghton, Jonathan Sawyer, John Wilder, Ebenezer Wilder.

The petition seems to have been granted on its first presentation. This may appear singular, inasmuch as the petitioners who lived in the south part of the additional grant were defeated from year to year. But some of the reasons which led to the result, are obvious even at this late day. The center of Leominster is seven miles from Lancaster, and a long, high hill lies between. There were but few settlers on any of the roads which led from one town to the other. Convenience demanded that there should be a new center. Again, some of the petitioners were influential men who intended to remain in the old town, but having children and land in the new one, favored the movement. Besides, the projectors of the new town made no extravagant and inadmissible claims, in the way of territory, while the inhabitants of Chocksett insisted upon having their easterly line moved a mile into the old township. Here are reasons enough, without seeking for others, why there was such a different reception given to the two petitions. It may be added here, that the petition for the proposed town was favorably heard by the general court, after persevering effort, and after satisfying the court that among other conditions, they could and would "maintain a godly minister." The act of incorporation was passed June 23, 1740, and the town contained something over twenty-five square miles.

Nothing daunted by former rebuffs, and perhaps stimulated by the success of the people of Leominster, the residents in the southwest section renewed their request that the selectmen would call a town meeting to consider their claim to be a new town, and to take off from the old town a tract far longer and broader than had sufficed the ambition of their neighbors on the north. They wished to cut into the town one mile deeper than Leominster, and that through the whole length from north to south, about six miles. The town said

"No," perhaps with an emphasis, on the ninth of November.

At the May meeting, 1737, the office of representative to the general court "went a begging." Ephraim Wilder was chosen, and refused to serve. Then Josiah White was chosen: he refused. Finally Jabez Fairbank was elected and consented to attend the legislature.

At the same meeting £60 were added to the salary of Rev. Mr. Prentice, in "bills of old tenure." The following singular article was in the warrant: "To see what the town will allow for the relief of the widow Golsbery, or for her being improved as a School Dame in the east part of the town." The voters gave her five pounds instead of "improving" her as the teacher of their children.

The question about a new meeting-house was up again, Ebenezer Beaman and others desiring the town to consider their "difficulty in getting to the public worship," and asking that a house might be built upon the Neck, or some other convenient place. The Old Common was now on the eastern edge of the town, and no longer convenient for the majority of the remainder of the town.

December 19, motions for a new meeting-house near the Center, and for a separate town, in the southwest, were considered and negatived.

The irrepressible Gamaliel Beaman, and his allies demanded a hearing again, and on the fifth day of February, 1738-9, three questions were presented to the town. First, would the town agree to their forming a new township, including the half mile on the westerly side. The answer was in the negative. Their demand, it seems, was somewhat abated. At first, they asked for the southern part of the "additional grant," and a mile in breadth on the west side of Lancaster. And this strip is known as "the Mile" in the old Records. The question now was whether the town would allow the petitioners to cut into the town a half mile on the north end, and so run the east line of their new township as to take in a mile at the south end. This did not meet with favor.

The next question was to see if the town would agree to the original petition, with the condition that the new town would keep in "good repair forever Nashua bridge, so called, or that bridge that crosseth the river nearest the meeting-house." This was the Atherton bridge, half way between the Old Common and South Lancaster. The town would not entertain the proposal.

Then the town granted the petition so far as it related to the "additional grant," and that the corner of the proposed town might be located half a mile east of the Leominster corner, and from thence "run a line southerly into the line petitioned for due west from Jonas Fairbank's house, and from thence with a straight line to the *Scar* on the river, and so to the town line;" with the condition that the said town should maintain and keep in "repair forever a cart bridge over the South river in Lancaster—that is in the road next above the meetings of the river." The bridge referred to is now known as the Atherton bridge, which is next above the meeting of the rivers. This vote reveals one spot where the "shoe pinched." By the incorporation of the new town, Lancaster would be left with all the bridges on its hands, with the exception of the *Scar* bridge at the extreme south, and perhaps a small one east of what is now Clinton. Nothing came of this vote, probably because the petitioners could not get all the land they wanted and were not willing to be saddled with the cost of a bridge "forever," outside of their bounds.

The November meeting, voted for the salary of the minister £192; and £80 for the support of a school. At the same time the town refused to free Leominster from the ministerial and school rate. Probably the religious and educational forces were not yet in working order in the new town.

On the thirty-first of December the town chose Joseph Moor and Jonathan Wilson to "prosecute such as should kill deer unseasonably."

At a meeting held May 4, 1740, the minister's salary was fixed at £212 for the year, and £80 were voted for a school. £100 were granted to be "wrought ought on the Hiwais."

It was difficult to suit Gamaliel Beaman and his friends, who came before the town, October 27, 1740, and tried to be set free from their part of the minister's rate "for one year, or for one-half thereof, or for so many months in the year as we shall have preaching among ourselves." The petition was negatived, but as it had a foundation in right, the town voted that "twenty-four pounds be payed out of the town treasury to enable the south part of the additional grant to support preaching in the winter season."

The petitioners renewed the charge on the second day of February, 1739-40, and tried the town on three questions. Taking it as a settled thing that Lancaster would not yield the demand for a mile on the north end of the line, Ephraim Sawyer and others inquired if the town would "build two meeting-houses,—one to accommodate the south part of the additional grant and the Mile, so called; the other to accommodate the remaining part of the town; each society to build and place their own meeting-house; as also to settle and maintain their own minister." Or second, that the town would set off the "petitioners to be a Precinct, so that they may build for themselves—the bounds of said Precinct to be agreeable to a vote of the town made in the year 1738-9, to make them a separate township." Thirdly, they inquired if the town was "still free and willing that the petitioners be set off as a separate township," agreeable to the vote, February 5, 1738-9.

The town voted down the proposition about two meeting-houses; and also that relating to a precinct; but assented to the plan of a new township. But this failed to satisfy the inhabitants of the "additional grant," and the Mile.

But now the movement assumes a new aspect, and as it illustrates the times, the case will be given, for the most part, in the words of the Records. It seems that Ebenezer Beaman and friends, in October, 1741, petitioned the selectmen to bring before the town a proposition in regard to meeting-houses; and that the fathers of the town ignored their

petition. Ebenezer Beaman and Gamaliel Beaman were seeking different objects. The former lived on the Neck, and wanted a meeting-house in the Center. The latter lived in Chocksett, and wanted a new town, and a meeting-house in that section. Both had rights and pluck, and more than an ordinary degree of the "perseverance of the saints."

"Worcester ss. To Mr. Aaron Willard, one of the constables of the town of Lancaster, within the county of Worcester, greeting. Whereas complaint hath been made to me, the subscriber, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Worcester, by Ebenezer Beaman and Benjamin Ballard, both of said Lancaster, yeoman, who complain and say that they, together with about sixty of the freeholders and inhabitants of said town, did by a petition by them signed, bearing date October the nineteenth, 1741, setting forth the necessity of two meeting-houses being built within the said town, etc., and signified to the selectmen of Lancaster, their desire that they should insert their petition in the next warrant that the said selectmen should issue for the calling a town meeting, etc. ; and notwithstanding the selectmen are required by law so to do, yet unreasonably denied, against the law of this Province, in that case made and provided.—These are therefore, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you, the said officer, upon sight hereof, to notify and warn all the freeholders and other inhabitants qualified according to law to vote in town meetings to vote within your precinct in Lancaster aforesaid, to meet at the public meeting-house within said town, on Friday, the twenty-ninth day of January instant, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, then and there being duly met, to act on the several particulars hereafter mentioned.

1. To choose a moderator for the government of said meeting.

2. To see if the town will proceed to build two meeting-houses within said town ; one of them to accommodate the body or northerly part of the town, and another to accom-

moderate the southerly part of the additional grant, and the Mile, so called, who labor under great difficulties by reason of their great distance from the place of public worship.

3. To conclude of what bigness or dimensions each meeting-house shall be of, and how they shall be finished, and when.

4. To vote where each meeting-house shall be set up or stand.

5. To grant a tax or rate for the building of said meeting-houses, and how much of said rate or tax shall be applied to each meeting-house for the building thereof, and when paid, and by what invoice made.

6. To choose a collector or collectors for the gathering of said rate or tax if need be.

7. To choose a committee or committees to let out said houses to workmen, or to agree with some person or persons to build said houses, and finish the same.

Lastly, to see what particular gentlemen will give gratis to so good a work.

And make return of this warrant, with your doings therein, unto Dea. Josiah White, one of the selectmen of your town, at, on or before the time appointed for said meeting. Hereof fail not as you will answer it at your peril. Given under my hand and seal at Lunenburg, this twentieth day of January, in the fifteenth year of his Majesty's reign, annoque Domini, 1741. EDWARD HARTWELL, Justice of the Peace."

This formidable document, in the name of his majesty, old George II., led to immediate results. A town meeting was held, January 29, 1741-2, when the following action was taken, "after sum debate on the affair."

The town first voted to build two meeting-houses. The house for the body of the town was to be fifty-five feet in length, and forty-five feet in breadth, and twenty-five feet posts or stud; the other house was to be forty-eight by thirty-eight feet, with twenty-two feet posts. Each house

was to be well covered with boards and shingles, and inclosed with boards covered with clap-boards. There was to be one gallery in each house. The "insides to be lathed and plastered, both on the sides and overhead; and well floored and well glazed; and to be built and finished within two years." Good "pulpits and convenient seats" were provided for in the votes.

In locating the meeting-houses there was a ground for difference. The Chocksett or second precinct house was to be "set near the Ridge hill, so called," where timber had already been collected. But in locating the house for the old town, some preferred to go back to the site of the first two houses, called the "meeting-house place." All were agreed that it was best to leave the Old Common, because it was on the edge of the town; but there was doubtless a tender feeling on the part of many, connected with the spot where the first and second houses had stood. Sacred associations clustered around the place where the early fathers and mothers had met to worship during the first sixty years. Near the place, sloping off to the east, was the first burial place, where the forefathers of the town were sleeping their last sleep. Close at hand, on the west, was a spot sure of undying fame, because there had stood the "minister's garrison" where true heroes fell, bravely striving to save their wives and little ones. And somewhere near was the grave of the fallen, a grave well known to that generation, but now beyond recognition except to Him who guards their dust.

However, the convenience of the majority, as well as the beauty of the location decided the vote, which was to place the house on the "school-house hill, as near the school house as may with conveniency in the most convenient place." The "school-house hill" is now occupied by Mr. A. E. Royce, and the meeting-house was near the road almost in front of the office north of Mr. Royce's house.

The sum of £600 was granted by tax to build the two houses, of which sum £400 were to go for the house on

"School-house hill," and £200 towards the building near "Ridge hill." Two men, David Wilder and Oliver Moor, were chosen "collectors to collect said money." Two committees, each of three men, were elected "to let out said meeting-houses to workmen, to build and finish them in the cheapest and best manner" that they could. The first committee consisted of Joseph Wilder and Samuel Willard, Esquires, and Capt. John Bennett; the second, of Capt. David Osgood, Joseph Moor and Ephraim Sawyer.

The energy displayed at this memorable meeting led to corresponding results. There was an effort, at a subsequent meeting, to re-consider the vote to place the larger house on school-house hill, and "leave it to a lot whether it should stand there, or on the meeting-house hill," but the move was defeated. At a meeting, May 24, 1742, the tax for the minister was voted to be "made at fifty two pounds, ten shillings, proclamation money, or in bills of credit in due proportion thereto," and twenty-five pounds were granted for "preaching to Choxet." A grant of £20 was made for schools, and a like sum to "defray town charges, and for a stock to pay for wolves, cats, birds and squirrels."

It seems that wild beasts and troublesome birds still abounded to such an extent as to warrant the expense of paying for their extermination.

Another slice was taken from the old town, this year, and the voters gracefully yielded their consent, as appears by the following. "On the request of Joshua Houghton and others, the town voted that they are free and willing so far to grant their request, that if the northerly part of Shrewsbury, shall be set off either as a township or a precinct, that they may be joined with them by the bounds following, viz: to begin at Bolton—now Berlin—line, one mile and a half from Lancaster southeast corner, and from thence to run due west till it meet with the river, and then up said river to the town line, excluding only the land of Philip Larkin that may fall within said lines." By this measure a strip one mile and a half wide was given to the new town of Boylston.

At the same meeting the town assented to the plan of a second precinct, nearly covering the territory now constituting Sterling. They also voted to rebuild and keep in repair the bridge over the river at Capt. John Bennett's, at the North Village, and to remove the Scar bridge, at the south end of the town, "down to the road that leads from Lieut. Sawyer's to Dr. Dunsmoor's."

Mr. Stephen Frost received the money raised for keeping school during the years 1741 and 1742, and it is therefore inferred that he kept the several schools in succession.

The old meeting-house, the new ones being finished, must needs be disposed of, and the town, at a meeting May 20, 1743, voted to "pull down the old meeting-hous in convenient seson," and that the committees "pull off ye clabord and nails of ye old meeting-house, and divide them betwixt ye Precincts according to ye pay." Having voted to "build three school-housen," they proceeded to locate, and appoint committees to attend to the building of them. One was to be set in "the parting of the paths by Amos Sawyer's;" or at Deers Horns. The committee were Capt. Richardson, Hezekiah Gates and Joshua Fairbank. Another was to stand at "the parting of the paths in the corner of Capt. John Bennett's fence." The committee were Capt. Bennett, Ebenezer Beman and Dea. Houghton. Location in or near the North Village. The third house was to be twenty rods west of the new precinct meeting-house, and Capt. David Osgood, Ephraim Sawyer and Samuel Sawyer were to build it. These houses were to be twenty-four by eighteen feet, and "seven feet betwixt joynts." The "three committees for the school-housen were to pull down the old meeting-hous — and improve the materials for the building the school-housen that are fit therefore, and to dispose of the rest for the town use." The next vote was to give the "Rev. Mr. John Prentice the old school-hous for a stable, after the floors, benchis and chimneys was taken out."

The swarming time was over. Three new towns were formed, for the most part, out of Lancaster, and each birth caused a spasm. It was hard for the old town to be dismembered. Harvard, Bolton, (to be divided in due time to make Berlin) and Leominster were set up as respectable towns. A large slice from the south had gone to the formation of Boylston. Woonksechauckset, shortened to Chockset, denied the dignity of a township, became a precinct, and was authorized to manage its own ecclesiastical affairs. Two good meeting-houses had been erected, at public expense,—the old town was made a precinct in 1742—and three new school-houses had been built. These, with a house in the Center, on or near school-house hill, and perhaps another, provided the children with the conveniences of education according to the standard of that day. There was a school, though not a school-house on the Harvard road. And now the town, one hundred years old from the time when in 1643, the pioneers first “lifted up axes on the thick trees,” shorn of its territorial greatness, but still rich in lands, and richer far in its children, entered upon a new century.

The student of town history has a laudable curiosity to know the names of the men who have held the prominent offices in former times. The following is a full list, between the years 1725 and 1743, of those who held the offices of Moderator, Clerk, Treasurer, Selectmen, Assessor, and Representative to the general court.

The moderators were Joseph Wilder, 3; James Wilder, 5; Jacob Houghton, Jabez Fairbank, 5; Josiah Wheeler, 2; Henry Houghton, Jonas Houghton, Jeremiah Wilder, Ephraim Wilder, 5; John Prescott, Josiah White, 6; Oliver Wilder, 2; Jonathan Houghton, Samuel Wilder, Samuel Willard, 4; Joseph Osgood.

The clerks were Jonathan Houghton, 11; Joseph Wilder, jr., 5.

The treasurers were John Bennet, Benjamin and Jonas Houghton, Hooker and Joseph Osgood, Edward Phelps, William Richardson, Bezael, Ezra and William Sawyer, Josiah White, Andrew and Oliver Wilder, Samuel Willard.

The representatives were Jabez Fairbank, Jonathan Houghton, James Keyes, William Richardson, Josiah White, 3; Ephraim Wilder, 3; Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, 4.

The selectmen were John Bennet, 4; Samuel Carter, 9; Thomas Carter, 5; Benjamin Houghton, jr., Henry Houghton, 2; Israel Houghton, 2; Jacob Houghton, 2; Jonas Houghton, Jonathan Houghton, 8; Thomas Houghton, David Osgood, 2; Hooker Osgood, 6; William Richardson, Bezaleel Sawyer, 2; Ephraim Sawyer, Elias Sawyer, 2; Joseph Sawyer, 2; William Sawyer, Joseph Wheelock, 2; Josiah White, 5; Ebenezer Wilder, 3; Ephraim Wilder, 2; Josiah Wilder, Joseph Wilder, 6; Oliver Wilder, 4; Hezekiah Willard, Samuel Willard, 2.

The following were the first selectmen, John Bennet, Samuel Carter, Jonathan Houghton, Joseph Sawyer, Joseph Wheelock, Josiah White, Joseph Wilder, Oliver Wilder.

The assessors were either the whole or a part of the board of selectmen; generally three of them acted as assessors.

In the above list the figures denote the number of years each man held the respective offices. There were two Joseph Wilders, father and son. The latter was clerk. It is impossible to divide the offices between Hooker Osgood and Hooker Osgood, jr. The treasurers rarely held office more than a year or two.

Samuel Wilder, Josiah White and Ephraim Wilder were the representatives generally, unless when they declined to serve.

The want of a sound currency, at this period of New England history, greatly embarrassed business, and carried distress into almost every family. The subject is too intricate for discussion in this place; but a brief statement is needed to show the condition of the people.

Continual wars with the Indians and the French had wasted the substance of the people, besides destroying many lives. The natural consequence was debt. Relief was sought by the expedient of paper money. An attempt was made to start a "land bank" in 1715, but fortunately it was a failure. In 1740 the project became a reality, but the measure proved a curse, as all financial shams must, by the inflexible law of nature. The notes of the bank depreciated because they were not readily redeemable. But finally an old act of parliament, while it compelled the lenders to redeem their paper, ruined the bank.

To meet the expenses of the wars, the colony issued promises to pay beyond its income from taxes and all other sources. The result was inevitable, a great depreciation of the credit of the colony. Prices rose; business men failed; farms were mortgaged. The distress was extreme.

Finally, in 1748-9 the British government paid the colony a part of the expense incurred in the capture of Louisburg, and other expeditions. About £180,000 sterling was sent over, and with this sum, the notes of the colony were cancelled, to a great extent. Specie began to circulate in the place of depreciated paper, and a solid foundation was reached. The balance of indebtedness was paid by increased taxation. At this time the value of a Spanish milled dollar was fixed at six shillings.

The bitter lesson learned from the excessive issues of paper money lasted for a generation; but the exigencies of the revolution led to a similar course, with the same disastrous result. The statesmen of the Revolution learned the value of a specie basis, but every new generation seems to need a terrible experience to learn the plain fact that a paper promise to pay is worthless, unless based on ample ability to redeem itself, on demand, with gold or silver.

The formation of Worcester county was noticed in its place, but a few items of some interest were omitted, which show the relative importance of Lancaster at that time. The following table gives the county tax in 1734, after Harvard had been severed from the town :

Lancaster,	£26 03 4	Shrewsbury,	£8 13 0
Mendon,	18 00 0	Harvard,	7 03 1
Woodstock,	16 00 0	Oxford,	7 02 0
Brookfield,	13 10 8	Leicester,	6 19 8
Sutton,	12 05 0	Uxbridge,	6 00 4
Worcester,	11 07 8	Rutland,	3 18 0
Westborough,	9 01 0	Lunenburg,	3 18 0
Southborough,	8 13 0		

At that date Brookfield included all the Brookfields; Worcester included Holden; Mendon, Rutland and Uxbridge were

large townships ; but the valuation of Lancaster greatly exceeded that of any of them. Woodstock, Conn., was then in the county.

In 1735 the county tax of Lancaster was the same ; but in 1736 it was raised to £29.6.3., while that of Mendon was £19.6.10. The town of Worcester was the sixth in valuation in the county.

The tavern keepers licensed by the county court in the year 1734, were Jonathan Houghton, Capt. Carter, William Richardson and Josiah Richardson. Col. Samuel Willard was licensed as a retailer. Benjamin Houghton was licensed as a tavern keeper in 1735.

In 1736, John Dakin was fined by the court for neglecting public worship. Jess Wheeler, son of Benjamin, was convicted of "planting corn on the Sabbath day." He pleaded ignorance of the law, but was fined fifteen shillings, to be used for the poor of Lancaster.

The Records of the court reveal something of the state of morals in the town, but to the credit of Lancaster, it may be said, that its inhabitants made but little business, comparatively, for the criminal courts.

In 1737, Oliver Wilder was a coroner for the county. And among the Justices of the Peace for the county in 1740, were Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Edward Hartwell, Samuel Willard, jr. and Oliver Wilder.

A glance at the preceding table shows the wonderful change between then and now. Leaving out Woodstock, there were but fourteen towns in the county ; now there are nearly sixty. Then Worcester was the sixth in valuation, and held about the same rank in regard to population. Now the city contains over fifty thousand people, and in population and wealth probably equals one-fourth of the whole county. Then all the territory of the county west of Wachusett, except Brookfield, was almost an unbroken wilderness, where now are many fertile townships, intelligent communities, and flourishing churches.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH AND THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS :
1738-48. FORT DUMMER.

THE course of our history leads from peaceful scenes and bloodless conflicts, to the field of real warfare. The connection of the town with the province and the empire, always close, becomes more apparent, since the wars of Great Britain involved the outposts of her wide dominions. The administration of Jonathan Belcher, as provincial governor, continued to the year 1741, when he was succeeded by William Shirley, who represented the king about eight years; the two covering the whole period of the Spanish and the old French and Indian wars, from 1739 to 1749.

Walpole still held the post of prime minister of George II., though with waning power, since all his astuteness and address were exerted in vain to prevent the war with Spain, which broke out in the year 1739, on the thirty-first of October. In truth this war, like most events of the kind, was forced on the government by public opinion. No one, it is said, had a "clearer view of the impending mischief and misery of the Spanish war," than Walpole. On the day of the declaration, when joyful peals were heard from every steeple in London, the shrewd old minister muttered, "they may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands." And the event proved the wisdom of his words. British valor did not fail to manifest its usual vigor, but thousands of brave men died in vain in Cuba, Jamaica and Carthage.

The colonies were called upon to furnish men to fight in the West Indies. The quota of this province was a thousand men, but by some means, only half that number was raised. In November, Admiral Vernon had taken possession of the town and castle of Porto Bello, and soon after he demolished Fort Chagre, on the Isthmus of Darien. In the following March Gov. Belcher encouraged the enlistment of volunteers. Five hundred went from Massachusetts; eighteen of them from Lancaster. These were among the reinforcements of Vernon. In the spring of 1741, with a great additional force from England, he made an abortive attack upon Carthage, on the west coast of New Grenada. In July they landed in Cuba, and took possession of a fine harbor, but, in the language of Trumbull, the able and accurate historian of Connecticut, "by reason of an extraordinary sickness, and mortality, they were not able to effect anything of consequence." This sickness was like the plague in its virulence. For several days the deaths exceeded a thousand each day. Three thousand four hundred and forty men died in two days, when the pest raged with the greatest fury. New England sent about a thousand men; not one hundred returned. This province supplied five hundred; only fifty survived. Lancaster gave eighteen or nineteen of her adventurous sons. One of these was Jacob Wilder, who wrote a letter from Jamaica, in December 1740, in which, after naming several of his acquaintance who were dead, says: "through the providence of God I am in nomination for an ensign, and I hope that I may be fitted for it." Seven of the eighteen went out in 1740; but the names of three only are found in the Records. These were Jonathan Houghton, 37 years; Jacob Wilder, 23; William Whitcomb, 30; all "husbandmen," and all members of well-known families.

Wilder and all his comrades, fell victims to disease and the casualties of war. There was mourning in many households, and sympathy in all. Peculiarly sad is the fate of those who die young, in a strange land, with no friends to

follow them to the grave. "Weep ye not for the dead, [Jer. 22 ; 10] neither bemoan him ; but weep sore for him that goeth away : for he shall return no more, nor see his native country."

It was in the course of this war that Capt. John Prescott raised one hundred volunteers, for one of his majesty's companies of foot, to go to Cuba. In 1741 he petitioned for compensation. He was of the Lancaster stock of Prescotts, but probably resided in Concord. A fragment of his muster roll is found in the Archives, but the names of three Lancaster men only out of seven, are preserved. The names of the remaining eleven or twelve are probably scattered through the rolls of other companies ; but generally the soldier's place of residence is not given. It is therefore impossible to say, with certainty, what names in the list belong to Lancaster men. The sadness occasioned by the losses of the town and the colony, is redoubled when it is known that these losses were not only useless, but without sufficient cause. The disputes between England and Spain had been adjusted, and an equitable "convention signed." But this was defeated by a clamor raised by the commercial interest, and taken up by politicians for the purpose of overthrowing Sir Robert Walpole. In after years Mr. Burke, referring to this period, said : "It was my fortune to converse with those who principally excited that clamor. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct."

The war with Spain was succeeded by hostilities between England and France, which broke out in the spring of 1744. This war most deeply affected New England, and called forth strenuous exertion in its prosecution. England had its own objects, in other parts of the world, rather than in these colonies ; but the people of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island took up the quarrel against the French settlements as if it were specially their own. They knew that France was bent on their conquest. For

several generations they had been exposed to the Indian tomahawk through the instigation of the French. They felt that there could be no lasting peace until the French power in America was subdued. With admirable sagacity and energy they struck at what was at the time the most dangerous center of French power. Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, was a fine port and a strong fortification. It commanded the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all the coast far into Massachusetts Bay. New England was moved, as if by an universal impulse to break up this stronghold of French power. But Massachusetts, as having far more sea-coast and commerce than the other three colonies combined, was most deeply interested in the enterprise.

It belongs to the history of the colony to relate the details of the great and successful struggle. Our humbler task is confined to the connection of Lancaster with the expedition. The colony sent three thousand, two hundred and fifty men, besides commissioned officers. In so great a number the quota of this town would not be few. During the winter of 1744-5, the subject was in agitation, and Gov. Shirley was busy in perfecting his plans, and gathering the forces. The following letter shows that this frontier town was relied upon, not only for soldiers, but an officer to lead them. It was dated February, 25, 1744, old style; but in modern style, 1745.

"Honored Sir:— I received orders from the governor [Shirley] on the nineteenth day of February, to take upon me the command of a regiment, though very unequal to that trust. I do it with a great deal more of pleasure, having so good a general to instruct me. Sir, I hope you will excuse me if am not ready so soon as the other colonels. I am constant [sic] riding both night and day to accomplish my business, and I intend to wait upon your honor next week. Sir, I have a good prospect of getting men. Sir, I have been in an army, knowing the difficulty being in it. I think it my duty to put you in mind to see that a committee buys a

quantity of fat wethers, for it is very necessary for soldiers when they are sick ; and if the committee sends me word, I could get a score or more.

Honored Sir, give my regards to Col. Molten. So I remain your humbler servant,

SAMUEL WILLARD.

To the Hon. WILLIAM PEPPERELL, Esq."

Sir William Pepperell was the commander-in-chief of the land forces, acting in conjunction with the English Admiral Warren. A medical authority suggests that the "fat wethers" were useful as diet for the soldiers in hospital.

Col. Willard speaks of having "been in an army," and of "knowing the difficulty being in it." What army he refers to is uncertain, but he had seen considerable military service. He was son of Henry, and grandson of Major Simon Willard, and was born in 1690. His father left him a competent real estate, and he became a very extensive land-holder in Lancaster and Harvard. Joseph Willard informs us that he was "largely engaged in business, in Lancaster," and that he "purchased the former homestead of his grand-father." In 1725 he was a captain, and in August of that year he wrote a letter to Gov. Dummer giving the details of a long scout into New Hampshire and return. His services in this line have been related in a former chapter. Summoned now at the age of fifty-four to put on the harness of war, he was ready to spring into the saddle, and ride night and day to expedite business. He had been for many years colonel of a regiment ; had represented the town in the general court. He was also a judge of the court of common pleas for the county of Worcester. In a word he was a man of character, ability and substance.

How many of his fellow-townsmen followed him to Cape Breton cannot be told, because the muster rolls are lost. After faithful search in the State Archives, and a careful examination of the two volumes of Pepperell Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the sad

conclusion was reached that a part of the muster rolls relating to the Louisburg Expedition are gone irrecoverably. The Historical Society has several; but not one belonging to Col. Willard's regiment. It is known that his son, Abijah Willard, aged twenty-one, was captain of a company, in the expedition, and that Joshua was an officer in his brother Abijah's company, but the roll of the company is among those which are missing. It is supposed that his company was mainly made up of men from his own town. It would be pleasant to bring forth from private papers and public records the names and deeds of these officers and their men, but it is feared that the waters of oblivion have covered them. This at least is known, that Col. Willard won an honorable fame in the expedition, and that his son, the captain, maintained the honor of the family and the town in the subsequent French and Indian war.

The letter which follows is of no great historical importance, but it gives a glimpse of things at Louisburg after the capture of the city and fortress. It is dated October 2, 1745, and is addressed to Gov. Shirley.

"This is to inform your excellency that my regiment is not settled so as to be in any capacity of doing duty, as they ought to do; and it is by reason of the company's being very much broke. And in order for the settlement of the companies in my regiment, and for the peace and quietness of the soldiers, I shall take it as a great favor done to me, if your excellency would see cause to commission those gentlemen hereafter named: John Huston, James Fry, John Fry, Nathaniel Pettengill, to be the officers over the men that belong to Lt. Col. Chandler's company, and Capt. James Stevens' company. Jonathan Hubbard, Benajah Austin, and Elisha Strong to be officers over the men belonging to Major Pomroy's company, and Capt. Miller's. Ephraim Hayward, and John Bell and Dudley Bradstreet to be officers over the men that are left of Capt. Warren's company, and Capt. Olmsted's. In so doing you will oblige your most obedient and humble servant."

After his return from Louisburg Col. Willard was engaged in the public service till the close of the war. Through the dim twilight of the past, we catch here and there a glimpse of him, riding to and fro amid primeval forests in search of the skulking enemy. Between March and October, 1748, he was scouting westward through Nashewog, [Petersham] Payquage, [Athol] and Rutland, with men bearing Lancaster names. July 19, he wrote to Capt. White: "Hearing repeated accounts of the Indians shooting, and being tracked above you, you are hereby directed to send six able-bodied men to scout constantly above Lunenburg and Leominster until further order. Yours to serve." The party probably consisted of the following men: Capt. Jonathan White, Joseph Beaman, Oliver Carter, Gershom Houghton, Nathaniel Carter, Joshua Walker. They were out till the twelfth of August.

The active colonel seems to have extended his scouting as far as Fort Dummer, whence he wrote as follows: July 15, four days preceding the date of the last order. The letter is addressed to Gov. Dummer. "Our circumstances have become most difficult and melancholy,—the enemy are so numerous and constantly around us. They take up abode among us. They came to Ashuelots and killed ten or eleven cattle, and carried off almost all. They waylaid nineteen soldiers between Northfield and Fort Dummer, and only two or three got in." He writes also of the distressed condition of Northfield and Winchester. His soldiers were too few to guard the fort and to furnish necessary scouts.

In February, 1748-9, the Indians came into the north-western part of Lunenburg, and killed two soldiers, Jennings and Blodgett, who were stationed there. They carried into captivity Mr. John Fitch and his family. Whitney's History states that this took place in the summer, but according to the Records, Col. Samuel Willard, February 2, sent Capt. Jonathan Willard, on hearing the "extroydnery news of Mr. Fitch's family being taken from Lunenburg by

the enemy." The Indians escaped with their captives, but Mr. Fitch and all his family except his wife, who died in Canada, after suffering "incredible hardships and fatigues, returned in safety." The men who scouted under Col. Willard's command in July and August, bore the following names, many of them familiar to Lancaster :

Jonathan Willard,	Samuel Stow,	Ezekiel Wyman,
Jonathan Page,	Samuel Pool,	Samuel Johnson,
Timothy Bancroft,	Thomas Stearns,	Zachary Wyman,
William Porter,	John Dunsmore,	Isaac Gibson,
Amos Kendall,	David Goodridge,	Nehemiah Gould,
Ephraim Kimball,	Thomas Brown,	Paul Wetherby.
Ebenezer Kimball,	J. Wood,	

The war was now drawing to its close, nor did Col. Willard long survive. His death occurred suddenly, at Lancaster, in November, 1752, when he was in the sixty-third year of his age. He seems to have inherited much of the ability, public spirit and military capacity of his grandfather, Major Simon Willard. He was the son of Henry Willard and Dorcas Cutter ; his wife was Elizabeth Phelps, daughter of Edward Phelps, who came to Lancaster before the close of the seventeenth century ; and his connections were with the first families in this section of the province. He had been a member of the church from his youth, as his name is subscribed to the Covenant which was renewed in 1707, when he was seventeen years old. He filled an honorable place in the annals of the town, and left the legacy of a good name to his children.

During a long series of years there was an intimate connection between Lancaster and Fort Dummer. The connection began prior to the old French war, and continued till after its close ; but it will be convenient to give a connected narrative of this episode in our town's history in this place.

Fort Dummer was located in what is now Brattleborough, Vermont. It was in the southeast corner of the present town, about a mile and a half from the village. The fort was on the river bank, just above the reach of the high floods

which often overflow the broad intervale between the river and the plateau which rises on the west. The house of Mr. Wells S. Brooks [1877] stands on the site of the fort. The situation was admirably chosen for commanding the river both above and below. The modern visitor is not attracted to the spot by its historic interest, merely, but charmed by the beauty of the scenery, mingling intervale and river, plateau and mountain, adorned with every variety of foliage.

The fort was built in the year 1723-4, by the Province of Massachusetts, and named after the acting Governor, William Dummer. The work was done by Lieut. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, under the command of Col. Stoddard. The enclosure was one hundred and eighty feet square. The eastern side of the fort was close upon the river bank, which descends steeply to the water side. Remains of the foundation can still be found in piles of stone. The fort was built of large yellow pine logs, squared on two sides, and locked or framed together at the angles. It had mounts, or square towers, from fourteen to twenty feet high, made of heavy timbers framed and boarded up; and the upper story was planked. These were for sentries or watchmen.

There was a row of houses built on the inside, against the wall, with a single roof sloping outward. There are wells now within the space enclosed, and probably were when the fort was first occupied. Water could be easily obtained from the river, subject however to the danger of Indian shots from the eastern bank. This old fort was doubtless known to the scouts of Lancaster, as we know that Capt. John White and others who went scouting to the north of New Hampshire, used to return by the Connecticut river, and Northfield, as the region was then called, before the town was reduced to its present limits.

In the time of the Spanish war, 1740-1, the fort was repaired, — in a sense, rebuilt. Two bastions were added, on which two swivels and two other guns were mounted. At this time four houses, each two stories high, were erected, besides several smaller houses containing a single room.

Four depressions in the ground, within the circuit of the fort, still show where the four larger houses stood. At this time a line of pickets or palisades was extended round eight acres of land, enclosing the fort on three sides, and connecting with the fort on the east, or river side. These pickets were twenty feet high, and enclosed land enough to supply the garrison with a large quantity of the necessaries of life.

During the long interval of peace preceding the Spanish war, the fort seems to have been neglected; but the exigencies of this war, and of the French and Indian war, 1745-8, caused it to be strengthened. Another fort was built at Williamstown, called Fort Massachusetts, or No. 2. These two forts, with a chain of block-houses, several miles apart, from Fort Dummer to Dunstable, formed a barrier below which the enemy seldom came after the middle of the century. Charlestown was styled No. 4, and the region from Keene to Hinsdale was called the Ashuelots, because it bordered the Ashuelot river. Northfield was on both sides of the river, and included Gill and the Vernons, as far north as Fort Dummer, and perhaps Brattleboro'.

From the year 1740, Fort Dummer appears to have been a Lancaster "institution." Kept in repair, armed and manned by Massachusetts, it was under the special charge of men born and bred in Lancaster, and the adjoining towns. In 1740, between May 21 and November 20, we find Col. Josiah Willard, and his son Capt. Josiah Willard, jr., with a small complement of men at the fort. Another bit of record proves that they were there till the following March. This Josiah Willard was a son of Henry and grandson of Major Simon Willard, and a brother of Col. Samuel Willard, the hero of Louisburg. The famous "good Secretary," Josiah Willard, was his cousin. Col. Josiah was born in Lancaster in 1693, and about 1723, married Hannah, daughter of John, and granddaughter of the first Thomas Wilder. He removed to Lunenburg, but continued for many years to attend meeting in his native town, where several if not all of his children

were baptised. He was a captain and led expeditions against the Indians, while yet a young man. When a commander was needed at Fort Dummer, he was sent to that post, and his name, or that of his children appears in connection with the fort during fifteen years. For example, Capt. Josiah Willard, jr., and his brother Nathan, afterwards captain, were at the fort in 1742. Repeated entries show that Josiah Willard, — father or son, or both, — was at Fort Dummer between 1745 and 1748. Letters, bills, receipts and orders, preserved in the State Archives are the evidence. During these years there was need of constant vigilance, as the Indians were on the watch to break in at any unguarded hour. Scouts were sent out frequently to scour the woods in search of the enemy. In May, 1746, the French and Indians attacked No. 4, in considerable force, and "were driven off by the spirited behavior of Major Willard, at the head of a small party of soldiers."

Major Josiah Willard was at the fort from February 1 to July 12, 1748, with the following men under his command: Lieut. John Sergeant, Sergeant and Lieut. Nathan Willard, Sergeant William Willard, Joseph Willard, Wilder Willard, Andrew Gardner, chaplain; Simon Willard; Oliver Willard, clerk. Four of these Willards were brothers of the Major, and sons of the colonel. In these days the colonel would be liable to the charge of nepotism.

On the fourteenth of July, 1748, Sergeant Taylor was marching up the east side of the river, when his party of sixteen men were attacked by a company of ambushed Indians, and four men were killed. One escaped, and by running along the east bank of the river, reached a point opposite the fort. He was saved; the rest were missing.

At another time the Indians came near capturing the fort by an ingenious ruse. The side of Chesterfield mountain, opposite the fort, was covered with dense woods, with opening intervals. One day an Indian, disguised as a bear, was seen on the hill-side, and the occupants of the fort were tempted

to cross the river and pursue him. Bruin seeing them approach, withdrew gradually up the mountain, while his comrades were watching to make a rush for the fort; and it is said that the trick was discovered only just in time to foil the enemy.

The same hill-side was fruitful in strawberries, and when the families residing in the fort ventured over the river to pick them, they were liable to attack from Indians who came down from the inaccessible wilds that extend far to the east and north. At times also it was unsafe to get water from the river, the Indians sending dangerous shots, from bow or gun, from the bushes on the eastern bank. In 1748, January 5, Col. Samuel Willard, having been informed by Capt. Stevens, of No. 4, who also was of Lancaster stock, being a grandson of Major Simon Willard, that Indians were coming between the rivers, [probably the Connecticut and Merrimac,] sent out a detachment to meet the enemy. Sergeant James Houghton was leader of the party, and he was followed by John Wilder, Asa Whitcomb, afterwards colonel in the French war, and the Revolution, Hezekiah Whitcomb, John Hidley, Joseph Kilborn, Nathan Burpee, and Jonathan Powers.

From July 7 to 12, 1748, the following men were in some public service, but whether scouting between Lancaster and Fort Dummer, or in some other direction, it is impossible to determine. The names are given because most of the men belonged to this town. Capt. Ephraim Wilder, jr., Lieut. John Whitcomb, of Bolton; cornet Hezekiah Gates; qr. ms. Hezekiah Whitcomb; corporals Nathan Wilder, Samuel Burpee and Thomas Fairbanks; sentinels or soldiers, Thomas Sawyer, Aaron Dresser, Ebenezer Buss, William Richardson, Elijah Sawyer, Ephraim Osgood, Stephen Johnson, James House, Joseph Rugg, Hezekiah Ballard, John Dupee, John Farrar, Hezekiah Hunt, Phineas Willard, Abijah Houghton, John Prentice. John Whitcomb became distinguished in the next French war, and in the Revolution. Several other names

in the above list, reappear in later years, in honorable service. This Capt. Ephraim Wilder scouted in 1746 in the western towns as far as Athol, and perhaps to the river. Capt. Samuel, son of Col. Willard, was in the public service from March to October 1848.

In 1749 Col. Josiah Willard was at the fort, and his son now major, was in the Ashuelot country. In December of this year, he petitioned for pay as sub-commissary for all the forts, and garrisons, and marching forces on the line of the Province since the commencement of the war. The next year, the colonel died when on a journey from home, in his fifty-eighth year. He was a man of high character, and in his private and public capacity, sustained a good reputation. Willard quotes from a public journal as follows. "He was grandson to the renowned Major Simon Willard, and was a gentleman of superior natural powers, of a pleasant, happy and agreeable temper of mind; a faithful friend; one that paid singular regard to ministers of the gospel; a kind husband and tender parent. His death is a great loss to the public, considering his usefulness in many respects, particularly on the western frontiers, where, in the late wars, in his be-trustments, he has shown himself faithful, vigilant and careful. Of late years he has had the command of Fort Dummer, and always used his best endeavors for the protection of our exposed infant towns; and his loss will be greatly regretted by them." He was succeeded in the command of the fort by his son, Lt. Col., now become Col. Willard, to whom the secretary wrote, "I heartily join with you and your family in mourning for the death of your father, esteeming it a great public loss."

In 1750 Col. Josiah Willard, jr., had under his command at the fort the following men :

Lieuts. Nathan and William Willard, Oliver and Simon Willard, Moses Wheeler, John Alexander, Ebenezer Alexander, Daniel Sergeant, Simeon Knight, Wilder Willard, Valentine Butler, Fairbanks Moor, John Sergeant, Elias Alexander, John Moor, Nathan Fairbanks.

The same force was continued in 1751, with slight changes of men.

The fort appears to have been in the hands of the Willard family during the interval between the old and the last French and Indian wars. The latter began in 1755, when we find Capt. Nathan Willard in command with the following men: William, Oliver, Wilder and Joseph Willard, Jacob Ball, John Sergeant, and Uriah Morse. It was during the command of Capt. Nathan that complaints of his mal-administration reached the general court. The fort had been in charge of the family so long, that possibly the younger sons of Col. Willard presumed to manage matters for their own benefit and pleasure. Nor is this singular, taking human nature as it is in all ages and generations of men. As early as 1740, when the fort was in a defenceless condition, and the Indians were hostile, the senior Col. Willard, offered, with those under him, at their own expense, "to put the garrison into a position of defence, and erect two sufficient bastions," if the government would furnish the materials. From that time the fort appears to have been the home of the sons, and it is quite possible that they became careless and grasping in their mode of doing things. However this may have been, such was the opinion of others in and about the fort. Capt. Fairbank Moore and ten others, made complaint to the general court, while Nathan was the superior officer, that the defence of the place was neglected; that guns were left in exposed places, and were growing rusty; that the locks were in one place and the stocks in another; and generally that the state of affairs was very much out of order. They go on to state that the Willards were false to the Province, and ready to swear in favor of New Hampshire; that they sold stores to outsiders; that in addition to the number of soldiers allowed, he had put in Oliver and Wilder Willard; that there were four large houses in the fort, and he had given each of the Willards one, and taken a fifth to himself, and turned all the rest of the families into two small rooms, and finally, that the Wil-

lards had appropriated all the lands to themselves, allowing but a small garden spot to the rest of the soldiers. The complaint is in the Archives, but there is no record of any action by the general court, in reference to the matter. The probability is that the authorities in Massachusetts had confidence in their men. In 1755, Capt. Willard represented his exposed condition to the court. During the summer, nineteen persons had been killed near the fort by the Indians, who "were constantly lurking in the woods around and near." If attacked, he said, the fort "must fall." Partial relief was granted. The next year another petition was presented, and a few more soldiers were added to his force.

The fort had now become a kind of thoroughfare, soldiers constantly going and coming between the Province and the frontiers by lakes George and Champlain. During the last French war, troops passed up through the routes by No. 4, Fort Dummer, and Fort Massachusetts, to meet the enemy on and near the lakes, and thus Fort Dummer was often crowded with passing soldiers, while the war was removed to a greater distance. By degrees, as the country was settled, and the seat of conflict was changed, and the Indians were driven far to the north and west, the need of Fort Dummer became less pressing. Soon all interest in it became historical. But whatever interest attached to the locality, as connected with Indian wars, or with the sad fortunes of Mrs. Rowlandson, its history has a peculiar connection with the town of Lancaster. Fort Dummer closed the path by which the French and Indians came down from the north in the year 1704, and assaulted Lancaster; and it was fitly manned by her soldiers.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHURCH DURING THE MINISTRY OF REV. JOHN PRENTICE.

THE settlement of Mr. Prentice in 1708 was followed by a long, harmonious and successful pastorate. The Covenant renewed by the church at the beginning of his ministry remained unchanged. The only change in the manner of admitting to the church, made in 1734, allowed a written instead of an oral relation of experience and confession of faith, at the option of the candidate. Mr. Prentice must have had enduring qualities, which enabled him, during a long term of years, to keep his hold of the confidence and esteem of his people. In this, however, he was aided by the habitual respect for the ministry which characterized our fathers. He was a native of Newton, and was the son of Thomas and Mary [Staunton] Prentice. The father, (together with Capt. Thomas Prentice, who had been a "brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war," and another relative of the same name,) is famed, by tradition as one of Oliver Cromwell's body guard. As he died in 1722 at the great age of ninety-three, he was eleven years old, at the outbreak of the revolution of 1640; and had reached the age of twenty-nine, at the time of the Protector's death. Mr. Prentice, the minister, was admitted to the church, in Newton, March 14, 1708, and dismissed the same day. His relation was then, according to the conjecture of the historian Willard, transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained on Monday, March 29, 1708. Among his classmates at Cambridge, where he took his first degree in 1700, we find the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker,

Whiting, and Robert Breck. Probably he had preached in other places before coming hither. Perhaps his marriage with Mrs. Gardner, the widow of his predecessor, conciliated the good will of his parishioners.

Before giving in brief detail the incidents of his ministry, it will be well to glance at the state of his parish, and get some notion of the families to whom he ministered. A tax list made out in the last year of his life, helps us in our investigation.

The town was still agitated by the later horrors of queen Anne's war. The church had been twice bereaved, within a few years, of two excellent and esteemed ministers. But the war soon came to a close, and with the exception of Lovewell's war, was followed by a lasting peace. The breach caused by the death of Messrs. Whiting and Gardner, was healed by the acceptable and permanent ministrations of their successor.

At the same time, population was beginning to increase rapidly, not only by the excess of births over deaths, but by the coming of families from the eastern towns. If the people had increased from about three hundred and sixty in the spring of 1708, to four hundred and fifty before the close of 1711, as was computed in a former chapter, Mr. Prentice soon had a large congregation, and an extensive parish. There is no reason for doubting that the ratio of increase continued substantially as above for a period of twenty-five years, when the population of this town was lessened by the formation of Harvard. In rapid succession, Bolton including Berlin, and Leominster were incorporated. The process was completed by 1742, leaving the old town somewhat reduced in numbers. Still there were more people in Lancaster in 1749 than in 1711, as is proved by a tax list for the year 1749. In an old book are found the "Province Rate" and the "Town and County Rate" for 1749 and the two following years. The Province Rate including "Polls, Real Estate and Personal Estate," numbers about one hundred

and five names. The list includes two or three widows, and probably a few minors. Supposing the minors who paid a poll tax were ten, there would be left about ninety-five families; and allowing five and a half souls to a family, the population would amount to five hundred and twenty-five. In 1751 the "Province Rate" contains one hundred and thirty-five names, including widows and taxable minors. This (making the proper deduction for minors,) would give as the total population not far from six hundred and sixty, or an increase of one hundred and thirty five in two years. This seems incredible, at first sight, but it must be remembered that this was the period between the two French and Indian wars. When the war of 1745 closed, there was a rush of settlers from nearly all the lower towns towards the interior. Many of the towns west of Lancaster witnessed incipient efforts at settlement just at this time. Things were so unsettled however that these settlements went on slowly. Some of them were abandoned till after the battle of Quebec in 1759. But Lancaster was, ever after the old French and Indian war of 1745-8, so far from the frontier that it was considered secure. This may account, in part, for the rapid increase of the population. Besides, the estimates must be taken with many grains of allowance. There is no exact way of finding the number of souls in any town or country but by actual enumeration. The ratio of individuals to a family is subject to some variations, and the tax lists are not always correct. It will be safe to say that there were, in 1751, about six hundred and fifty people, in the town, including the second precinct, or Sterling.

A list of the names of those taxed in 1751 will show the families which made up the congregation of Mr. Prentice till the year 1742, (when the church in Sterling was formed) which was only five years before his death. It contains the names of some of the thirty-three male members who renewed the Covenant in 1708; as Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, and probably others. Some were children when Mr. Prentice

began his ministry here, and others had been born, and grown to man's estate during his forty years pastorate. The tax list which follows is therefore one of the most interesting historical documents which could be presented to the student of our local history. The names are arranged alphabetically for convenience.

Abbott, Joseph,	Harris, Asa,
Atherton, Amos,	" David,
Ballard, Benjamin,	" Ebenezer,
" Josiah,	" John,
" Sherebiah,	Haskell, Henry,
Barrett, Jacob,	" Jeremiah,
Beaman, Ebenezer,	Hill, Enoch,
" John,	Houghton, Israel,
" John, jr.,	" James,
" Thomas,	" James,
Bennitt, Elisha,	" James, jr.,
" John,	" Nathaniel,
" Keziah,	" Phinehas,
Bowers, Jerahmeel,	Holte, Thomas,
" John,	Hubbard, Capt Jonathan,
Carter, Ephraim,	Hunt, Sherebiah,
" James,	James, Joseph,
" Lieut. John,	Johnson, Daniel,
" Samuel,	" Joshua,
Clark, Mathew,	Joslin, Peter,
Crosfield, James,	" Peter, jr.,
Divoul, Ephraim,	Kendall, Jonathan,
" John,	" Joshua, jr.,
" Manasseh,	" Thomas,
Dole, Thomas,	Knight, Amos,
Farmer, William,	" Amos, jr.,
Flagg, Gershum,	" Jonathan,
Fletcher, John,	Lepingwell, Reuben,
" Joshua,	" Thomas,
" Robert,	Locke, Samuel,
Fowle, Jacob,	Nichols, Israel,
Garey, Thomas,	" John,
Goodfree, James,	" John, jr.,
Green, Peter,	" Roger,
Hadley, John,	Osburn, Alexander,

Osgood, Aaron,	Steward, John,
“ Benjamin,	Tomson, Simon,
“ Dea. Hooker,	Wheelock, John,
“ John,	Whitcomb, Hezekiah,
“ Joseph,	“ Joseph,
“ Joseph,	White, John,
“ Joshua,	“ Joseph,
“ Josiah,	“ Dea. Josiah,
“ Moses,	“ Nathaniel,
Phelps, Asahel,	Wilder, Abigail,
“ Dorothy,	“ Andrew,
“ Edward,	“ Caleb,
“ John,	“ David,
“ Joshua,	“ Hon. Joseph,
“ William,	“ Joseph, jr.,
Phillips, John,	Willard, Capt. Abijah,
“ John, jr.,	“ Aaron,
Priest, Joseph,	“ Aaron, jr.,
Reed, Joshua,	“ Benjamin,
Rice, Peter,	“ Daniel,
Richardson, William, 2d,	“ Ephraim,
Robins, Edward,	“ Col. Samuel,
Rugg, Amos,	“ Simon,
“ Daniel,	“ William,
“ Daniel, jr.,	Wood, Hannah,
“ John,	“ Nehemiah,
“ Nathan,	Wright, Nathaniel,
“ Reuben,	“ Thomas,
Sawyer, Nathan, jr.,	“ Thomas, jr.,
Serjant, John,	Wyman, Abijah,
Snow, John,	“ Nathaniel.
Sterns, Joshua,	

In this list the names of Fairbank, Moor and Prescott will be missed. In the Rate for 1749 are the names of Jabez, James, Jonathan and Joshua Fairbank, Dea. Joseph Moor, and John Prescott. The name of Sawyer occurs but once; but in the Rate for 1749, there are not less than twelve Sawyers, viz: Abigail, Abner, Amos, Bezealer, Bezaleel, jr., Derias, Elisha, Ezra, Josiah, Nathaniel, Phinehas and Thomas. There were several other changes in the course of two years. The spelling has been copied literally. Derias stands

for Darius; and Bezealer for Bezaleel. The female names represent widows in most if not all cases.

A careful inspection of the Church Records would disclose the fact that a large proportion of the names in the above list belonged to members of the church either by confession, or by owning the Covenant.

The allusion to the practice of "owning the Covenant" warrants a brief explanation in this place. In former times the Orthodox churches in this State contained three classes of members exclusive of baptised children. The first class included those who were received into full communion by the church, on confession of their faith, and the relation of their experience in conversion. The second class comprised those who "owned the Covenant," as it was phrased. In 1662 a synod was held in Boston which gave sanction to the "half-way Covenant," so called, which provided that baptised children of members of the church, when they came to maturity, if correct in their morals, might give their assent to the church Covenant, without professing conversion, and have their children baptised. These baptised children, when grown up, and having children, might present their offspring for baptism, in the same manner. They were considered members of the church, in a limited sense, but could not be admitted to the Lord's table without making known their hearty acceptance of Christ as their Redeemer and Lord.

The third class of members embraced, first, all "baptised persons," and afterwards all "persons not immoral in their lives," allowing them to come to the communion with those who professed conversion. This was the plan originated by Dr. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, who was settled there from 1672 to 1729. He dated his own conversion at a communion service, and this led him to value that ceremony as a "converting ordinance." The practice begun by him had considerable prevalence, but was opposed by his grandson and successor, the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. Whether any

were received into the church in Lancaster on the plan of Stoddard, is not known. But the half-way Covenant was used here till the close of Mr. Harrington's ministry. Young persons were generally received on confession of their faith, and as hopefully converted. The members taken in on the "half-way" plan were, for the most part, parents who had been baptised, who were reputable in conduct, and had some sense of religious obligation, and desired to have their children brought into some special relation to the church of Christ.

Going back to the beginning of the ministry of Mr. Prentice, it appears from the Records that six persons were received to full communion before the close of the first year. In 1709 three were received, including one from the church in Sudbury, and Josiah White, senior. His son Josiah was already a member. The additions for a series of years were from three to eight, all by profession. In 1728 twenty-one were admitted, four-fifths of them being females. The next year, ten joined the church, four males, and six females; eleven were added in 1730.

The following extract under date of December 13, 1731, brings to mind a custom prevalent in the last century, and not yet quite obsolete. "Baptised, with the consent of the church, (several of the brethren present) at the house where William and Elinor White his wife live, their twins, (a son and a daughter,) the names William and Margaret. This was done at the desire of the parents, and because the children were both weak and feeble, and not able to be brought out, and one of them was especially under threatening circumstances by reason of a sore mouth." The baptism of children at home, when dangerously sick, occurred quite often, and doubtless was sometimes craved by parents under the unscriptural notion that baptism was either a converting ordinance, or else in some way brought the child into saving relations to the Head of the church. When done as a grateful offering of a child to the Author of salvation, the service is free from objection, and a graceful recognition of the fatherhood of God.

The time had now come for the church to give up its members for the purpose of forming new churches in the towns around. In 1733, August 9, "the brethren present, by vote, discovered their willingness that Joshua Fairbank, Henry Willard, Peter Atherton and Elijah ——, all of Harvard, should join with others in said town, in forming of a church there." The church was organized on the tenth of October. Another entry of the same date needs explanation. It was voted that "Sarah Smith, (heretofore Atherton,) should be recommended, according to her desire, to the church of Christ in Bolton." As the church in Bolton, according to Whitney, was not organized till November 4, 1741, it is not easy to understand this action. Was there a church in Bolton as early as 1733? In the following January, four female members, the wives of prominent men in the new town were dismissed and recommended to the church in Harvard.

Under date November 1, 1741, is the following: "Sundry brethren manifesting their desire of the consent of the church to their lying with others in the foundation of a church at Bolton, and being recommended to the business, viz.: Jeremiah Wilson, Jonathan Moor, John Wilder, Jacob Houghton, John Priest, John Fletcher, Jabez Fairbank, David Whitcomb, Nathan Butler, Nathaniel Wilson and Joshua Sawyer; it was voted by the brethren present that it should be according to their desire."

Next in order came the church in Leominster. The church was formed on the fourteenth of September, 1743, but previous to this the "brethren by vote signified their willingness that Gardner Wilder, and Thomas White, should join with others in forming a church in Leominster." Other members were, from time to time, recommended to the churches in Harvard, Bolton and Leominster. Though living in these towns, some of the members felt a lingering love for the mother church, and reluctantly withdrew as circumstances required.

December 9, 1744, a church was formed in Choxet, and

the Rev. John Mellen was ordained. With a view to this, the following brethren were dismissed and recommended, at a meeting held on the twenty-fifth of the preceding November. David Osgood, Benjamin Houghton, jr., Joseph Moor, Josiah Wilder, Jonathan Osgood, Jonathan Bayley, Thomas Fairbank, Thomas Burpee, Josiah Richardson, Reuben Rugg, Samuel Bayley, David Nelson, William Goss, Oliver Moor, Edward Robins and Daniel Powers. May 5, 1745, "the widow Annah Ross, the wife of Thomas Burpee, the wife of John Snow, the wife of Jonathan Powers, and the wife of James Ross, desired to be dismissed and recommended to the communion of the second church in Lancaster. It was consented to by vote of the brethren on said day."

It was a practice more frequent in former generations than now to receive members of other churches to occasional communion, on the strength of letters of credence. For some reason the person was not ready to withdraw from the church, at his former residence, but desired to be in good standing with the church where he resided. There are several cases of this kind on record. One dated August 21, 1740, may be given as a specimen, showing also the origin of a well-known family from which more than one physician sprung. "At a church meeting at my house, the brethren present, upon hearing the case of old father Dunsmoor, a member of a church in Ireland, of which Mr. Matthew Clark was the pastor, discovered their willingness that he should, (according to his desire, and upon his submitting himself to discipline,) have the privilege of attending communion with us in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper."

All writers of the religious history of New England testify to the laxity of morals which began in the later years of the seventeenth century, and continued for nearly a hundred years. There were many towns which furnished exceptions to the general state of religion. Many churches, at different times, received large accessions of members. During the wonderful season which goes under the name of the

"Great Awakening," it has been computed there were as many as thirty thousand received into the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut, including a few in New Hampshire. This movement had its origin, chiefly, in Northampton, in 1735, under the preaching and prayerful labors of Pres. Edwards. Whitefield was a mighty instrument in the work. But there were many churches which did not derive great benefit from the revival; and some took the position of antagonism. Not till after the close of the revolutionary war, and the frightful revelation of infidelity in France, was there a decidedly upward tendency on the part of the churches in the eastern states, and throughout the country. War raged, with intervals of peace, from 1689 to 1710; and passing the eastern war in 1724-5, from 1739 to 1783. And war is always a time of moral deterioration. Lancaster was in all these wars, and doubtless came under their debasing power. The admissions to the church, however, were quite uniform during Mr. Prentice's ministry. From two or three to ten or fifteen were received to full communion annually. In 1745, near the close of his life, the aged minister received fifteen; all but one on confession of faith.

Cases of discipline at some periods were rather frequent. Occasionally a brother was arraigned for intemperance. In 1728 a member "made an acknowledgment of his having been guilty of excessive drinking." At a meeting held near the close of that year, another member submitted his "acknowledgment of disorderly leaving his wife, and living from her; of his vain company keeping and excessive drinking, vain and foolish talking," etc.

The sin which most frequently stains the pages of the church Records, was some form of violating the seventh commandment. Children were born prematurely in reference to the date of marriage. Public sentiment, if not legal coercion, in almost all cases of the kind, constrained wedlock, and the parties lived happily and reputably together. But the memory and the stain were enduring.

At a church meeting held at the pastor's house, March 28, 1728, the following vote was passed by the "brethren of the church, *nemine contradicente*, viz: That such as are to be lookt upon as offenders shall not be obliged in ordinary cases to make a confession before the congregation, but that it shall be lookt upon as sufficient for such to offer satisfaction to the church."

Several cases of discipline are detailed at length in the Records, and they all serve to show the tenderness and patience of the church towards offenders. One case was that of a woman who absented herself from the communion so long that the brethren felt called upon to inquire the cause. It appears that she felt aggrieved by the treatment she had received from her father-in-law, also a member of the church. She was treated with all kindness, and finally confessed her error in debarring herself from a great and previous privilege on account of the supposed misconduct of another. It does not appear that her opinion in relation to her grievance was changed, but she asked forgiveness of the church for having broken her vows, and was retained in fellowship.

In another case a man and his wife were dealt with for using improper language, and abstaining from public worship. The woman was abusive, and at last confessed as much. In reply to a neighbor who spoke in approbation of the preaching on the preceding Sunday, she said that "it would have been as much for the advantage of the people if the minister had sworn and cursed as to say what he did." The real trouble consisted in the fact that Mr. Wheeler and his wife had leanings towards Quakerism in the form and spirit which characterised that system in those days. They absented themselves from worship; denied the right of the church to the name and privileges of a church of Christ, and were otherwise possessed with too much individuality to conform to the church of their fathers. The brethren held meeting after meeting, and waited upon them in hope of obtaining satisfaction. The final action of the church is not found in the Records.

In all the cases, so far as examined, the utmost care appears to have been used to avoid injustice, and to bring about reform and reconciliation. The offending brother or sister was visited, according to the directions of Christ, in Matthew 18: 15-18. Then the case was reported to the whole church. Before censure was uttered, brethren were sent to converse with the party. The accused was notified of the meeting, when his case was to be considered. If the trouble was not removed by these means, the church sent a written admonition, expressed in kind but faithful language. If this failed, the second admonition [Titus 3: 10] was sent, and not till patience and forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, did the church pronounce the sentence of exclusion.

The churches enjoyed quiet and harmony during the greater part of the ministry of Mr. Prentice; but bitter dissensions broke out before his decease. In these he was involved, and the whole community took a deep interest in the controversies which were rife. The Rev. Mr. Bliss, of Concord, had trouble with his people, and several councils were called to compose matters, without much success. The history is given at some length in Shattuck's History of Concord, and may be read with profit at this late day; but it need not divert us from the current of our own history, except so far as the church and minister of this town were mixed up in the strife. The church was represented in an *ex parte* council called by the opponents of Mr. Bliss, and held in June, 1742. This council justified the action of those by whom it was convened. The church in Concord was divided; but after all this commotion, the majority adhered to their minister, and he died in his pastorate after a very successful ministry. It is clear that Mr. Prentice did not approve the course of Mr. Bliss, in some particulars; but there is nothing to show that there was a difference between them in relation to the essential truths of the Gospel.

No preacher, whether as a pastor or an evangelist, has ever rivaled the celebrated Whitefield in popularity among the

people of New England. A division of opinion was inevitable, and the division was at many points. Some disliked his methods; others rejected his doctrines; and others still did not approve of any measures which interfered with the regular ministry. Meetings of ministers were held which criticised him and cautioned the churches against his labors; and other meetings were called, which cordially approved of him and his work. The ministers and churches in this region, as well as in other parts of the province, were divided, and met in separate meetings to give expression to their views. Mr. Prentice was among the opponents of Whitefield, and joined with others, at a meeting held in Marlborough, January 22, 1745, in censuring the new measures. At the same time he was a firm believer, doubtless, in the system of Christian doctrine, of which Whitefield was the champion. Lasting effects followed this controversy, the end of which is not yet reached.

The number admitted to full communion with the church, during the ministry of Mr. Prentice, by himself, is as follows: males, 127; females, 203. Total, 330. Under the record thus given, some minister writes, "Per me, 27, 37." That is, he received 27 males and 37 females into the church. Adding these, the total number of admissions was three hundred and ninety-four. These are rightly included in the results of the ministry of Mr. Prentice, as they were made during his life. His health began to fail in 1746, and from that time till his death, Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence; Cotton Brown and Stephen Frost, the latter a member of this church, and all graduates of Harvard, supplied his pulpit. It is supposed that one of these gentlemen wrote the words "per me."

The half-way members are not counted in the Records, and it was not customary to enumerate them in giving the number of members. However, the numerous entries give the impression that a large proportion of the people of the town, who were not in full communion, held this relation to the church.

The number of baptisms from "Rev. Mr. Prentice's ordination to the last recorded by him," was fifteen hundred and twenty-three. From this time, October 25, 1747, to November 16, 1748, the date of his successor's settlement, thirty-eight were baptised by other clergymen, making a total of fifteen hundred and sixty-one.

The deacons in this period, as far as can be found, were Capt. Peter Joslin and Joseph Wilder, Esq., elected in 1715; James Wilder and Josiah White, in 1728; and Hooker Osgood and Israel Houghton, in 1742. The choice was in all cases unanimous, or by a large majority, and those chosen were requested not to decline, at the time, but take the subject into consideration, and give an answer at a subsequent meeting. The meeting of the church for the choice of deacons was opened, and generally closed with prayer; and the designated deacons requested the prayers of the minister and brethren that they might be led to a right decision.

Two days before the decease of Mr. Prentice, January 4, 1748, the church voted to settle a colleague if "God should spare their minister's life." On the sixth he was called to a higher ministry. By appointment, the twenty-first was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner of Lunenburg, Seccomb of Harvard, Rogers of Leominster, Goss of Berlin, and Mellen of the second precinct, were all invited to be present.

He died much lamented, at the age of sixty-six, "after a life of much service and faithfulness." He had been married twice. Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor, was his first wife. They had three sons, Stanton, a physician, Thomas and John. The eldest daughter, Mary, became the wife of the Rev. Job Cushing of Shrewsbury, and the mother, besides other children, of Jacob Cushing, D. D., (H. C., 1748,) minister of Waltham, and John, also D. D., (H. C., 1764,) minister of Ashburnham, and father of Thomas Parkman Cushing, founder of Cushing Academy. Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Mr. Daniel Robins of Chockset,

and after his death, Capt. Curtis of Worcester. Sarah was the wife, successively, of Dr. Smith and Col. Brigham, of Southborough. Mr. Prentice's second wife was also a widow, Mrs. Prudence [Frost] Swan, mother of the Rev. Josiah Swan. They had three daughters, two of whom became wives of ministers. Prudence married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, and a Harvard graduate. Relief became the wife of Rev. John Rogers of Leominster, in 1750, and Rebecca married the Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish, or Sterling. One of her sons was Judge Mellen of Portland, Maine. Charlotte Mellen, his daughter, was the wife of William Kent, of Concord, N. H. His daughter, Rebecca Prentice Kent, became the wife of Rev. Charles Packard, the first pastor of the Orthodox church in Lancaster.

Mr. Willard, the historian, must have conversed with aged people who remembered Mr. Prentice, and he probably gave the voice of tradition when he wrote these words: "He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching." He was thoroughly orthodox after the pattern of orthodoxy then prevalent in New England. He died too early to have been much affected by the writings of Edwards. It is evident that he was highly respected at home, and throughout the province. Among his occasional sermons was one preached at Marlborough on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, in 1731. Another was an ordination sermon, for the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman. When Worcester county was formed, he was invited to preach at the opening of the first court, August 10, 1731. The text was from II. Chron. 19: 6-7, and was appropriate to the occasion. "And said to the judges, Take heed what ye do: for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of bribes." Perhaps Mr. Prentice was selected for this service at the suggestion of one

of his deacons, the Hon. Joseph Wilder, senior, who was on the bench at this time.

In 1737, when Belcher was governor, he was invited to preach before the general court. The sermon was printed with the following title. "A Sermon delivered at Boston, in the audience of the Great and General Court of Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, May 28th, 1735. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province. By JOHN PRENTICE, A. M., Pastor of the Church in Lancaster."

The text was from II. Chron. 17 : 3-6, and the subject, "Pure and undefiled Religion, the highest Obligation and truest Glory of Civil Rulers." The closing page is a fair specimen of his matter and style. He was addressing the governor, council, lower house, clergy, and people, and said : "Let us *all* be deeply sensible, and thoroughly convinced of the necessity and utility of our being truly religious, and on the other hand, of the evil, danger, manifest unprofitableness, and manifold disadvantages, of our being irreligious, or only formalists in religion ; and let us be concerned to have our hearts found in God's statutes. Let our aim and endeavor be, to be really, personally, and relatively good. Let us not seek unto Baalim, but let us know and acknowledge, worship and obey the living and true God, the God of our fathers, with a perfect heart and a willing mind ; and walk in all his commandments and ordinances blameless. Let us imitate Christ, our great pattern, walk in the ways of pious predecessors, and imitate the graces and virtues of the saints and people of God upon record in the sacred pages, and of our forefathers in this land. If we do thus, may we not hope to have God with us, as he was with our fathers, and that he will not leave us and forsake us, but establish us an holy people to himself? If we return to the Almighty, shall we not be built up, and have the Lord our God nigh unto us in all that we call upon him for? I conclude with that in Psal. 85 : 9, 12, "Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory

may dwell in our land. Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our land shall yield her increase."

This sketch of the history of the church during forty years, and of the services of Mr. Prentice, may be fitly closed by the following extract from the sermon of Rev. John Hancock, preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington. "Since the days of affliction have rolled over you, God has shown you that he had mercy in store for you. O how have you been greatly smiled upon in the life and labors of the Rev. Mr. John Prentice, who having obtained help from God, ministered unto you for the space of forty years. God made him a blessing to you; he was a burning and shining light, and you rejoiced in the light for a long season.

"As God gave him the tongue of the learned, so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary. The God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how he ought to behave himself in the house of God.

"They that knew him esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peacefulness and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. And ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, how justly, how unblameably he behaved himself among you, serving the Lord in all humility of mind. He was a practical scriptural profitable preacher. How you profited under it, God knows and your own consciences they know.

"He was of a firm, unbroken constitution till about a year before his death, and was temperate in all things. And as to his secular affairs, with the help of that PRUDENCE God gave him, he managed them with discretion."

Mr. Prentice's estate was probably not large, but he left sixty-six acres of land to two of his sons. He left also three grandchildren who had Daniel Wilder for their guardian. Caleb Wilder, John Phelps and Zachariah Williams appraised his personal property as follows:

" Purse and Apparel,	£56. 9. 8.
Firelock, Ammunition and Sundry Utensils,	9. 19. 1.
	<hr/>
Total,	£66. 8. 9."

His grave, with that of his wife, his son, Dr. Staunton, and a long row of little mounds, which cover the remains of the Dr.'s children, is in the old burying ground, east of the railroad. Rev. Mr. Harrington, Rev. Andrew Gardner, and Rev. John Whiting were all buried in close proximity, and all have stones to mark their last sleeping place. " They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1755-1763.

LEAVING the civil and educational history of the town for the present, we resume the more stirring, but sadder narrative of military expeditions. The last French and Indian war began in 1755, and continued till 1763. Though the colonies were involved in its heroism and its losses by their connection with the mother country, yet it is a historical fact that the people of New England were ready if not eager for the contest. It was felt by every man of ordinary intelligence that there was no permanent peace or safety for the English colonies, so long as the French retained their power in North America. France ruled from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, through Canada and the lakes, to the source of the Ohio river, and farther on to the Mississippi. By the aid of Indian allies, she was continually harassing the English colonists, with a view to their conquest, and her own undisputed supremacy everywhere in North America north of the Spanish possessions.

As years passed, the necessity of reducing the French power was felt to be more pressing, and all New England was moved to combined action, in conjunction with forces from some of the middle colonies. The enterprise came home to the "business and bosoms" of every family, and here in Lancaster, as elsewhere, the war was entered into with great spirit. No apology needs therefore be made for devoting a few pages of town history to this general war. Since the town, in common with the province, and indeed the whole English-speaking population, in America, were

deeply engaged in the contest, it would be inexcusable to pass by the event with a merely casual notice.

Four expeditions were planned for the campaign of 1755. One was under Gen. Braddock, which ended disastrously. Another, under the command of William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts Bay from 1741 to 1749, was designed for the reduction of Fort Niagara, at Kingston, now Lewiston, N. Y. The third had for its object the taking of Crown Point, a fortress on the west side of lake Champlain, some eight or ten miles north of the point where lake George unites with it, near Ticonderoga. Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was invaded by the fourth expedition. These movements were planned mainly by Gov. Shirley, an active, ambitious man, who like Sir Walter Raleigh, could "toil terribly." The march towards Niagara was under his immediate leadership, with Col. Bradstreet, who had fought under Pepperell at Louisburg, for his second in command. It does not appear that any troops from Lancaster were with the governor, this year, and the enterprise may be dismissed with the remark that it was managed with efficiency, but succeeded only in reaching Oswego, where the troops were engaged in strengthening the works of defence, and preparing for an attack on Niagara in the ensuing spring.

Lieut. Col. Monckton, of the British army, was in chief command in the conquest of Acadia. The first battalion was commanded by Gen. Winslow, and the second by Col. Scott. It is believed that a few men from Lancaster were in this service, but how many is unknown. Capt. Abijah Willard, afterwards colonel, commanded a company. Under Shirley's advice, the British government determined to break up the settlement, as a nest of French intrigue and mischief, and scatter the people among the towns. This hard service was laid upon Gen. Winslow, and carried out by him with as much humanity as was compatible with the execution of the command. Some of the French captives were quartered upon Lancaster, and were lodged in families here. They

helped themselves to some extent. As far as necessary the town supplied their wants, and the province paid the expense. The state Records contain a few of the old bills, one or two specimens of which follow, dated in 1756.

“The Province of the Massachusetts Bay
To the Town of Lancaster, Dr.

“To billeting the French Neutrals sent to this town by order of the General Court, from the sixth day of March last, to the fifteenth day of April last, being six weeks at 26 shillings per week.”

“To billeting ten of said Neutrals, one man and two women, and one girl, 17, and six children. Were unable to support themselves from the 15th day of April to the 25th day of December instant, being thirty-six weeks, at 12 shillings, 8 pence per week. John Carter, Abel Willard, John White, selectmen.”

The unhappy exiles were kindly treated by our people, but they did not take easily to the ways of the English, and gradually sought more congenial settlements. Here and there an individual or a family became permanent. An active lad would find a home in some good family, and a bright-eyed girl would win the heart of some Yankee youth.

The Crown Point expedition engrossed the interest of the people of Lancaster, in 1755, and they marched in considerable numbers, under the lead of different officers. Col. Abijah Willard was in this service also before its close. The troopers were in the regiment of Col. Josiah Brown. Their names follow.

John Moore,
Jonas Whitcomb,
Oliver Pollard,
Ephraim Houghton,
Israel Greenlife,
Jonathan Powers,
Nathaniel Houghton,
Nathaniel Hudson,

Nathaniel White,
Paul Sawyer,
Simon Willard,
Phineas Willard,
Samuel Cumings,
Fairbank Moor,
Nathaniel Benitt.

Some of these were from the second precinct, now Sterling, and possibly a few from other towns.

Another company—infantry—had Joseph Whitcomb for their captain. These are the names.

Corp. James Cresfield,	Joseph Robbins,
Corp. Joseph Robins, jr.,	Jonathan Houghton,
Jona. Priest Whitcomb.	Cyrus Gates,
Joshua Sawyer,	Marmaduke James Hamilton,
Josiah Pratt, jr.,	Abram Knelton, or Knolton,
Robert Longley,	Josiah Pratt, sr.,
John Richardson,	Abraham Bruce,
Nathaniel Holman,	Robert Fletcher,
Abijah Cole,	Clerk, Eltham Phillips,
Ebenezer Snow,	William Willard,
Robert Forskit,	Phinehas Randell,
John Wheeler,	Peter Kendell.

These soldiers were not in service the same length of time. Some of them were engaged ten weeks, and others longer, even to forty weeks, from March, 1755, to the following January. The rolls also contain the names of some who returned home by way of Albany, either because of sickness, or expiration of the term of service. In the regiment of Col. John Whitcomb, of Bolton, Capt Jonathan Goodnough, were the following Lancaster men, who were nearly a month returning from Albany to Bolton, where they were dismissed. Lieut. Hezekiah Whitcomb, Aaron Dresser, Thomas Dole, John Whitcomb, Abner Osgood.

Capt. Benjamin Ballard, of Lancaster, was in this expedition, and the following men, who were in service from nine to forty weeks in the summer and fall, of this year, returned home by Albany in the early winter of 1756.

Sgt. Sherebiah Hunt,	William Kendall,
Clerk, Timothy Whiting,	Josiah Fairbanks,
Samuel Ballard,	John Manning,
Elijah Woods,	Elisha White,
Joseph Woods,	William Barron.

The chief in command of this enterprise was Sir William Johnson, of New York. Col. Williams of Massachusetts was

second, and Gen. Lyman of Connecticut, third in rank. The old histories tell the story of the battles near lake George. It is enough to say here, that the provincial troops behaved like veterans. Col. Williams, with Col. Whiting of Connecticut, was sent from the post at the south end of lake George to intercept a party of French and Indians, under the celebrated baron Dieskau, on the eighth of September. They were ambushed and defeated, though bravely led by Williams, who fell at the first charge. The retreat was conducted by Whiting with great credit. The enemy marched directly upon the position held by Johnson, but were met with resolute bravery, and completely defeated. Dieskau was wounded and taken prisoner. He entered the fight with about two thousand men. Seven hundred were killed, and thirty made prisoners. This shows how deadly was the fire of our troops. Their loss was about two hundred, chiefly those who were with Col. Williams. The soldiers who survived and returned, told the story with thrilling details, in every family. With all the glory there was mourning in many households.

The following paper lets us into the personal experience of many who went forth strong, but returned weak or wounded. The date is "April ye first, 1757," and the address is to the general court.

"The petition of William Willard humbly showing that he was an enlisted soldier under the command of Capt. Joseph Whitcomb, in the regiment Col. Timothy Ruggles, Esq., was colonel of in the Crown Point expedition in the year 1755; and so it was, may it please your honors, that your poor petitioner was taken sick at lake George, and was obliged for to hire a horse, and make the best of way home with the leave of my superior officers, and was obliged for to lay by four days on my journey home, I being so very sick and weak, and the 14th day, with great difficulty, I arrived at my home in Lancaster, and then was confined to my room and bed, for five weeks with the fever and camp distempers, and my body and legs being swelled for four or five months

afterwards, which cost me in money, besides all other necessary charges as to candles, boarding, nurses, etc., which sum of £1. 12sh., your poor petitioner humbly prays your honors to repay him. As in duty bound shall ever pray. William Willard." The petition was granted.

In March, 1756, William Richardson, of Lancaster, bought seventy-two cattle for the board of war.

Gov. Shirley had great plans for the next year's campaign, but by intrigues here and in England, he was displaced, and Gen. Abercrombie put over the troops, subject however to the superior orders of lord Loudoun. Under their dilatory management, the whole season passed away without any decisive action, either in the middle colonies, against fort Niagara, or in attacking the enemy at Crown Point. And this notwithstanding the very great sacrifices made by the colonial governments in furnishing soldiers and the munitions of war. The fortifications at Oswego fell into the hands of the French, and nothing was effected on lake Champlain, which was completely commanded by the fort at Crown Point. "Forts Edward and Henry were made more defensible, and furnished with numerous garrisons," says Trumbull, and as winter came on, the soldiers returned home.

In the service, this year, are found the names of a few men who were in Capt. Reid's company, Col. Ruggles' regiment; as William Barron, William Warren, Jonathan Houghton. The names of Capt. Wilder, and Col. Oliver Wilder turn up in the Archives, as if in some kind of service.

Capt. Asa Whitcomb, of Lancaster, second precinct, appears on the scene with his company, between March 28, and December. They were in the Crown Point expedition, and returned at the close of the campaign, in which they had gained no victory, but much experience, in the last month of the year.

Here follow the names.

Lt. Ezra Houghton,
En. Elijah Houghton,

Thomas Fairbanks,
Oliver Dustin,

Clk. Philemon Houghton,
 Corp's. Isaac Kendall, and
 Samuel Fairbanks,
 Drumer, William Fairbanks,
 John Farrar,
 John Brooks,
 Ithamar Bennitt,

Nathan Gary,
 John Bailey,
 Tilley Littlejohn,
 Oliver Osgood, and
 Nahum Houghton.
 Osgood died.

Col. Samuel Willard, and Phineas Phelps were in some sphere of service not specified, one month.

From November 8, 1756, to February 1, 1757, Capt. Benjamin Ballard was again in the expedition with the following men.

Lt. Sherebiah Hunt,
 Sgt. Henry Haskell,
 Corps. James Crossfield, and
 John Manning,
 Clk. Samuel Ballard,
 Elijah Woods,
 Samuel Woods,
 Elijah Beeman,
 Abner Hascal,

Andrew Godfrey,
 Joseph Houghton,
 Benjamin Houghton,
 Gardner Wilder,
 David Thurston,
 Samuel Ross,
 Henry Bridgman,
 Joseph Priest,
 Josiah Divol.

They were eleven days on their return from Albany; the same time occupied by Capt. Whitcomb's men.

During this year, as already noted, the Willards and a few others, were holding Fort Dummer, while the following soldiers were stationed at No. 4, now Charlestown, N. H., from June 21, to April, 1757.

Sergeant Fairbank Moore,
 Benony Wright,
 Jonas Davis,
 Uriah More,
 J. Nutting Willard,
 Benjamin Allen,

John Sawyer,
 Jos. Chamberlain,
 Gideon Shattuck,
 Amos Davis,
 Moses Willard,
 Jonathan Houghton.

The campaign of 1756 was worse than wasted, by the imbecility of Loudoun and Abercrombie. The year 1757 was also a year of disaster and shame. Instead of pressing on to the north, and the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, a new expedition was started against Louisburg, which

had been foolishly given up to the French at the close of the late war. The season was wasted, and nothing was achieved. Not only was there no material advantage gained, but the glory of reputation and honor was dimmed. Louisburg was reinforced and made impregnable. At the north, our forces met with a great and mortifying reverse. Instead of making headway on the lakes, Montcalm came down from Canada, and hastened to the siege of fort William Henry, about fourteen miles from fort Edward. On the ninth of August, after a siege of six days, the fort surrendered, and a panic spread all over New England. By the taking of this fort, every barrier to the inroad of the enemy was broken down, our troops retreated, and it was supposed that Montcalm would rapidly advance with his army of allied French and Indians, and overrun the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Orders went hurriedly from Boston to Hampshire and Berkshire, for the people to withdraw without delay, from the western counties, and to bring away all their movable property and wheeled vehicles. In hot haste new levies were called out, and sent to meet the expected enemy. Lancaster felt the scare, and sprang, as one man, to the rescue. Col. Oliver Wilder, Esq., a veteran aged sixty-three, led the following men on a march westward. The note on the Roll reads: "marched as far as Springfield, on the alarm at Fort William Henry, 1757."

Col. Oliver Wilder,	Oliver Wyman,
Capt. Thomas Wilder,	James Ballard,
Lt. Samuel Nurse,	Gardner Wilder,
En. Josiah Bailey,	Jacob Houghton,
Sgt. Nathaniel Page,	Matthew Knight,
“ Caleb Sawyer,	Samuel Moore,
“ Oliver Hall,	Henry Satel,
“ Nathan Bennet,	James Snow,
Cor. William Wilder,	Samuel Bruse,
“ Nathaniel Hastings,	William Pollard,
“ Phinehas Wheelock,	James McBride,
“ John Pollard,	Jabez Beers,
Benjamin Whitcomb,	Elijah Wilson,

Jonathan White,
 James Simonds,
 Rufus Houghton,
 Amos Kendall,
 Kendall Boutell,
 Joseph Polley,
 Nathaniel Colburn,
 Luke Richardson,
 Asa Johnson,

Jonathan Holman,
 John Pyper,
 John Grant, or Grout,
 Jonathan Moslan,
 Jonathan Page,
 Joseph Davis,
 Reuben Wyman,
 Jacob Gould,
 Aaron Taylor.

But the panic was soon over. Montcalm, prudent as well as brave, had no idea of rushing into such an agitated hornet's nest as New England had become. Word came from the lakes that there was to be no invasion, and in fourteen days, Col. Wilder returned, and mustered out his men.

Here may be inserted two little items which seem to show how the ravages of war reach to individuals and families, far from the battle-field. In March, 1758, Caleb Willard, who was in the service of the province in 1757, under Col. Frey, petitioned for aid. On his return from camp he was taken ill of the small-pox, and was at great expense for nurses and doctors. He asked an allowance of £6, 5sh.

Phineas Atherton, in the same regiment, Capt. Hartwell's company, in 1757, had the small-pox at Albany. Besides suffering from a loathsome disease and loss of time, he was at considerable extra expense, and asked for £4, 19sh., by way of reimbursement. Edward Hartwell, of Lunenburg, formerly of this town, was the captain.

The summer of 1758 witnessed a great change. William Pitt, the elder, assumed the reins of power, because the king and country felt the need of his genius. The season was too far gone for him to achieve great results in the lake region, even if the general in command had possessed the requisite ability. Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, and Connecticut five thousand. In every town there was the throbbing excitement which attends great enterprises. A large army was collected, and on the sixth of July, moved towards Ticonderoga. In a skirmish, Gen. Howe, the soul of the

expedition, was killed. He was much beloved in America, and Massachusetts voted a monument to his memory. Abercrombie, the general in command, filled with "the extremest fright and consternation," withdrew to the landing place on the lake, but as Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, pressed forward, the general followed, and the army encamped within half a mile of the enemy. The attack on the next morning, owing to the strength of the works, was a complete failure. Bradstreet shortly after, by the reduction of Fort Frontenac, relieved partially the gloom, but the loss of the campaign was a grief to New England. However, Fort Du Quesne at the west, and Louisburg in the east were captured, and thus the year closed more hopefully. The spirit of Pitt was breathed into every arm of the service. His proud assertion: "I am sure I can save this country, and no one else can," began to be fulfilled. In the expedition against Louisburg he had joined Generals Jeffrey Amherst and Wolfe, with Admiral Boscawen, men who went forth not to dawdle, but to fight. Whether any of our men were engaged in the capture of Louisburg, is unknown, but a large number were in service at the northwest, or, as the Rolls say, in the "reduction of Canada." The following names indicate the men who served, this year. Capt. Aaron Willard and Lt. Nathan Willard were engaged nine months, in the "reduction of Canada," under Col. Oliver Partridge.

In the regiment of Col. Jonathan Bagley, Capt. Asa Whitcomb's company were engaged nearly ten months. The Lancaster men with him were these.

Sgt. Jacob Smith,
Abner Osgood,
Benjamin Atherton,
John Brooks,
Shubael Bailey, jr.,
William Brabrook,

John Bailey,
Joseph Bigsby,
Ebenezer Bigelow,
Jedediah Cooper,
Oliver Butler,
Oliver Dunsmore.

These names were followed by a still longer list, who are placed under the years 1758-9, in one place, and in another are said to have served from March 13 to December 5, of the

former year. It is probable that many of them were out in the year 1759, when Quebec was taken and Canada was reduced. However that may be, here are the names of Asa Whitcomb's men, in addition.

Nathan Eager,	Ezekiel Snow,
Robert Fletcher,	James Squineen,
Phinehas Goodale,	John Sampson,
Jonathan Gearry,	Aaron Tufts,
Ephraim Goss,	David Thurston,
Nathaniel Hastings, jr.,	Jonathan Townsend,
Daniel Johnson.	Phinehas Wilder,
Joshua Johnson,	Silas Warner,
Philip Jena,	Elijah Wood,
Edward Larkin,	Jedediah Wood,
William Larkin,	Silvanus Johnson, servant
John McBride,	to the Captain.
Moses Sawyer,	

The year had its casualties, many of them, doubtless, if we could find a full report, such as the public became familiar with in the recent war of the Rebellion. One or two must be taken as specimens of all. Phinehas Wilder enlisted into his Majesty's service, for the conquest of Canada, in Asa Whitcomb's company. He was sick about the first of September, with camp distemper. He was brought in carts, and by water, to Greenbush. There he was very sick, and lost all recollection for two weeks. Thence he came home, sometimes on horseback, and then on a horse litter, just alive, and remained so during six weeks. He was allowed five pounds.

And here is a statement by Capt. Ballard, September 18, 1758. "These may certify that my son, Samuel Ballard, was taken captive near Ticonderoga, about the 25th of June, being with Lt. Stephens. He was a ranger in Capt. John Stark's company. BENJ. BALLARD." This was the famous Gen. Stark of the revolution.

By the spring of 1759, the intense energy of Mr. Pitt had entered into the whole army, and the campaign was opened and carried forward with resistless power. The land forces

were led by Jeffrey, lord Amherst, while Wolfe approached Canada with the British fleet. The French, unable to resist the force of Amherst, abandoned Ticonderoga, blowing it up to prevent its falling into our hands; and on the first of August withdrew from Crown Point. Col. Oliver Wilder served in this expedition, and led quite a detachment of Lancaster men. They entered the service in April. Some of them were enlisted, and some of them impressed men. A note on the old muster roll says, that twenty-one were "impressed," and that "most had been in former expeditions to Nova Scotia or the lakes," and also that they carried their "own arms." Below are the names of Col. Wilder's townsmen and fellow warriors.

Robert Phelps,	Henry Wyman.
Jonathan Phelps,	Joseph Bixpy,
William Perham,	Jedediah Cooper,
Joseph Turner,	Ephraim Goss,
Thomas Barney,	John McCarthy,
Abner Osgood,	Joseph Squineen,
Jonathan Townsend,	Ebenezer Pike,
Matthew Larkin,	Joseph Bailey,
John Headley,	Samuel Goodenow,
Phineas Bailey,	Daniel Cook,
Jotham Wilder,	Reuben Walker,
Joshua Proutie,	John McBride,
Daniel Allbert, jr.,	Joseph Steuart,
Peter Larkin,	John Dunsmoor,
Frederick Allbert,	George Bush, jr.,
John Bailey,	John Crosby,
John Goodenow,	Micah Bryant,
Stephen Kendall,	Nathaniel Wright,
Samuel Kendall,	Joseph Turner.
Levi Kendall,	

Capt. Aaron Willard, with about eighty men, was with brigadier Ruggles, thirty-five days, during this spring. There were several Lancaster men in his company, but their names cannot be identified in all cases.

The forces of Amherst did not reach Canada, this year, but they occupied so large a proportion of the French army, that Wolfe was thereby aided in the conquest of Quebec.

Pitt pronounced the highest eulogiums upon the campaign of Amherst. Whatever credit was deserved, belonged in part to Col. Wilder and his townsmen, and we can imagine how their dangers and exploits were the theme of conversation and interest round every fireside in the succeeding winter. Col. Abijah Willard led a regiment under Amherst. His adjutant was Cyrus Fairbank, and his quartermaster, Manasah Divoll.

The war was now virtually ended, since the fall of Quebec involved the conquest of all Canada, which took place next year, and led to the peace which was declared in 1763. Still it was necessary to keep a large force in the field, and Lancaster furnished its quota in 1760. Capt. Aaron Willard, says the muster roll, went "serving westward from March, 1759, to January, 1760." The place of service is given with no greater definiteness. But the following men were engaged somewhere in the public service.

Lieut. Jacob Stiles,	Abner Osgood,
Sg't Jonathan Hutchins,	Robert Phelps,
Peter Willard,	Jonathan Phillips,
Benjamin Atherton,	William Perham,
John Bailey,	Joshua Proutee,
Thomas Barney,	Moses Rodman,
John McCarthy,	James Squierean,
Silvanus Johnson,	Joseph Turner.

Besides these, Capt. Caleb Willard, Lt. Aaron Willard, and Ensign Nathaniel Willard, are mentioned as in the service in 1759. Lieut. Jacob Stiles, Sgt. Josiah Prentice, and Richard Holland, a soldier, were under Capt. Aaron Willard in 1760, about nine months. In April, 1761, Capt. Willard went to Crown Point, by way of No. 4.

In the words of Mr. Willard, who probably knew some of the veterans of this contest: "During this war a large proportion of the able-bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service. The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war." Capt. Aaron Willard afterwards became colonel

of one of the Worcester county regiments, and died in 1784, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The joy of the people in view of the conquest of Canada and the other French possessions, was commensurate with the greatness of their sufferings in the war, and the importance of the result. The government of the province appointed a day of thanksgiving, October 9, and "recommended it to all ministers of the gospel, with their several congregations, to meet on that day to return thanks to Almighty God for his having so visibly supported us in this just and necessary war; and that all the people of the province might at one time, and with one voice, express their thankfulness on this glorious occasion." It was a memorable thanksgiving. No record remains of the service in the first parish; but the sermon preached by the Rev. John Mellen, in the meeting-house of the west parish, (now Sterling,) was printed. It was an able discourse, and may be read with interest after more than a hundred years. At the close, Mr. Mellen gives the names of the "men lost by the war out of this parish." They are inserted here.

Samuel Fairbanks,
 William Fairbanks,
 Isaac Kendall,
 Ithamar Bennet,
 Hezekiah Whitcomb,
 John Whitcomb,
 Jacob Glazier,
 Simon Kendall,
 John Farrar,
 Jeremiah Dickenson,

William Brabrook,
 Ebenezer Bigelow,
 Jacob Smith,
 Jonathan Geary,
 Philip Geno,
 Reuben Walker,
 Stephen Kendall,
 George Bush,
 Joseph Stewart.

The first four were killed in 1755; the last was drowned in 1760 in Lake Champlain, and the fate of Brabrook was unknown. How many from Lancaster, first parish, were cut off in battle, or by disease, cannot be told, but probably double the number from Chockset. Of the survivors not a few lived to engage in the revolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANNALS,—1743—1776.

THE period between the close of the last French and Indian war, and the opening of the Revolution was marked by no events of special interest. A chapter may here be interposed which will bring up the annals of the town, from the year 1743, in respect to schools, roads, bridges, and other matters that exhibit the social and domestic life of the people. The progress in population and wealth will also find a place. Parish matters pass from view, after the year 1744, when the salary voted for the minister, was £211 old tenor. At that time, the town was divided into two precincts or parishes. All the affairs of the first church in Lancaster, were henceforth connected with the first parish, and are, so far as recorded, in the Records of that parish. The history of the pastorate of Mr. Harrington will be given as a whole, at its close.

As we proceed, the chronological order will be followed. In 1743, £15, new tenor, were appropriated for schools. Peter Frye was a teacher; also Benjamin Atherton. The town spent £17 for ammunition. In this and the following years, many private ways were opened, but chiefly in remote parts of the town. Many of them were in Chockset, which seemed to be inspired with a passion for road-making. For highways £50 were voted. A bounty of five shillings was paid for a wild cat.

Joseph Wilder, jr., Esq. was a teacher in 1745–9. The school money was £30. The next four years, £40 were raised for schooling. In 1744, Josiah Brown and Stephen

Frost kept school. Both were graduates of Harvard, as was Josiah Swan, all of whom taught, at different times, several years. In 1748, the town voted to discontinue "Swans' Swamp way," and also the "road west of the bridge by Dea. Osgood's." Not long after this date a new bridge was built across the main river, thirty rods farther up stream, and the old road which ran east from the river, by the row of great button-ball trees that extend from the river, eastward far into the intervale, was discontinued; but Joseph Wilder, Esq., and David Wilder had liberty to use it for carting, and for driving cattle.

A grant of land had been made by the proprietors to Rev. Andrew Gardner, but never fulfilled. The grant had "slept unobserved by his heirs till about the present year, as also a grant made to Mrs. Mary Gardner, of ten acres of upland." The grant depended on his being ordained, but he was killed, while defending the garrison, before the act of ordination. It was thought the claim was founded in equity, as it would have been if he had lived to receive ordination. The town negatived the claim.

The town, in 1748, voted to sell the church lands and meadow, in Lancaster, and also the church meadows, so called, in Harvard and Bolton. Also the Common on the west side of the river, in South Lancaster, six acres, left for a "training field, except six rods wide for a private way across the same."

The "bridge by Dea. Osgoods" requires a note, in passing. The deacon's house was near the bank of the river, where now is a cellar hole, a few rods above the present Sprague bridge. At first the bridge was some fifteen or twenty rods up stream, and therefore the road was west of the deacon's house. It went southerly, on the east side of Mr. Rowlandson's garrison, crossed the road and ran into the west border of the Center cemetery, and so on towards South Lancaster. Next, the bridge was six or eight rods west of its present site, and the house of Dea. Osgood was just west of the road as it then lay.

From 1750 for several years the school rate was probably about £40. The vote reads for "schools and necessary town charges, £53, 6sh., 8d. silver money." Mr. Brown, and Hezekiah Gates, afterwards captain, and employed in many town offices, kept school. About that time, Edward Bass, afterwards Episcopal bishop, and Joseph Palmer, both graduates, were here teaching.

In 1753 a road was opened from some point on the Lunenburg road, in the north part of the town, to White's (or Still river) bridge; but whether it was the present road, by the brick tavern, or one through the woods, farther north, is doubtful. A committee was chosen to examine and report in relation to the location and bounds of the roads throughout the town; but they could find nothing definite, and so reported. Similar efforts since have always proved useless.

Forty shillings were voted to Henry Willard, in 1754, for "keeping widow Rebecca Willard in her distractions."

The town gave consent that the river might be straightened in "Dr. Prentice's interval." This was probably between the Atherton and Center bridges. The work seems not to have been done till several years later, when labor then was allowed instead of work on the highways. A road also was granted from Mr. Joslin's to the North bridge. Mr. Joslin lived near the residence of Mr. John Cunningham. The old road was on the hillside.

In town meeting the clerk read an extract from a "bill," passed by the general court, granting "his majesty, [king George II.,] an excise on wines, and spirits distilled, sold by retail, or consumed within this province; and upon limes, lemons and oranges, together with the governor's speech thereon; and after a long debate, the question was put, whether the substantials and the essential parts of the said bill, was agreeable to their minds, and it passed in the affirmative by a grate majority." This was not a question whether parliament could tax the people of the colonies, or raise a revenue by duties and customs; but whether the col-

onies would tax themselves for the benefit of his majesty. After a "long debate" the town said yes, by a "grate majority."

In February of the next year, a question of the deepest concern came before all the towns. The record reads: "Respecting the general plan of union proposed to be come into by the eleven governments in this North America, now upon the carpet; and after taking the said affair into consideration, have voted as our advice, that our representative [in the general court] oppose all plans of a general or partial union that shall any ways encroach upon the rites and priviledges of the people." It was feared by the colonies that this was a plan to govern them, by a combination of British governors, and leading Americans, in a general congress.

In 1757 the town voted £60 for schools, and that there should be a grammar school in each precinct. Probably this school was under the care of Mr. Swan, as he was here till 1767. The school was to be in each precinct in proportion to their part of the tax. Schools for reading and writing were to be kept five months, during the colder part of the year, in the extreme parts of the town. The schools were in winter to accommodate the elder scholars, whose work was needed in the farming season.

Forty pounds were devoted to the support and comfort of the poor.

A road was opened from the Old Common to the county road which runs east from Carter's mills towards the south part of Bolton. The opening of the road was from the school-house near the house of Joseph B. Moore.

In 1760, the town raised £50 for schools, and the next year £40 for the grammar school, and an equal sum for reading and writing schools in parts of the town remote from the centers of each precinct.

A year later the town granted "Abijah Willard, (the colonel, who lived on the old major Simon Willard place,)

and others, leave to build a school-house on town land below the meeting in the first parish." This school stood, many years, near the house of Mr. Stowell. For schools this year, £100 were raised. The next year the grammar school was to be where the selectmen should choose.

On petition in 1762, it was voted that the Pine hill road might be turned into a "bridle way." This road extended from the old White place, over Wheeler hill, now owned by S. R. Damon, by the middle brick yard to the south end of Pine hill, and thence the whole length of the hill to the John White place, this side of Still river bridge. It was now closed from public travel by gates.

A project for dividing the county came before the town, in 1763, but met with firm opposition. William Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder were chosen a committee to help defeat the measure.

The selectmen were authorized to hire a "work-house for idle persons, if need be." And the next year, they were to use the "school-house as a work-house, if need be."

The plan of making the second precinct a separate town was voted down. Before the year closed it was voted to build a work-house, and the work was committed to David Osgood, Hezekiah Gates and Nathaniel Wyman.

It was moved to build a bridge across the river by Abel Willard's, that is, the "Neck bridge," and £30 were raised for the purpose. Probably the bridge of 1748 had been carried off by a flood. Josiah White, Abijah Willard and Nathaniel Wyman, all living near, and interested in the work, were chosen a committee; but from some cause nothing was done.

In 1764, the town, for the first time, was divided into school districts, and £100 were raised for education.

The sum raised for schools in 1766 was £100. The town voted to have the road run north instead of south of the house of the widow Atherton. This road is between the house of Mrs. Jane Humphrey and that of the late Col. Fay.

The question came before the town in relation to the incorporation of the second precinct as a township, and it was voted in the affirmative. For some reason the measure was not effected, and for nearly twenty years longer the old town had to bear with the wayward humors of her stalwart child.

A special meeting was called, on the eleventh of August, to consider this article in the warrant. "To give the representative some instruction concerning the requisition sent from home, [England,] to make up the loss sustained in Boston." This referred to the anti-stamp act riot and mob in Boston, in the month of August preceding, when the house of Gov. Hutchinson was ravaged, and his furniture, books and papers destroyed. The town voted "unanimously that requisition [reparation] should be made to all those persons that suffered by the mob or mobs in the town of Boston in August last, by the reason of the stamp act."

It was in this year that Henry Haskell and others requested the town to set off the north part as a separate parish. The plan was quashed, but possibly if a parish had been formed, the population of the northern section of Lancaster, now far less than in former times, might have been increased, and the taxable property augmented. Mr. Haskell became a colonel in the revolution, and was an efficient officer. He kept tavern some rods north of the "old brick tavern," on the road from Leominster to Harvard. The turnpike ran by his house, east and west. A meeting-house in that vicinity would have been convenient to many families.

£220 were raised for highways and bridges in 1767, and the town responded yea to the request of the people living on "Shrewsbury Leg," to be received as a part of Lancaster. The territory occupied by these people included the site of the villages of West Boylston and Oakdale. This section went with Sterling in 1781; with Boylston in 1786, and West Boylston when it became a town.

It was voted that the grammar school should be kept seven months in the first precinct, and five months in the second

precinct. £100 were granted for education. After paying for the grammar schools, the remainder was to be laid out in parts not benefited by them.

The town was called upon to pay for removing and "shipping off the French people," [Acadians]. The matter was left with the selectmen.

In view of the state of public affairs and the disturbed relations between the province and the mother country, it was voted, in concurrence with a general movement, to "take all legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province."

For several years in succession the sum raised for schools was £104. In 1770 it was voted that the grammar school be kept six months in each precinct, and that each district in the town should school out its own money. The same sum was raised in the two succeeding years, and 1772 the selectmen were directed to provide houses for the grammar schools. In 1775 the appropriation for education was omitted. The vote was "to dismiss the article for schooling for the present year." A similar vote passed in relation to roads and bridges. All spare money was invested in warlike material, as "ammunition" and great guns.

The Neck bridge was not yet built. In 1770 the selectmen were directed to "view and agree upon the most convenient place where to build a bridge across the river near Abel Willard's, Esq., and to agree with the said Abel Willard and Col. Caleb Wilder for the land, as they shall judge necessary for a highway." Voted to raise £300. The reference to land for a highway shows that the intention was to build in a new place, up the stream. For that purpose some land would be needed. Later it was voted to build "where the bridge used to stand." Still later the town voted to place the bridge "thirty rods above where it used to stand." In the spring of 1771, the town voted "not to build a Neck bridge." In the autumn, September 24, the town meeting

was held in the meeting-house in the second precinct, when a vote was passed to build the bridge, and £5 were raised "to buy land each side" of the river. This indicates that the bridge was to be above the former position. This is supposed to be the third place of crossing. The position is still marked by the remains of an abutment on the north side, and a raised bank on the south side of the river. The bridge has been taken up the river a little farther on one or two occasions. The committee to do the work were Josiah Ballard, Joseph White and Jonathan Whitney. Raised £400.

This meeting was held in the first precinct, and was adjourned to the second precinct. The town meetings were held alternately, in each district, for some years. That is, the town often met in Chockset as well as in the old parish meeting-house.

The names of Dr. Dunsmoor and Dr. Cleverly occur in connection with doctoring the poor. Dr. Cleverly had been attending on the "widow Farrar," and wanted his pay, which the town allowed.

In 1772, there was a project for building two bridges; one by Col. Oliver Wilder's mill, in South Lancaster; the other by the mill of Col. Joseph Wilder, at Ponakin. It was voted that taxes "raised for highways in each precinct, should be spent in said precinct." At a meeting in March, a vote was passed in favor of building the bridge over Col. Wilder's mill pond. This was what is now called Carter's mill. The Neck bridge had already been set up, and the bills presented to the town. Both the other bridges came into being in due time. In 1774 the sum raised for roads and bridges was £400.

The names of the men who held the principal town offices during the time under review are given below. They are arranged in this order: moderator, town clerk, treasurer, selectmen, delegate to the general court. No reference will be made to the year in which each man was in official life.

The moderators during this period of thirty-three years, were as follows.

Josiah White,	Oliver Moor,
Samuel Willard,	David Wilder,
John Bennet,	Hezekiah Gates,
Oliver Wilder,	Peter Green,
Joseph Wilder, jr.,	Jonathan Fairbank,
William Richardson,	William Dunsmoor,
John Carter,	Ephraim Sawyer.
David Osgood,	

The clerks were

Joseph Wilder, jr.,	Abel Willard,
Abijah Willard,	Daniel Robbins,
Samuel Willard,	Samuel Ward.
Levi Willard,	

The following are the names of the town treasurers.

Hooker Osgood,	Joshua Fairbank,
Peter Joslin,	Samuel Willard,
Ephraim Carter,	Peter Green,
Ephraim Wilder,	Hezekiah Gates,
David Wilder,	Joshua Houghton,
Caleb Wilder,	Cyrus Fairbank.

Here follows a list of the names of the selectmen.

Oliver Wilder,	John Carter,
William Richardson,	Asa Whitcomb,
Jonathan Osgood,	Joshua Fairbank,
Joseph Wilder, jr.,	Josiah Kendall,
Oliver Moor,	Abel Willard,
John Snow,	John White,
Josiah White,	Isaiah Kendall,
David Osgood,	Jonathan Fairbank,
Ezra Sawyer,	John Prescott,
Ephraim Wilder,	Dr. Greenleaf,
Hooker Osgood,	Jonathan Wilder,
Thomas Fairbank,	Levi Willard,
Samuel Willard,	Ezra Houghton,
Hezekiah Gates,	Peter Green,
Ephraim Carter,	Nathaniel Wyman,
Thomas Burpee,	Jeremiah Burpee,
Abijah Willard,	Caleb Wilder,
John Fairbank,	Thomas Sawyer,

Aaron Sawyer,
Joseph Kilburn,
Josiah Ballard,
Ephraim Sawyer,
Ebenezer Allen,

Dr. William Dunsmoor,
Josiah Pollard,
Samuel Thurston,
Joel Houghton,
Daniel Robbins.

A remark or two may be inserted here in regard to this list of selectmen. The last mentioned was chosen in 1776, at the last town meeting called in his majesty's name. The daring step of casting off the king's allegiance was taken. Some of the men whose names are in the list, were chosen many times, and some not more than once, and then the last of the five. Willards, Wilders, Osgoods or Carters were generally chairmen. Some of them held several offices, and were sent as representatives to the general court, as will be seen in the next list; and quite a number of them have already appeared in this history, as officers in the field, in the first and last French and Indian wars. In 1755 Abijah Willard went to the war as colonel, and Asa Whitcomb as captain.

There was quite a revolution in the choice of town officers, as the troubles with the mother country increased. Certain familiar names disappear after the year 1771. Some of these, with others in leading families, were not ready to break away from England, though most of them became thorough patriots as the time of conflict drew nigh. The more earnest "Sons of liberty" took the offices into their own hands. In 1773 three Sawyers with Dr. Dunsmoor, and Ebenezer Allen, were the selectmen. It is believed that most of them lived outside of the present limits of the town. Men of the same stamp were elected in the following years. It was a time of change and trial.

The following were delegates to the general court during the generation from 1743 to 1776. Ephraim Wilder, two years; Joseph Wilder, jr., five years; William Richardson, seven years; Samuel Willard, one year. He had held many offices, but died, either in 1752 or 1755. The Records differ. David Wilder, six years; Asa Whitcomb, eight years,

and seven of them in succession. In 1775 he went into the military service as colonel.

The population of the town, which began to increase rapidly about 1748-9, continued in equal ratio till 1764, when a census was taken, with the following results.

Houses,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	301
Families,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	328
Whites, males under 16,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	514
“ females “	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	421
“ males above 16,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	505
“ females “	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	532
Negroes and Mulattos, males,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
“ “ females,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
Indians, male,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1999

In an old manuscript statement, the same items are given, but the aggregate is made to be 2228, an evident mistake. Willard in *Mass. Magazine* gives the same number of families, but makes the total population only 1862. In his historical address 1853, he puts the number as above, 1999, which is probably correct. Supposing, according to a former estimate, the population in 1751 was six hundred and sixty, we have an increase in thirteen years of thirteen hundred and thirty-nine, or an annual increase of one hundred and three, on an average. The tax list of 1770, (*Mass. Arch.*, vol. 130, pp. 820-48,) contains about five hundred names, omitting widows and administrators, and the ratable polls in 1776 were six hundred and seventy-two. These show that the increase had been quite uniform from 1764 to 1776, and that the population in the latter year was about three thousand and twenty-four, or four and a half to each ratable poll. The addition, above deaths and removals, was not far from one thousand and twenty-five, or an average of eighty-five annually. The town had been a safe place of settlement

ever after 1748, and therefore the growth had been rapid. The ratio of increase after 1764 became less; and this is accounted for by the fact that after the capture of Quebec in 1759, and the peace of 1763, the towns on the west began to fill up, and drew largely from the older towns, including Lancaster.

Referring to the census of 1764, it will be noted that there were males under sixteen years of age to the number of five hundred and fourteen, and females, four hundred and twenty-one. There was an excess of ninety-three males. Male births in all countries exceed those of females; but the difference here was extraordinary. It can only be accounted for by the fact that there was an uncommon drain on the lives of males. Nature makes her own compensations. The number of males over sixteen, was five hundred and five; and of females, five hundred and thirty-two. Here is another remarkable result. The males were enrolled at the age of sixteen, and became liable to military duty. The excess of females was twenty-seven, showing the fearful waste of male life in the war, by killing, mortal wounds, camp distempers and lingering disease. Under sixteen, there were ninety-three more males than females; over sixteen, twenty-seven more females than males, making one-hundred and twenty males' lives the forfeit of war, and of casualties in life at home and at sea, in the course of a generation.

The state of morals during the early years of this period has been noticed in a former chapter. From the time of Mr. Prentice's death in 1748, there had probably been no improvement. The records of the county court concur with those of the church, in showing a looseness of moral sentiment. The years of war, in which a large number of young men were away from home, and exposed to the temptations of camp life, and intercourse with English officers and soldiers, had a corrupting influence. Intoxicating drinks, from cider to Jamaica and St. Croix rum, were freely used. Besides, there were causes at work, unsettling the faith of many in

the verities of the Christian religion. Looseness of opinion generally leads to laxity of morals. John Adams, who was a teacher and a law student in Worcester, two or three years, 1755-8, throws light upon this subject. In his Diary for 1755, he writes: "For three months I boarded with one Green. Here I found Morgan's Moral Philosopher, which I was informed had circulated with some freedom in that town, and that the principles of Deism had made considerable progress among persons in that and other towns in the county." Mr. Adams studied law with the leading lawyer of the county, named Putnam, who had imbibed the notions of the English deists, and who talked about them freely at his own table. "He would argue to the extent of his learning and ingenuity to destroy or invalidate the evidences of a future state, and the principles of natural and revealed religion." It was claimed at the time, that nearly every educated and prominent man in the county, except the clergy, was infected with the infidel tenets of Morgan, Tyndal and Collins. And Mr. Adams reveals something of the condition of morals at the time. The following lines had reference to scenes which he knew were real, but which he intensely abhorred. "Let others waste their bloom of life at the card or billiard table, among rakes and fools, and when their minds are sufficiently fretted with losses, and inflamed by wine, ramble through the streets assaulting innocent people, breaking windows, or debauching young girls."

Doubtless Lancaster felt the influence of such men, and such conduct, but it is certain that many of the leading characters of this town stood firmly on the side of revealed religion and sound morals. Col. Samuel Willard, the two judges Wilder, and other men of that stamp, were members of the first church. Much of the ancient austerity of manners, and purity of domestic life remained.

Much attention was paid to the education of the young during this period. The school system became better organized, and the schools were prolonged. The schools for read-

ing and writing, which always included arithmetic, and sometimes other studies, were kept in such places as accommodated all the children in the extreme parts of the town. They were open five months in fall, winter and spring, and were attended by scholars from four to twenty years of age. As the school week included six days, a term of five months then was equal to one of six months now; and as the branches of study were not so numerous, the teachers had time to conduct a large school. Moreover, the scholars exercised a powerful educating influence over each other.

The Latin grammar school, in this period, became a fixed institution. It was kept twelve months in the year; part of the time in each precinct. One year, and perhaps more, the town voted that it should be kept six months in each parish; but generally the time was arranged by the selectmen, according to the number of children, and the valuation in each precinct. Sometimes the town directed that the first parish should have the school seven months, and the second, five months, annually. These grammar schools were of high grade, ranking with high schools. The higher branches of English were taught, and instruction was given in the learned languages. In nearly every case, graduates of Harvard were the masters. Brown, Swan, Frost, Locke, Prentice, and others were in the honorable role of teachers. The limits of the grammar schools, were defined by vote in town meeting, and those who lived within the bounds, paid the extra expense.

A society for mutual improvement was formed in the town in 1748. Samuel Locke, afterwards Rev. Dr. Locke, president of Harvard College, who taught here in 1752, and also in 1755, the year of his graduation, and who studied theology with Mr. Harrington, was a member. The "Articles of Agreement consented to and subscribed by ye Society of young men" is so characteristic of the theologic tone of the time, that they will be given entire.

“We, the subscribers, being made, (we hope) in some measure sensible that we were shapen in iniquity, and that in sin our mothers conceived us; that the corruption and sinfulness of our natures hath discovered itself in the great irregularity of our thoughts, words and actions; and the many [words illegible] we are chargeable with, by which we have offended the great God, given ground of grief to them that wish us well, and wronged our own souls, and that we have reason to be unfeignedly humbled; and that by our baptism, the commands of God, and our own interest we are obliged to remember our Creator in the days of our youth, to be sober-minded, and to know in this our day the things that belong to our peace, and to seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof:—and that we are in great danger, by reason of our spiritual enemies of being further ensnared, encouraged and confirmed in that which is evil, and that we are in danger of injuring our own souls, by not improving for our best good the advantages within our power:— And

“Inasmuch as there are combinations and agreements among some to carry on evil designs, and meetings of some together the tendencies and consequences of which are hurtful, therefore

“We have thought that forming ourselves into a religious society for religious purposes, would not only be one way to strengthen our obligation to circumspection in our conduct, but would also, (by the blessing of God,) be a good means to fortify us against the temptations to which youth is exposed, to promote our further knowledge of truth and duty, and to save us from the paths of the destroyer.

“To quicken us therefore to avoid that which is evil, and to practice that which is good, we consent to, and agree in, the following Things, viz.

“I. That we will, by Divine leave, meet together once a fortnight, at some convenient place, agreed upon, and there spend about two hours together in prayer, reading a sermon.

singing a Psalm, or part of one, and in religious conferences ; and when these exercises are over, will speedily repair to our respective homes.

"II. That the prayers to be made, both before and after the reading of a sermon, shall be made by the members of the society in their turns.

"III. That we will not divulge one another's infirmities or imperfections that may appear at any time in our performances, or speak of them to others, but will rather modestly and lovingly mind one another of things of that kind ; and that we will kindly receive the notice thereof when given in a friendly manner.

"IV. That we will keep a strict guard over ourselves while together, that nothing unbecoming may be observed either in word or action, and will be very careful that our discourses savour not of vanity, reproaching and backbiting ; that they have no relation to matters of government, or to things that do not concern us, the tendency of which is not to make us better and more knowing ; — that therefore they shall be upon matters of religion, and even in this they shall not be upon the controversies of it, but upon the points of practical piety.

"V. That we will watch over one another for our good, and endeavor one another's spiritual profit, by labouring to assist each other in the knowledge of truth and duty ; and by encouraging and strengthening one another in things that are good, virtuous and praiseworthy, and by advising one another of anything that calls for an admonition. And as we will endeavor faithfully to dispense a reproof as there may be occasion, so we will also accept a reproof when given in a just and friendly manner.

"VI. That, by Divine help, we will behave in an inoffensive, good and exemplary manner, that none may have just ground to speak evil of any of us, or to reflect upon us as being only hypocritical, and as having only ostentatious aims in what we do ; but rather that they may have reason to hope

that we are under a serious concern for the glory of God, the advancement of religion, and the promoting the good of our own, and of one another's souls. That we will endeavor to be on our guard, especially on the Lord's day, and to avoid all irregularities and indecencies on the same; and that we will also at other times carefully avoid those places that have a dangerous aspect, and the coming into an intimacy with those persons whose company is not likely to be profitable, but rather prejudicial.

"VII. That in case any should scoff at, deride and mock us, on the account of our coming into such obligations as we have, we hope that, by Divine grace, we shall not be ashamed hereof, nor repent of our laying ourselves under them, nor renounce them; but endeavor to convince such of their sin, and to make them ashamed of it, and steadfastly continue our endeavors to fulfill them so long as our opportunities so to do are continued to us, or our circumstances will admit hereof: but in case of a removal, or if in the overruling providence of God we are brought into a married relation, we shall then look upon ourselves as released from our obligations to meet together as before mentioned.

"VIII. If any member of the society shall fall into scandalous iniquity, the rebukes of the society shall be dispensed unto him, and he shall be forbid coming any more among us, until he bring suitable expressions and evidences of his repentance with him.

"IX. If it be observed that any of the society absent themselves from our meetings, the reason of it shall be inquired into; and if no reason be given but such as intimates an apostasy from good beginnings, such upon obstinacy, after loving and faithful admonitions, shall have their names struck out of these articles.

"X. If necessary charges arise in the society there shall be a collection agreed upon for the defraying of them.

"XI. Once in three months the whole time of the meeting shall be spent in supplication for the outpouring of the

Spirit of God upon the rising generation in the land, and for the success of the gospel in the congregation to which we belong.

“XII. We shall be glad of an increase of our number, and therefore shall look out for some sober young men, and encourage and strengthen any good inclinations that we perceive in them, and readily two or three of us go with such to our minister, to receive his advice and counsels, and upon his advice, such person or persons may set to their hands, and join with us in these our obligations.

“Finally, we shall be glad to resort to our minister for, and be ready to comply with his advice, as there shall be occasion for it, and as he may see occasion to offer it to us ; and we shall thankfully receive his instructions and encouragements, and attend to the prayers and sermons that he shall see cause to favor us with. These things we freely consent to and agree in, depending on Christ for strength to do according to them, and desiring earnestly the Divine blessing to our souls. Amen.”

These Articles were signed as follows.

Nathaniel White,	Simon Willard,
Edward Phelps, jr.,	Sherebiah Hunt,
John Solindine,	Stephen Johnson,
Philemon Houghton,	John Dupee,
John Divol,	Benaiah Hutson,
Aaron Osgood,	William Osgood,
William Jenison, jr.,	Isaac Solindine,
William Phelps,	Samuel Prentice.
Samuel Nikols,	Thomas Beman,
Samuel Locke,	Ephraim Wilder,
William Richardson,	Thomas Willard,
Jonathan Ballard,	Russell Knight.

On another page are the following names, which there is reason to believe were subscribed to the document.

Samuel Warner,	Stanton Prentice,
Ephraim Houghton,	Josiah Swan.

The Articles probably had a ministerial authorship. It will be noted that they were dated in the year of Mr. Harrington's settlement, and the writing resembles that of the Records kept by him.

This may be considered the first "Young Men's Christian Association," till some other one proves priority in date. It shows that the new minister had a strong body of young men ready to be led by him, and to sustain him in time of need. The Records of the society, if any there were, have not been found; but we may indulge the belief that it was an efficient instrumentality for good.

Such a society must have had a stimulating power upon the minds of the members, and so have yielded its quota in giving to the people of this town its reputation for intelligence, a century since. Among the young men of character and education, about 1750, was Abel Willard, born in 1732, and a graduate of Harvard just twenty years later. John Adams, in the Diary already quoted, under date of March, 1756, says: "The family of the Willards of Lancaster, were often at Worcester; and I formed an acquaintance with them, especially Abel Willard, who had been one year with me in college; with him I lived in friendship." Levi Willard, the brother next older, married a daughter of Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. He also was a man of intelligence and enterprise.

The wealth of Lancaster had greatly increased in this period of thirty-three years, as the valuation shows. The increase of population always raises the value of real estate; besides, some had added to their store by business. Col. Samuel Willard, in 1726, purchased the estate of his grandfather, Major Simon, and moved here from Harvard, in that or the following year. He also bought the Glazier property, between the Common and the Nashua, and in 1727, the land between the ancestral home and the river. He was a trader, and an old record book of Judge Wilder, senior, contains many entries of bills of goods bought of him. Three of

his sons, Col. Abijah, Col. Levi and Esq. Abel, inherited the paternal estate in Lancaster, and lived in a row on what might be called Willard street, extending from Dr. Thompson's, easterly to the river. Abijah lived in the house now occupied by Mr. Day; Levi, near where the Mansion House now stands; and Abel near the corner of the road beyond Charles L. Wilder's house. Col. Levi was in trade in company with Samuel Ward, Esq., and they kept "perhaps the largest trading-house in the county of Worcester." They imported goods directly from England, and their customers were not confined to the town, but came from a long distance.

At the same time, Judge Joseph Wilder, jr., and his brother, Col. Caleb, were largely engaged in the business of making pot and pearl ashes, selling annually for some years, one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty tons of potash. Col. Joseph Wilder and Col. Oliver Wilder owned mill privileges, and others were engaged in business besides farming. This was, in some respects, the golden age of Lancaster.

CHAPTER XIV.

LANCASTER IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE annals of the town were brought down to the year 1775 in the preceding chapter, but the action of the town in relation to public affairs, in the year 1773, and subsequently, was omitted. This action belongs to the history of Lancaster in the Revolution, and will now begin as part of a continuous narrative. It will serve to show that the outbreak at Lexington and Concord was not a surprise, except in regard to the precise time, but that the people had been, for years, preparing to defend their liberties at the dire hazard of war.

A town meeting was held on the first Wednesday of January, 1773, in the meeting-house in the second precinct, Dea. Oliver Moor presiding as Moderator, to consider the following articles. "1. To take into consideration the dangerous condition of our public affairs; in particular, the independency of our superior judges, etc. 2. To choose a committee to draw up our grievances, and infringements upon our liberties. 3. To consider and act upon the request from the Boston committee. 4. To give to our representative such instructions as the town shall think proper, relative to our privileges. 5. To choose a committee to return an answer to Boston committee, and to correspond with any other committee, relating to our privileges, etc. 6. To act and do any thing that the town shall see proper to withstand the present progress of our enemies in endeavoring to take away our privileges."

The town voted to choose a committee to draw up a statement of grievances. These were the names of the committee.

Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman, Ebenezer Allen. The meeting was adjourned to the nineteenth, at the meeting-house in the first precinct, to receive the report of the committee. The report was duly received, and the same committee were appointed to reply to the letter of the Boston committee. Then the following instructions were agreed upon, for the guidance of the delegate to the general court, Col. Asa Whitcomb.

“As you are chosen to represent this town in the general assembly of this province, we take this opportunity of informing you of our sentiments relative to the unhappy state of our public affairs. You will perceive, by the Resolves which are herewith sent to you, the light in which we view the encroachments made upon our constitutional freedom. Particularly you will observe our serious opinion of a dependency of the Judges of the Superior Court on the crown for their support; that they are already so dependant; or that it is in contemplation to render them so, we have great reason to fear. Also an act passed in the late session of the British Parliament, intituled an ‘Act for better preserving his majesty’s dock-yards,’ etc., does in a most essential manner infringe the rights and liberties of the colonies, as it puts it in the power of any wicked tool of administration, either from malice or policy, to take any inhabitant from the colonies, and carry him to Great Britain, there to be tried, which by the expense and long detention from his occupation, would be the destruction of almost any man among us, although his innocence might finally appear in the clearest manner. And further, the late commissions for taking persons in our sister colony, Rhode Island, and sending them to Great Britain, there to be tried upon suspicion of being concerned in burning his majesty’s schooner Gaspie, is an invasion of the rights of the colonies, and ought to excite the attention of the whole continent. We expect that you will use your utmost efforts, this session of our general assembly,

to obtain a radical redress of our grievances, and we wish you success in your endeavors, and which we cannot but flatter ourselves, from the late happy change in the American department, you will meet with. We confide in your ability and firmness in all matters which may come before the general court, assuring you of the support of this town in all your legal proceedings, and earnestly praying that the Great Governor of the world may direct and bless you in all your ways."

The resolutions reported to the town and adopted, so far as appears, with entire unanimity, evince a clear sense of right, and a stern purpose to maintain them. They were honorable to the town, and they adorn its history.

"Resolved, 1. That this and every other town in this province, has an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them, when, and so often as they shall judge fit; and it is more especially their duty so to do when any infringement is made upon their civil or religious liberties.

2. That the raising a revenue in the colonies without their consent, either by themselves or their representatives, is an infringement of that right which every freeman has to dispose of his own property.

3. That the granting a salary to his excellency, the governor of this province out of the revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

4. That it is of the highest importance to the security of liberty, life and property, that the public administration of justice should be pure and impartial, and that the judges should be free from every bias, either in favor of the crown or the subject.

5. That the absolute dependency of the judges of the superior court of this province upon the crown for their support, would, if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

6. That the extension of the power of the court of vice admiralty to the present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishman, trials by juries."

These resolutions were ordered to be "transmitted to the town of Boston."

A meeting was called on the fifth of September, 1774, to consider various matters pertaining to the general welfare. One article respected the granting relief to the "suffering poor of the town of Boston, occasioned by the late act of parliament blocking up the port of said town." Another related to forming an agreement with other towns, and choosing a committee to do what was needful to be done in the present exigency. Other articles looked to raising money to buy a stock of ammunition, and to pay the town's proportion of the "charges of the present proposed congress."

The town chose the following committee of correspondence, with the singular provision that "any number even less than a majority * * * shall be sufficient to represent the town." The times required haste, and it would not do to delay, in some exigencies, long enough to collect the committee from remote parts of the town. Dr. William Dunsmoor, Dea. David Wilder, Aaron Sawyer, Capt. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott, Ephraim Sawyer. Subsequently Dea. Thomas Fairbank, Dea. Josiah Wilder, and Jonathan Wilder were added.

Then the town voted to "indemnify the constable for not returning a list of the freeholders for jurors under the late act of parliament." The Dea. David Wilder, above named, was foreman of the grand jury which in the preceding April, voted, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as judge at this present court, they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

The opposition to the courts as then constituted was taking practical shape. The next vote was still more significant. It was to "raise fifty pounds for to buy ammunition with to be

a town stock." And still more emphatic was the vote passed, at an adjourned meeting, a fortnight later: "that there be one hundred men raised as volunteers, to be ready at a minute's warning to turn out upon any emergency, and that they shall be formed into two companies, and choose their own officers." The volunteers were to be reasonably paid by the town for "any service they might do in defending the liberties and privileges" of the people. Dr. Dunsmoor and Capt. Whitcomb were authorized to enlist fifty men in their respective precincts. The committee of correspondence were to buy "one field piece for the use of the town."

At a meeting, September 28, Dr. Dunsmoor was chosen delegate to a "proposed Provincial Convention" to be held at Concord. The committee were empowered to "buy two 2 Ponders" instead of one field piece. The meeting was adjourned to December 12, when Dr. Dunsmoor and Capts. Gates and Whitcomb were appointed a committee to draw up an "Association, League and Covenant for non-consumption of goods, etc., for the inhabitants to sign."

At another meeting a committee of three was chosen to see what money was in the hands of the constables, and to "direct them not to pay any public money out of their hands without the town's order." This action was intended to prevent any taxes going to the loyal treasurer of the province. The committee were Dr. Josiah Wilder, Aaron and Ephraim Sawyer. Instead of 2 pounds, the committee reported that they had bought "4 Ponders." It was voted to buy "five hundred weight of ball suitable for the field pieces, and three hundred weight of grape shot."

October 31, the town made arrangements that their money should not be paid to the provincial or county treasurer, but to Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, who had been designated by the patriots as Receiver General. A committee was appointed "to post up all such persons as continued to buy, sell or consume any East India goods, in public places in town." This was to prevent the British government from receiving any

indirect revenue from customs duties. Men were designated to build gun carriages for the two field pieces.

An adjourned meeting, held January 2, 1775, chose a "committee to receive subscriptions and donations for the suffering poor of Boston, as follows. Doct. Dunsmoor, Dea. David Wilder, Ephraim Carter, Dea. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Daniel Robins, Ephraim Sawyer." The donations were to be brought in within a fortnight.

The Continental Congress, which met not long before, formed an Association to unite the whole people in resisting aggression, and promoting the general welfare; and the town voted to "abide by the spirit and sense" of the Association; and chose a large committee "to see that the said Association be kept and observed by the inhabitants" of the town. The committee were John Prescott, Capt. Gates, David Wilder, Ephraim Carter, Dr. Wilder, Dr. Dunsmoor, Samuel Thurston, Ebenezer Allen, Ephraim Sawyer, Capt. Whitcomb, Capt. Robbins, Josiah Kendall, jr., Jona. Fairbank, David Osgood, Jonathan Wilder.

Capt. Whitcomb and Dr. Dunsmoor were chosen delegates to a "Provincial Congress" which met at Concord, in the following month.

The town was resolved that every man should be supplied with arms, and therefore voted, in May, that the "selectmen be a committee to receive the donations of the several gentlemen of the town, to furnish the poor of said town with good arms for the use of said town." The selectmen were also empowered to "provide suitable persons to use the grates goons." Dea. David Wilder and Dr. Dunsmoor were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress. Soon after Dea. Thomas Fairbank was sent in place of Dea. Wilder.

It was time to arm the whole population, for the Lexington and Concord fight had already occurred, and the battle of Bunker Hill was impending. On the nineteenth of the preceding April, the British troops had come out of Boston, on the memorable raid to Concord, and the world knows the

story of their disastrous rout. Early in the day a messenger brought the news to this town, and roused the soldiers to action. Tradition has not preserved the name of the swift horseman who brought the tidings, but it is known that he came in accordance with plans well laid, by committees of correspondence, and that he found the people ready for the "dread arbitrament of war."

The company of minute men, under Capt. Benjamin Houghton, marched without delay, to Lexington, and Capt. Thomas Gates' company of cavalry, rode to Cambridge, to aid in repelling the royal forces. The roll of the cavalry men follows, being a part of the regiment of Col. John Whitcomb, of Bolton.

Capt. Thomas Gates,	James Goodwin,	Shadrach Hapgood,
Lt. Jona. P. Whitcom,	Joel Osgood,	Jona. Puffer,
Sgt. Richard Townsend,	Phin. Fletcher,	Eben Allen,
“ William Watson,	Reuben Gary,	Israel Willard,
“ Peter Thurston,	David Willard, jr.,	Gardner Moors,
“ Thomas Brooks,	John May, jr.,	Simeon Hemenway,
Corp. William Whitcom,	Eph. Willard, jr.,	Jona. Willard,
“ Moses Burpee,	Tho. McBride,	Gab. Priest,
“ Jonas Wyman,	Benj. Bruce,	Asa Rugg,
Levi Sawyer,	Uriah Wood,	Joel Phinney.
John Hawks,		

These men were in service from four to fourteen days. Probably all of them did not march at once; and some might have returned before the rest.

The minute men belonged to the same regiment, and these are their names.

Capt. Benjamin Houghton,	Henry Willard,	David Horseley,
Lt. Samuel Josslyn,	Jona. Kendall,	John Bennet,
Sgt. Nath. Sawyer,	John Willard,	Jonas Prescott,
“ Samuel Wilder,	Jona. Knowlton,	Nathan Esterbrook,
Corp. Aaron Johnson,	Stephen Wilder,	Elisha Houghton,
“ William Wilder,	Titus Wilder,	Stanton Carter,
D'r. John Wheelock,	John Dana,	Joseph Jones,
“ Ephraim Kendall,	Elijah Ball,	Joshua Fairbanks,
Paul Sawyer,	Daniel Knight,	Abijah Houghton,
Thomas Bennet,	John Thurston,	Matthew James,
Abijah Hawks,	Edm. Larkin,	John Chower.
	Joseph Josslyn,	

The British had retreated before the company reached the scene of action, and they were stationed at Cambridge, under Gen. Artemas Ward. They were out on this expedition from six to eighteen days.

A third company of the same regiment was commanded by Capt. Samuel Sawyer, and continued in the service from ten to nineteen days.

The names of officers and men were as follows.

Capt. Samuel Sawyer,	Timothy Harwood,	John Parsons,
Lt. Manassah Sawyer,	Ephraim Powers,	Oliver Powers,
Ensign, Joel Houghton,	Jacob Robins,	Ezra Sawyer,
Corp. Ebenezer Ross,	Aaron Kilbourn,	Asa Smith,
“ Lemuel Fairbank,	John Spafford,	Ephraim Wiman,
“ Jabez Brooks,	Thomas Sawyer, jr.,	Obadiah Grove,
Jonathan Wilder,	Silas Rice,	Abel Bigelow.
Samuel Church,		

A fourth company had Joseph White for captain. This belonged to the regiment of Col. Asa Whitcomb, and was engaged, at this time, only four or five days. More men hurried to Cambridge than were needed, and some were poorly equipped. These returned home, and prepared for more extended service, as the war was prolonged from year to year till its triumphant close.

Capt. Joseph White,	Corp. Moses Wilder,	Jona. Whitney,
Lt. Cyrus Fairbanks,	Jona. White,	Abel Phelps,
“ Moses Sawyer,	Nath. White,	Joseph Fairbanks,
Sgt. Samuel Thurston,	William Richardson,	Josiah Bennet,
“ John Fletcher,	Phinehas Wilder,	William Phelps,
“ John Clarke,	Joseph Lewis,	Joseph Beman.
Corp. Peter Larkin,		

In June, probably before the battle of Bunker Hill, Andrew Haskell became captain of the minute men, and with an enlarged number, served under Col. Asa Whitcomb, three months and fourteen days. This is the muster roll.

Capt. Andrew Haskell,	Sgt. Abijah Phillips,	Corp. Benj. Houghton,
Lt. John Kendrick,	“ Jeremiah Haskell,	“ Ebenezer Allen,
“ Jonathan Sawyer,	“ Joshua Fairbanks,	“ Jacob Wilder,
Sgt. John Hewitt,	Corp. Josiah Bowers.	D'r. Nathaniel White,

Fifer, John Wheelock,	Gersham Flagg,	Peter Manning,
Abel Wyman,	Israel Willard,	Samuel Barret,
Abijah Houghton,	Joseph Beaman,	Stanton Carter,
Benjamin Ballard,	Joseph Phelps,	Thomas Goodwin,
Benjamin James,	Josiah Phelps,	William Shaw,
Daniel Clark,	Jacob Phelps,	William Deputron,
Daniel Wyman,	Jonathan Ross,	William Phelps,
David Hosley,	Joseph Wilder,	Winslow Phelps,
Eber Sawyer,	Jacob Pike,	Jonas Prescott,
Elisha Rugg,	Isaac Kilbourn,	David Robbins,
Ebenezer Abbot,	Isaac Eveleth,	Robert Phelps,
George Richardson,	John Fletcher,	John Baker,
Mark Heard,	John Ballard,	John Myers,
Matthew James,	Jonathan White,	William Calley,
Nathan Esterbrooks,	Jonathan Wilder,	Samuel Adams.
Peter Airs,	John Warner,	

David Robbins was killed on Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps was wounded and captured on the day of the battle.

Some of these men were with Capt. Houghton, when he hastened to Concord.

Ephraim Richardson, under Col. Asa Whitcomb, led a company to Concord and Cambridge, and was in the service from April 19 to August 1, three months and fourteen days. There were, officers and privates, fifty-four in the company.

Capt. Ephraim Richardson,	Israel Kooke,	David Pike,
Lt. Seth Heywood,	Thomas Cleland,	Ephraim Pike,
“ Ephraim Boynton,	Elijah Dole,	Josiah Person,
Sgt. Ebenezer Pike,	Elijah Dresor,	Asa Rugg,
“ Luther Graves,	John Densmore,	Seth Buss,
“ Samuel Rice,	Calvin Fairbank,	Luther Rice,
“ Tilly Wells,	Asa Farrar,	Benja. Smith,
Corp. Solomon Holman,	Aaron Gary,	Jude Sawyer,
“ Nathaniel Brown,	Aaron Glasier,	James Sawyer,
“ Roger Boutelle,	Ephraim Goss,	Thomas Smith,
“ Matthias Larkin,	Jacob Kilbourn,	David Gary,
D'r. John Wheeler,	Joshua Kendall,	Israel Tower,
Fifer, William Kendall,	Israel Manning,	Jacob Wilder,
Ebenezer Belknap,	Reuben More,	Joshua Whitney,
John Burns,	Jonathan Phillips,	Josiah Brunson,
Timothy Brown,	Elisha Prouty,	Joseph Savage,
Thomas Blodget,	Manassah Powers,	John Sawyer,
Noah Kendall,	Jacob Piper,	Thomas Prossor.

Of these Jabez Brooks, Nathaniel Brown, Elijah Dole and Thomas Smith went to Quebec under Arnold. Savage and Brunson joined the artillery.

The men who made forced marches to Concord, were either volunteer militia, or "minute men." They were not called out by any constituted authority; but a messenger, probably chosen by the committee of correspondence, in each town, took up the message as it came from the town below, and galloped with it to a town to the westward, and thus the summons flew over the hills of Worcester county to the valley of the Connecticut, and on to Berkshire. But there was an immediate necessity for a more permanent military organization, and men were invited to enlist in the service, for a longer or a shorter time, as the case might be. From the Rolls we learn that the following men enlisted in the Continental Army, and served from six to nine days.

First Lt. Andrew Haskell,	Eber Sawyer,	Abel Allen,
Sgt. John Sawyer,	Abel Wyman,	Sam. Adams,
" John Kendrick,	Benjamin Ballard,	Thomas Goodwin,
Corp. John Farwell,	Daniel Wyman,	Elisha Rugg,
" John Haskell,	James Beaman,	Jonathan Ross,
Fifer, John Wheelock,	John Baker,	Jacob Phelps,
Mark Heard, or Ward,	Josiah Bowers,	Isaac Eveleth,
Jacob Wilder,	Joseph Phelps,	Abijah Phillips,
	Josiah Phelps,	Benjamin Houghton.

Probably these men entered the general service when the volunteers returned home, and remained a few days till a more permanent arrangement could be made. It appears from the Rolls that officers and men were immediately enlisted for a period of eight months. Under Col. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Andrew Haskell, and others, enlisted into the train, or artillery, May 24 and 28, 1775.

Capt. Andrew Haskell,	Samuel Barret,	Ebenezer Abbot,
Corp. Ebenezer Allen,	John Baker,	Joseph Beaman,
Abel Allen,	Peter Airs,	John Ballard,
Corp. Josiah Bowers,	Samuel Adams,	Benjamin Ballard.

And on the thirtieth of May the following are supposed to have joined the same company of artillery.

Daniel Clark,	Sgt. Joshua Fairbank,	Gershom Flagg,
Stanton Carter,	John Fletcher,	Thomas Goodwin.
William Calley,		

Other men joined the company of Capt. Haskell at dates not recorded. It will be seen that many names are repeated, proving that a large number of the soldiers were in the service, at different times, and under different officers.

Fifer William Kendall,	Jacob Pike,	Fifer, John Wheeler,
Joshua Kendall,	Elisha Rugg,	Joseph Wilder,
Jacob Kilbourn,	George Richardson,	Jotham Wilder,
Sgt. Abijah Phillips,	Jonathan Ross,	John Warner,
“ Robert Phelps,	David Robbins,	Jonathan White,
Jonas Prescott,	Eber Sawyer,	Israel Willard,
Joseph Phelps,	William Shaw,	Daniel Wyman,
Josiah Phelps,	Corp. Jacob Wilder,	Abel Wyman.
Jacob Phelps,	D'r. Nathaniel White,	

Opposite the name of Robert Phelps is written “wounded and in captivity, June 17.” It is safe to infer that he was in the battle of Bunker Hill, was wounded, and taken prisoner. In Frothingham's Siege of Boston, it is stated that only a few of Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment were in the battle. Probably the bulk of the regiment were in Cambridge, as Gen. Ward feared a movement of the enemy in that direction.

Capt. Ephraim Richardson was in the service in the spring or summer of 1775 at the head of the following men; but the duration of his or their service has not been found. The men evidently entered and left the service at different times.

Lt. Seth Heywood,	Corp. Jonas Beaman,	Thomas Blodgett,
“ Ephraim Boynton,	“ Benjamin Hough-	Josiah Brunson,
“ John Kindrick,	ton,	Israel Cook,
Sgt. Luther Graves,	“ Ephraim Sawyer,	Aaron Gary,
“ John Hewitt,	D'r. John Wheeler,	Ephraim Goss,
“ Ebenezer Pike,	Nathaniel Brown,	Calvin Fairbank,
“ Samuel Rice,	Jabez Brooks,	David Hosley,
“ Falls Wills,	John Bunn,	Mark Heard,

Jacob Piper,	Abijah Houghton,	Ephraim Pike,
Thomas Smith,	Jeremiah Haskell,	Winslow Phelps,
Benjamin Smith,	Isaac Kilbourn,	Asa Rugg.
Seth Ross,	David Pike,	Luther Rice,
Joseph Savage,	Josiah Pearson,	James Sawyer,
Jude Sawyer,	Elisha Proute,	Ephraim Whitcomb,
Jacob Wilder,	Manassah Powers,	Joshua Whitney,
James Wall,	Jona. Phillips,	Thomas Proser.

Two of these men joined the expedition to Quebec, through the wilderness of Maine and Canada, under Col. Benedict Arnold, September 11, 1775; viz., John Bunn and Joseph Savage. James Sawyer joined the artillery, May 16.

Joseph Beaman served in Col. Doolittle's regiment; Israel Davenport in Col. Nixon's; Moses Osgood in Col. William Prescott's; and Nathan Osgood in the company of Capt. Davis, under Col. Asa Whitcomb.

In the muster rolls is found the following list of names. Perhaps the majority of the company belonged to the second precinct, but their service is a part of the history of Lancaster.

"Provincial regiment of foot of militia men, commanded by Col. Asa Whitcomb. Part of the second and thirteenth companies, whereof Capt. Daniel Robbins commanded, who marched to Cambridge in consequence of an alarm, by order of the Col., and returned again, not listed in the above service, 19th April, 14 days."

Capt. Daniel Robbins,	Benjamin Whitemore,	Calvin Moor,
First Lt. Josiah Kendall,	Seth Fairbanks,	James Houghton,
Lt. Asa Wilder,	Ephraim Wright,	George Hibris,
" Fortunatus Eager,	Thomas Wright,	Joshua Sawyer,
En. Edward Newton,	Josiah Wilder, jr.,	Joseph Densmore,
" Jonathan Baley,	Abraham Howe,	Jonathan Prescott,
Sgt. Samuel Baley,	Seth How,	Ephraim Bowker,
" Nathaniel Wright,	John Robbins,	Elijah Wilder,
jr.,	Seth Brooks,	David Whitteor,
" John Dusser,	Gamaliel Beaman,	Samuel Tarritt,
" Thomas Wears,	Benjamin Beaman,	Samuel Holman,
Cor. Samuel Thompson,	Jonas Bailey,	Thomas Sawyer,
" Thomas Ross,	Jonathan Thompson,	Asa Smith,
" Samuel Herring,	John Kilburn,	Hugh Moor,
" Simon Lyon,	William Palmer,	Timothy Wilder.

“Private men’s names that enlisted April 26, 7 days in service.”

Joshua Whitney,
Elijah Dole,
David Gray,

Daniel Farrer,
Noah Kendall,

Seth Ross,
Jonas Beaman.

The traditions of the service of the Lancaster soldiers in this brief campaign, from April 19 to June 17, which once filled the town, have sunk in everlasting silence. When Mr. Willard wrote his History, there were many veterans alive, whose narrations would have filled a volume, but his plan did not take so wide a sweep; and we have literally nothing to collate at this late day. It is fair to believe that our hasty recruits did their duty; only two of the whole number registered above, deserted.

A few anecdotes and incidents pertaining to the time, here fall into place.

One of the soldiers who made a good record was a colored man, named Lewis. He played the part of a soldier faithfully, and was worthy of the rights of a freeman. A son of his still lives in Boston, and is much respected.

There is a curious anecdote of Capt. Andrew Haskell. He had the true fighting grit, and could not stay at home when he heard the sound to arms. It is related of him, that though brave and competent, he was not promoted. Others were advanced, while he remained stationary. Stung with a sense of wrong, he resigned and came home. But as the war went forward, moved by patriotism, and the military spirit, he enlisted and fought in the ranks. The supposed impediment to his promotion, was incurable uncouthness of manners.

After Washington reached Cambridge and assumed the command of the army, in the summer of 1775, the first thing to be done was organization. Many of the old militia officers were superseded. Among others, the veteran Asa Whitcomb was dropped, and Col. Brewer put at the head of his regiment. The story is told in the *New London Gazette*, January 11, 1776. “Deacon Whitcomb of Lancaster, who was

a member of the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay till the present war commenced, had served in former wars, and been in different engagements, served as a Colonel in the Continental army; but on account of his age was left out in the new regulation. His men highly resented it, and declared they would not list again after their time was out. The Colonel told them he did not doubt there were sufficient reasons for the regulation, and he was satisfied with it; he then blamed them for their conduct, and said he would enlist as a private. Colonel Brewer heard of it, and offered to resign in favor of Colonel Whitcomb. The whole coming to General Washington's ears, he allowed of Colonel Brewer's resignation in Colonel Whitcomb's favor, appointed the former barrack-master till he could further promote him, and acquainted the army with the whole affair in general orders. Let antiquity produce a more striking instance of true greatness of soul."

In the spring of 1775, the three men in the town most capable of rendering efficient aid to the patriotic cause, were perhaps the three sons of Col. Samuel Willard. The second judge Wilder, and Col. Oliver Wilder were dead. Col. Asa Whitcomb was advanced in life. No young man came forward who developed striking military genius, though several became capable officers. But the Willards were able, respectable, and for the times wealthy. They were held in high esteem. One of them had evinced superior ability in the Louisburg expedition, and in the last French and Indian war. But no help came from them in the day of their country's trial.

Col. Levi, born in 1727, was now in the maturity of manhood, but was an invalid, and died July 11, 1775, soon after the battle of Bunker Hill. He was a man of large property in town, and in other places, having been one of the grantees of Walpole, N. H. He was collector of the excise for the county of Worcester in 1766; Lieut. Col. of Col. Caleb Wilder's regiment, and held the office of justice of the peace, which in those days, was an office of honor. His wife was

a daughter of Judge John Chandler, of Worcester. Which way his political sympathies would have led him, is unknown ; but his connections were with the friends of the king. However, death solved the question, for he was taken away, just as hostilities commenced.

Abel Willard, Esq., seems to have been a universal favorite. He was born in 1732, January 16, and was graduated at Harvard in 1752. His wife was the daughter of Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Littleton. Having studied law in Boston with Benjamin Pratt, who afterwards became distinguished as the chief justice of New York, he settled in his native town, and soon acquired a handsome practice. But he exerted himself more in settling than fomenting forensic disputes and litigation. Although he has slept in a foreign grave nearly a hundred years, tradition still keeps alive the memory of his peace-making labors. Aged persons who learned from the aged of a former generation, report that he was known and honored as the friend of the poor, and as ever ready to defend the widow, the fatherless and the helpless. He was modest, ingenuous and constitutionally timid ; but possessed moral courage, firmness and integrity.

Though loving his country, he was not prepared to break from his allegiance to the king. He was behind the times, rather than an enemy of independence. Probably, if he had been permitted to remain unmolested at home, the progress of events would not only have reconciled him to the Revolution, but have converted him to an ardent patriot. But he was slow to see the inevitable result. The inspecting committee visited him "to know whether he was sound in politics, according to their standard." He might have remained at home in peace, so far as it appears, says his kinsman, the historian, "but with indifferent health and spirits, he was not able to bear up under the apprehension of further, perhaps more searching proceedings from the Lancaster inquisition, and therefore retired with his family to Boston." He was childless ; his estate was confiscated ; he passed *via* Halifax

or New York to England, in 1776, and died in London in 1781. He died an exile from the land he loved; afar from the beautiful valley which held the idols of his heart. His absence was a loss to the patriotic cause; but the greater his ability to serve his country, the greater was his mistake and his fault that he did not comprehend the times in which he lived, and respond to the demands of his countrymen.

The most distinguished of the three brothers, and the one most capable of service in the military line was Col. Abijah Willard. Born in 1724, he commanded a company under his father in 1745, at the capture of Louisburg. He led a company under Col. Monckton, in 1755, "at the reduction of the French forts in Nova Scotia." He soon after received the commission of a colonel, and was in the expedition to Crown Point. In 1759 he led his regiment, in the expedition of lord Amherst, for the conquest of Canada. He was a man of courage, activity and force, and had, what is rare, a "military genius." In the revolutionary army, he would, doubtless, have attained distinction.

His property was large for those times, and he improved his estate by strict attention and energy. Besides his possessions in Lancaster, and other towns in the vicinity, he had a large landed estate in Stafford, Conn., and he had purchased a farm in Beverly, at the expense of £2,756 sterling, equal, perhaps, to \$27,000 in our currency, in purchasing value.

He was a man of character and influence; was greatly respected by his fellow citizens, and by his public spirit, merited their regards. But his heart was divided between his sovereign, whose commission as a "mandamus counsellor" he bore, and his country, with which all his interests and his ancestral associations were connected. The conflict resulted in his choosing the loyal side, and entering the enemy's lines. The manner of his leaving home indicates that he had no fixed purpose to be permanently absent. On the morning of the nineteenth of April, before the arrival of the messenger bringing the news of the British raid on Lexington and Concord,

the colonel "mounted his horse, with saddle-bags stored with seeds for his farm in Beverly, prepared to spend several days there, and superintend the planting and sowing." That he had no intention, on leaving home, of proceeding to Boston, is thought to be proved by the fact that he made no arrangement for his wife and children to follow. Before reaching Concord, it is supposed, he learned that the British troops were drawing near. It was too late for him to proceed to his destination, through Concord, or the towns north of that place, which would be swarming with soldiers, hastening to the scene of action. Therefore, it is conjectured, he turned to the right, and passed through a southern tier of towns, whose volunteers had already marched, leaving the road comparatively clear, and thus reached Boston. Once there, he could not safely return, whatever his wishes or misgivings, and he cast in his lot with the British party. But he never did any service except as a commissary with the army at New York. At the close of the war, he received a crown-grant of land in New Brunswick, settled there with his family, and died in 1789. This was a sad and inglorious end to a life whose early manhood and vigorous maturity were so distinguished. Col. Willard's second wife, and the mother of his children who lived beyond childhood, was the daughter of John, and granddaughter of Rev. John Prentice. His first wife was Elizabeth, sister of Col. William Prescott. In 1749 Col. Willard and his first wife united with the church in Lancaster. It is related that the colonel was on Copp's hill, in Boston, standing with British officers, and watching the opening of the battle on Bunker Hill, when one of the officers said to him: "Who commands in the American redoubt?" Willard, who knew his brother-in-law well, replied, "Col. Prescott." Said the officer: "Will he fight?" He answered: "Yes, to the last drop of his blood." Col. Prescott belonged to the Lancaster stock, and was descended from the first John Prescott.

The town meeting warned to meet, March 6, 1775, was "In his Majesties Name." The call of the next meeting, July 3, left out all reference to his majesty, and proceeded on the sole authority of the selectmen; but it was "according to the advice of the Continental Congress," the authority of which was beginning to be recognized. This meeting was called to "depute one or more persons to represent said town in a great and general court or assembly, appointed to be convened, held and kept for the service of the said colony until the end of the day next preceding the last Wednesday of May next, and no longer." The assembly was called to meet on the sixteenth of July, and Lancaster sent Capt. Hezekiah Gates and Mr. Ebenezer Allen. "Old men for counsel" was an ancient maxim, which the fathers of the town followed on this occasion. Capt. Gates was in his seventy-second year, and died in 1777. Mr. Allen, who was in his eightieth year, lived till 1790, and died at the age of ninety-four.

The March meeting in 1776, was called "in his Majesty's Name," for some unexplained reason; probably because the United Colonies had not yet declared their independence. But this was the last occasion on which the selectmen based their action on the authority of his majesty. The town, at this meeting, after electing town officers, chose the following committee of "correspondence, inspection and safety." Cyrus Fairbank, Josiah Kendall, jr., Ebenezer Allen, Jabez Fairbank, Ephraim Sawyer, William Dunsmoor, Esq., David Wilder, Jonathan Wilder and Joshua Fletcher. But another meeting was called to meet May 20, and this was summoned in "observance of the Colony's writ," and in the "Name of the Government and People of the Massachusetts Bay." The purpose of the meeting was to elect a delegate to the general court. The town, when met, voted to send one, and negatived the proposition to send two. But the meeting was adjourned without voting for a delegate. At an adjourned meeting, the vote was reconsidered, and a committee was chosen to "draw up something as a reason why we do not send a representative."

The next meeting was on the last Monday of September. The Declaration of Independence had been made, and the selectmen summoned the freeholders "In the name of the people and authority of the American States." They were feeling around after the source of supreme power. The king and parliament were discarded, and there was a notion that sovereignty resided somewhere outside of the colony or state. This meeting was called to consider whether the town "would raise money to hire men to go into the service against our enemy whenever we have orders from the Congress and General Court to turn out men for that end." Nothing was done in relation to that article, or others bearing on the same subject. The general court had passed an act relating to a "speedy and cheep course for receiving of Debts," and William Dunsmoor, Esq., was chosen to take "cognizance of debts."

A movement was now started for the formation of a state constitution, and the proposition was submitted to the towns whether they would consent that the existing "house of representatives of the State of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England," together with the council, in one body, by equal voice, should consult, agree on and enact such a "Constitution and form of Government for this state," as said body, on the "fullest and most matured deliberation, shall judge will most conduce to the safety, peace and happiness of this state in all after successions and generations, and if you would direct the same to be made public for the inspection and perusal of the inhabitants, before ratification thereof by the assembly." This warrant was directed to "all the Male inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, being free and twenty-one years of age and upwards." The meeting was held, October 7, and the town voted, "that this town empower the present house of representatives to draw up a Form of Government, and transmit back for the town's ratification." On the same day William Dunsmoor, Esq., was chosen representative. The Constitution proposed by this convention was

rejected by the people of the state, though the vote in Lancaster was 111 in favor to 41 against it.

The next entry in the town Records is a copy of the Declaration of Independence, in clear and beautiful penmanship, with the name of John Hancock written with a bolder hand than in the original. This was done in accordance with an order of the Council, sitting in Boston, on the seventeenth of July, as follows :

“Ordered, that the Declaration of Independence be printed, and a copy sent to the minister of each parish, of every denomination, within this state, and that [they] severally be required to read the same to their respective congregations, as soon as divine service is ended, in the afternoon, on the first Lord’s Day after they shall have received it. And after such publication thereof, to deliver the said Declaration to the clerks of their several towns or districts, who are hereby required to record the same in their respective town or district books, there to remain as a perpetual memorial thereof.”

Before this time the seat of war had changed from Boston to New York. Capt. Samuel Sawyer was in the army on Long Island, and in the retreat across the East river, and up Manhattan island. The orderly book of his company, in his own writing, is in the Archives, and is well worth reading, but contains scant matter for extracts.

The committee of “correspondence, inspection and safety,” had arduous and disagreeable duties, in the opening of the war. So far as “inspection” was concerned, the office was not a sinecure. One of their duties was to ascertain whether any of their neighbors were disloyal to the cause of independence, and to bring a pressure to bear upon them till their loyalty was revived, or they were driven from home into the British lines. After inquiry and personal visitation, they formed a “black list” and reported it to the town, when the suspected were summoned to answer for themselves, and publicly recant. In June, 1777, Asa Whitcomb, by direction of the town, and in accordance with a resolve of the general

court, collected evidence against such as were deemed "internal enemies to the state." He reported the names of Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. Most of these men, perhaps all of them, were, upon examination, exonerated by the town, and lived as peaceable citizens. Possibly they had a lingering love for the ancient regime, and grave doubts about the success of the patriots; but doubtless they cheerfully acquiesced in the results by which their country became free.

The process was curious, and though disagreeable to the parties, seems amusing to those living a century later. September 12, 1777, it was "voted that the Rev. Timothy Harrington be added to said list." This was the "black list." And then it was voted "that the selectmen return a list of these dangerous persons to the Clerk, and he to the Justice of the quorum as soon as may be." Eleven days later another meeting was held, which voted that the "town Clerk do not return the Rev. Timothy Harrington on the black list till after the next town meeting, which will be the first Monday in November next." The scene at that meeting was quite dramatic. It was first voted that "messengers be sent to inform the Rev. Timothy Harrington that he has something in agitation now to be heard in the meeting at which he has liberty to attend." The reader will note the ingenuity of the phrase, "he has something in agitation," when all the agitation had been fomented by others.

It was next voted that Dea. Benjamin Houghton be sent to inform Mr. Harrington to appear at the meeting. Then Dea. Cyrus Fairbank was also sent on the same mission. The deacons were all sound and resolute patriots. The next entry immediately follows: "Voted, that the Rev. Timothy Harrington's name be struck from the black list." The result was brought about in this way. Mr. Harrington came into the meeting, and when called to answer for himself, stood up, venerable with age, and respected for his virtues, and lay-

ing bare his breast, exclaimed, "Strike, strike here, with your daggers. I am a true friend to my country."

One of the severest trials incident to the war of the Revolution was the depreciation of paper money. As early as the year 1777, the value of these paper promises had fallen to an alarming degree. A meeting held November 24, chose a committee to consider an Act of the general court. The report of the committee will show the sentiment of Lancaster in regard to the subject. "This town, taking into consideration the late Act made for putting large sums of the bills of credit emitted by this state, on interest, on or before the first day of December next, and for sinking in the hands of the possessors, all sums less than ten pounds excepting those bills less than one dollar; therefore this town are clearly of opinion that said Act, in connection with a tax we understand is soon to come out, is a grievance we look upon greater than to sink said money by a tax or taxes as the people are able to bear. And further, we look upon it very extraordinary that said court should lay a fine on the tendering said money, when at the same time the face of said bill saith it shall be of such value, and received in all payments." The town resolved to petition the general court, in accordance with the above.

Another meeting was held on the seventh of February, 1778, when, besides a vote to accept the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the United States of America," the town agreed to make the cost of clothing the soldiers from this town in the continental army, and the pay of a man to transport said clothing, a "town charge." These men had enlisted for "three years;" some of them "during the war." Their names will be given on a subsequent page.

At the March meeting, the town raised the sum of four thousand and forty-nine pounds and seven shillings to "pay soldiers hired for eight months and nine months, to form the continental army for the present year." This apparently

enormous appropriation was, of course, in depreciated currency.

An incidental entry in the Records reveals the fact that soldiers from the town were in the army when it evacuated New York, and also in "the Jerseys," in 1776-7.

On the eleventh of May, it was voted to raise "eighteen continental men for nine months," and to pay them out of the treasury. It was then voted to raise "fourteen men more." The committee to raise the men consisted of the commissioned officers of the companies, the selectmen and the committee of safety.

In October a committee was chosen to "supply the families" of those that had joined the army. In the first month of the next year, 1779, three hundred pounds were raised for the benefit of the families of soldiers in the army.

The fluctuation of the currency, by the year 1779, deranged all the business of society, and prompted legislatures and towns to undertake the vain effort to control prices by votes and resolves. In May the town chose "four persons as inspectors of the market," viz., David Osgood, William Duns-moor, Nathaniel Beaman and William Putnam. And in June, there was a vote passed to this effect, "that the price of the commodities of the farmer and any other articles, do not rise any higher than at this time." Then a committee was raised to "ascertain the prices of every article of life." This was done with the hope of keeping prices fixed; an effort utterly vain.

The call for soldiers, by the general court, to enter the continental army, was met by a vote to enlist men, and pay them forty shillings per month. In October the officers were directed to "proceed to a draft upon their respective companies in case the committee cant hier the men," and in case the soldiers would not enlist. To pay the soldiers going into the service, £6381 were raised.

Every year a committee was chosen to fix the prices of articles, wages, etc., and it may gratify the reader to see

some of the prices fixed in 1777. A few examples will be sufficient.

	sh. d.
Good wheat, per bushel, merchantable,	6-8
Rye, " "	4-6
Indian Corn, good,	3-0
Sheeps' wool, good, per pound,	2-
Pork, fresh, well fattened, "	0-4
Beef, grass fed, "	0-2½
" stall fed, "	0-3¾
Shoes for women, cloth or leather, per pair,	5-8
Mutton and veal, per pound,	0-3
Milk in the winter, per quart,	0 2
Good wood, delivered, per cord,	6-0
Day's labor in summer,	3-0
" " winter,	1-6
Dinner, roast and boiled,	1-0
Flip, mug of half a pint New England rum,	0-9
" " West India "	1-0
Making a man's cloth breeches,	4-0
" " buckskin "	6-0
Boarding a man, with washing, 7 days,	6-0
Bricks, well burned, common size, per 1000,	13-4
Grammar school master, per month,	£2-8-0
Doctor's fees: vomit, 1sh.; purge, 1sh.; mile's travel, 8d; pull- ing tooth, 8d; visit, 8d, and all other doctoring in proportion.	

The prices of many articles had been fixed upon by a convention held at Concord. The town was represented in the convention, and voted to adhere to the prices prescribed. This became rather embarrassing when the value of the currency depreciated so low that it was worth scarcely as much as clean paper. The town charges in 1780, were £7000. For highways, mending bridges, etc., £6000 were raised. This did not include schools. The price of a man's labor had risen to six pounds per day, and other things in proportion.

The following statement of the assessors, for the year 1779, throws light on the cost of the war and the state of the currency.

May 14.	Assessed a continental state tax of	£7,604-11- 4
June 18.	" town tax,	5,800- 0- 0
" "	" highway tax,	1,200- 0- 0

Aug. 27.	Assessed a continental tax,	. . . . .	22,219-11- 3
“ “	“ town tax,	. . . . .	11,176- 3- 0
“ “	“ county tax,	. . . . .	178-12-10
Feb. 3.	“ state tax,	. . . . .	19,991-13- 4
“ “	“ town tax,	. . . . .	6,381- 0- 0
“ “	“ county tax,	. . . . .	296- 2-11
	Total,	. . . . .	<u>£74,847-14- 8</u>

By June, 1780, the nominal wages of a soldier had risen to a high figure. For example, it was voted to pay each man that would enlist, as a bounty in addition to the wages allowed by the state, “£1400 lawful money, such part as each man may want to be paid down; the remainder when paid to be made as good as at the date of the meeting. Or £13, 6, 8, lawful money, to be paid in the old way, in corn, beef, live stock, or any produce as it used to be sold, or the value thereof in continental money.” There was need to stipulate that the pay should be as good as when the offer was made, since the town had borrowed money of Col. Greenleaf in a former year, and felt reluctant to pay him except in depreciated currency. The sum of £150,000 was raised for the purpose of hiring soldiers.

In July the general court sent for forty-eight militia men, and the town chose a committee to hire them, promising to indemnify said committee for any expense incurred.

At a meeting held October 24, Capt. David Osgood, Capt. Ephraim Carter and Nathaniel Houghton, were chosen a committee to “purchase the beef sent for by the general court,” and the sum of £750 in new emission money was raised for that purpose. The amount of beef was nineteen thousand pounds at one time, and over thirty-six thousand pounds at another time.

With the opening of the year 1781, came a requisition from the general court for beef and for soldiers. The town promptly met the demand by choosing a committee to purchase beef of the value of £1500, new emission, and by a vote to “raise our quota of men to serve in the continental army for three years, or during the war.” The committee on beef

were David Osgood, Joseph Carter, Nathaniel Houghton, Solomon Jewett and Ephraim Carter. The committee for hiring soldiers, were Israel Moor, Samuel Thurston, Nathaniel Beaman, Cyrus Fairbank, Jonas Wyman, Josiah Kendall, jr., Samuel Sawyer, Ephraim Wilder, Eben. Allen, Joseph Ballard, Joel Houghton, Thomas Brown. The above business was transacted on the second of January. Adjourned meetings were held on the eighth, eleventh and twenty-fifth days of the same month, at which the committee were encouraged to act with vigor; their number was enlarged by adding the following members, viz., Nathaniel Balch, Samuel Ward, Timothy Whiting, William Dunsmore, James Richardson and Fortunatus Eager. It was truly a military committee, containing no less than six captains. The sum of £6562 was raised to hire the soldiers.

It was found to be an extremely difficult task to hire the required number of men, as is evident from the frequent meetings held in February and March. Three times the question was put to see if the town "would class in order to get men for the army," and three times it was voted down. Finally, the town added seventeen men to the committee, making the whole number thirty-four. The town was divided into thirty-five squadrons, probably that the members of the committee might have a definite field in which to labor. Meetings were held on the fifth, nineteenth and twentieth of March; the last of which was adjourned to the second day of April.

Probably the men were raised without a draft, as we hear no more about "classing the town." By an Act of the general court, the town of Sterling was set up in April, and on the nineteenth of May, the first meeting of the town of Lancaster, after the separation, was held in the meeting-house of the first precinct.

Calls for beef, clothing and soldiers came from the general court in the course of the summer, and the town responded liberally by raising the money needed. September 10, the town requested the several "captains to call their companies

together" on the next Friday, at the meeting-house, and the constables were directed to "exert themselves to collect as much money in silver as possible for paying the soldiers their advance pay."

This closes the record of town action in raising men, money, food and clothing for carrying on the revolutionary war. On the nineteenth of October the British army surrendered to Gen. Washington, at Yorktown, and the war was really closed, though peace was not formally ratified till the year 1783. To some readers the details may seem a dry record of the dead past; but to one who reads aright, they are throbbing with life and interest. Every family sent its representative to the frequent town meetings, and at night fathers and sons brought home the story of the united action of the town. Every enlisted man was known, and the blessings of a whole neighborhood went with him to the field of war.

When the town was divided into thirty-four squadrons, and a committee of thirty-five of the most active and respectable men were set to the work of raising soldiers, it is plain that the pressure was brought to bear with great force on all who were in any way eligible for the service. Men who had not been in the army; men without families; men who were not bound at home by business; in a word, all who could go, were appealed to with urgency to bear arms in defence of their country. The men raised bounties, the women made clothing, the old men encouraged, the church and minister prayed for those who put on the harness of war. Dea. Moor, chairman of the enlisting committee asked a man who was urged to enter the service, what would satisfy him in the way of bounty. He replied that a field of the deacon's adjoining his own lot was what he had long wanted. "Take it," said Dea. Moor, "for if we lose our liberties it will be of no value to me." All felt the need of sacrifice, and there was a general spirit of devotion to the cause of the country. In this connection, an anecdote in reference to Capt. Samuel Ward may find a place. He was not regarded as much of a patriot,

in the beginning of the contest, but being a man of great sense and shrewdness, his conduct passed unchallenged by the "inspecting committee." On some occasion, after repeated demands had been made upon the people for contributions, a leading patriot named Kendall, expressed doubts about the ability of the citizens to do so much as was required. Capt. Ward seized his opportunity, showed that where there was a willingness to give, a way could be readily found, and advocated a liberal response to the call of the general court. He carried the meeting with him, and doubtless, greatly enjoyed the laurels snatched from the head of a prominent son of liberty.

No pen of historian or poet can adequately tell the story of the revolutionary war, as it actually pressed upon the hands and the hearts of our fathers and mothers. The exertions and sacrifices made by them are beyond computation, but by the blessing of heaven they achieved a success beyond their hopes. During more than a hundred years, their posterity has been reaping the fruit of their toils, and a vast and growing empire is their monument.

It is impossible to find in the Archives of the commonwealth a complete list of the names of the soldiers who went from Lancaster into the war of the revolution. Those who rushed to Concord, Lexington and Cambridge, on the nineteenth and twentieth of April, 1775, were duly enrolled, and the time of their service, with the officers under whom they served, is now on record. The names have been given in preceding pages. As soon as the business of forming a regular army was begun, the quota of the several states was fixed, and recruiting was carried on by direction of the general court, under requisitions from congress. The quota of this town was always filled, it would seem by the town records, though in the later years of the struggle, much urgency was needed to induce the requisite number to enlist. Nor is this an impeachment of the patriotism of the people. It was right that those who left their homes, and all that was dear to them,

putting their lives also in jeopardy, should be sustained by those who staid at home ; and whenever there was a readiness to share with them in sacrifices, the men were found who were willing to meet the dangers of the camp, and the hazards of the battle-field.

Capt. Burt, of Harvard, commanded one of the companies in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. In this company were two men from Lancaster ; viz., Jonathan Atherton and Moses Brewer. Capt. Longley, of Bolton, was in the same regiment, and Daniel Fleenar, of Lancaster, belonged to his company.

Elijah Dole who went to Quebec, under Gen. Arnold, in the fall and winter of 1775, lived through the campaign, as appears by the following letter to the " Committee for clothing the continental troops. The bearer hereof, Elijah Dole, belonging to my company in Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, engaged in the American service immediately after the nineteenth of April, 1775, marched from Cambridge on September 13 following to Quebec ; has never drawn a coat according to the resolve of the continental congress ; would be glad to have the amount of it in money ; has applied to me to inform your Honors in his behalf.

SETH HEYWOOD, Lieut.

Lancaster, Dec. 2, 1776."

The following is a list of soldiers who were in the continental service in the years 1777-80, and who " enlisted for three years, or during the war." The number of the regiment and the duration of each man's service, are stated opposite each name.

George Giddion,	70th	regt.,	28	mos.	21	days.	
Ebenezer Glazier,	15	"	36	"			
James Armstrong,	"	"	"	"			
Cornelius Baker,	"	"	"	"			
Abel Bigelow,	5	"	"	"			
Benjamin Ballard,	13	"	34	"	12	"	3 yrs.
Samuel Bennett,	14	"	23	"			"
John Carter,	10	"	12	"			w.
Thomas Cleland,	15	"	44	"	28	"	w.
*Elijah Dole,	10	"	18	"	30	"	3 yrs.

*Died in service.

John Dollerson,	13th regt.,	45 mos.	16 days	w.
Nathaniel Easterbrook,	14 "	36 "		3 yrs.
Hiram Eager,	Crane's "	21 "	14 "	
Gershom Flagg,	4 "	36 "		3 yrs.
Asa Farrar,	15 "	36 "		"
Samuel Harring,	10 "	36 "		"
Joshua Johnson,	5 "	34 "		"
Job Lewis,	10 "	36 "		"
Levi Larkin,	15 "	36 "		"
Abel Moor,	10 "	3 "	1 "	"
Nathan Osgood,	15 "	19 "	2 "	"
William Prentice,	5 "	36 "		"
Jacob Phelps,	10 "	9 "	20 "	"
Perley Rogers,	2 "	9 "	28 "	w.
James Russell,	10 "	36 "	3 "	3 yrs.
George Richardson,	14 "	36 "		"
Seth Ross,	15 "	36 "		"
Luther Rice,	15 "	36 "		"
Reuben Ramsdell,	15 "	12 "		"
Wharf Rand,	15 "	enlisted, but was substituted by		
Simeon Kemp,		36 "		3 yrs.
Lemuel Shed,	10 "	14 "	8 "	w.
*Robert Skinner,	10 "	24 "	14 "	3 yrs.
James Snow,	14 "	32 "	22 "	w.
Oner Simes,	15 "	3 "		3 yrs.
Peter Tew,	16 "	15 "	22 "	w.
John Wyman,	10 "	17 "	21 "	"
David Whitcomb,	10 "	15 "	28 "	3 yrs.
Francis Whitcomb,	10 "	36 "		"
John Warner,	10 "	35 "	26 "	"
Asa Wyman,	10 "	12 "		w.
Jonathan Wheelock,	14 "	36 "	12 "	3 yrs.
*Joseph Wheelock,	14 "	13 "	6 "	"
James Willard,	14 "	36 "		"
*Daniel Wyman,	14 "	18 "	16 "	"
Benjamin Wheelock,	14 "	35 "	29 "	"
Samuel Wood,	14 "	36 "		"
*Abel Wright,	15 "	19 "	9 "	"
Joshua Whitney,	15 "	36 "		"
Aaron Willard,	15 "	36 "	22 "	"
*Caleb Whitney,	15 "	3 "	10 "	"

*Died in service.

The above names were found in two volumes, in the office of the Secretary of State, relating to the war of the Revolution. The names are entered in the volumes by regiments. The letter w, indicates that the soldier enlisted during the war. Two or three, who shall be nameless, deserted, after being long in the service.

In the same volumes is another list containing the names of a few men who joined the artillery.

John Baker,	Mason's Art.	34 mos.		3 yrs.
Joseph Bennett,	"	33 "	11 days,	"
Josiah Bowers,	"	27 "	11 "	"
Ebenezer Flagg,	"	36 "		"
Gershom Flagg,	"	33 "	23 "	"
Thomas Goodwin,	"	33 "	6 "	"
Jacob Wilder,	"	27 "	11 "	"
Joseph Beaman,	Warner's Art.	18 "		w.
John Keene,	Hawes' reg't.	1 "	18 "	w.

There is still another list of men, whose time of service was in 1780, as appears by the following record. "Six months' men belonging to Lancaster, who marched to West Point in the continental service, including ten days travel."

Sgt. Ebenezer Flagg,	Samuel Phelps,	William Flud,
" Andrew Haskell,	Ezra Moor,	Samuel Corey,
Jacob Allen,	Joshua Phelps,	Stephen Corey,
Isaac Eveleth,	Jona. Barnard,	Oliver Wheelock,
Paul Sawyer,	Samuel Johnson,	Jona. Tenney,
Jeduthun Sawyer,	Ebenezer Burditt,	Jotham Woods,
Daniel Willard,	Reuben Wilder,	Abel Sawyer.

These men "marched in July, 1780, and were discharged in December" of the same year. The pay they received amounted to £253-0-8. The Andrew Haskell, who figures here as a sergeant, is supposed to be our veteran friend, Captain Andrew Haskell, who resigned because others were promoted over his head, but whose inborn love of military service and patriotic ardor, impelled him into the field, rank or no rank. The spirit of the man was above his position, and it was inextinguishable. He lived here till the year 1791, when he enlisted under

Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who led our forces against the Indians in the northwest. Our army was badly defeated in the battle near the village of the Miami tribes, November 3, 1791. In this fight, Capt. Haskell was killed.

From these lists we learn that eighty-one men enlisted after the second year of the war; and with the exception of the twenty-one men who went on the six months' service at West Point, there were sixty who joined the army either for three years, or during the war. As their average time of service was about twenty-seven months, it follows that Lancaster had, in addition to those who went on the West Point expedition, about forty men continuously in the service of the country. The whole number of soldiers engaged in the Revolution in addition to those who hastened to Lexington and Bunker Hill, exceeded three hundred. We have the authority of the historian Willard for saying that "one-half of all the ratable polls, from sixteen years and upwards," were in the field, at different times. Deducting those males under eighteen and over forty-five, there would be but few able-bodied men left. The war drew out all the military strength of the town.

It would be impossible, with any accessible data, to state the cost of the war to the citizens of this town. They paid taxes to the government, paid bounties to the soldiers, and gave them large donations in food and clothing. Their losses in consequence of a changeable and depreciating currency, were immense. But they went through the struggle with an unflinching heroism, inspired by love of country, of liberty, and of God.

Some may be disappointed that among the hundreds who, first and last, for long or short terms, entered the public service, no man became distinguished as an officer of high rank. But the explanation is not difficult. In the first place, not many men obtained great eminence as military officers, either in the state, or the confederation. Secondly, the man best qualified to take rank as an officer, in Lancaster, adhered to the king. Col. Abijah Willard was fifty-one years of age, in

the full vigor of his faculties, with ample experience as a soldier, and endowed with a genius for military affairs. If he had been loyal to his country, he might perhaps have filled a bright page in American history. Col. Asa Whitcomb was advanced in life, and soon gave way to younger men. Besides, before the war closed he belonged to another town. Col. Henry Haskell made a respectable officer, and the commissioned officers, line and staff, acquitted themselves with credit. It is enough for the honor of the town that Lancaster sent her full quota of good men and true, and that her soldiers in the field and her citizens at home, did their part in upholding the great arm of Washington.

CHAPTER XV.

LANCASTER POLITICS FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE YEAR 1800.

A MEETING of the town was held, February 5, 1778, to act, among others, on the following article. "To see if the town will accept the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the United States of America." The first business after choosing a moderator was a vote, probably unanimous, "to accept the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the United States of America." From that day to this, Lancaster has been true to the Union, whether under the Confederation, or under the Constitution.

As already stated, the vote on the State Constitution, May 18, 1778, was more than two to one in favor; but it was rejected by the people of the state. The subject was kept before the public, however, and the legislature sent out a new proposition, and the selectmen were directed "to take the minds of the inhabitants of the town respecting a new Constitution or Form of Government." The question came before the town, May 17, 1779, when, after having heard the proposition, it was voted "to accept the article in the Court's order concerning a new Constitution, with this addition; we do empower our representative to give his vote for choosing a convention for the purpose mentioned, with Proviso that the Constitution shall return into the hand of the people for their approbation or disapprobation." This was a wise precaution. Joseph Reed, Esq., was the representative in the general court.

The towns, or a majority of them, having given their approbation, the legislature called on the towns to choose delegates to a convention for devising the new constitution or form of government. The town, at a meeting, held August 9, voted to send three delegates, and by ballot, chose William Dunsmoor, Esq., Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Capt. William Putnam. The convention met on the first of September, in the meeting-house at Cambridge; on the second of March, 1780, they finished their labors, and submitted their work to the people, by whom the new Form of Government was ratified. It remains, substantially, to the present day, though important amendments have been made at different times. The people of Lancaster treated the new constitution with great deliberation. It was laid before the town on the second day of May, and the meeting voted to have it read. The meeting then adjourned till two o'clock. Then it was voted to postpone the consideration thereof till the thirteenth of the month. The voters went home to ponder on the proposed fundamental law. The result was satisfactory, and at the adjourned meeting, the vote was "to receive the Constitution or Form of Government as it now stands," ayes, one hundred and three; noes, seven.

The first election of state officers under the new constitution, took place on the fourth day of September, in the second precinct. The summons was "to the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, of twenty-one years of age, having a freehold estate, within the state of the Massachusetts Bay, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds." The vote was as follows.

For governor,	The Hon. John Hancock, Esq.,	69.
	The Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq.,	9.
Lieut. governor,	The Hon. James Warren, Esq.,	40.
	The Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.,	13.
	The Hon. Samuel Adams, Esq.,	2.
	The Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq.,	1.

Nineteen men, all "esquires" but three, were voted for to represent the county of Worcester in the senate and council; among them was John Sprague, Esq., of this town, who received twenty-four votes.

October 9, Capt. William Putnam "was chosen to represent the town in the first general court under the new constitution."

The state election for the year 1781 took place on the second of April. The town meeting was held in the meeting-house of the second precinct, with the following result. John Hancock had fifty-six votes for governor, and Thomas Cushing thirty-eight votes for lieutenant-governor. Thomas Gerrish had one vote for each of those offices. William Dunsmoor and John Sprague, Esq's, of this town, received a few votes for senator and councillor.

The surrender of Gen. Cornwallis at Yorktown, occurred on the nineteenth day of October, 1781, when the war of the revolution was virtually ended, although the treaty of peace, acknowledging the independence of the United States, was not signed before 1783. The pressure on the people to support the war being somewhat lessened, there was opportunity to consider local and state grievances. Steps were taken which culminated in the Shay's rebellion a few years later. The people of Lancaster felt the difficulties of the times, and joined with others in seeking redress; but refused to enter into any violent or illegal measures. The meeting held on the first day of April, 1782, acted on this question. "Will the town choose one or more persons to meet at convention to be held at Worcester on the second Tuesday of April next; there to take into consideration the many grievances the good people of this county at present labor under, and to petition the general court for redress?" The town sent Capt. Timothy Whiting and Capt. Ephraim Carter as delegates.

The same day occurred the annual state election, when the vote showed an inclination to drop Gov. Hancock. He received but twelve votes, while thirty-two were cast for

Hon. James Bowdoin. It was supposed that Hancock had a stronger sympathy than Bowdoin towards the party seeking redress of alleged grievances. Three years later Bowdoin was chosen over Hancock on this account. Thomas Cushing had twenty votes for lieut-governor, and Gen. Artemas Ward, had eight votes. John Sprague, Esq., was chosen senator for the county, in March, 1783.

At the election, April 7, 1783, the votes were for Bowdoin, twenty-three; for Hancock, twenty-one. Thomas Cushing received all the votes for lieut-governor, which were thirty.

In 1784 the state election resulted in the re-election of Gov. Hancock, but Lancaster adhered to Mr. Bowdoin. The vote was for James Bowdoin, fifteen votes; John Hancock, seven; Gen. Lincoln, seven; Artemas Ward, Esq., twelve. Ward led in the vote for lieut-governor, having received twenty-one, to nineteen for Gen. Lincoln, and a few scattering.

The next year, 1785, the Shay's fever was at its height, and the conservative feeling of Lancaster was decisively expressed at the election, on the fourth of April, as follows.

For governor, James Bowdoin,	38
“ “ Thomas Cushing,	3
“ “ Oliver Prescott,	1
“ “ Moses Gill,	2
“ “ John Hancock,	1

Thomas Cushing had twenty-four votes for lieut-governor, with several for five other candidates.

Conventions were held, from time to time, in different towns of the county, by those who were in the movement which ultimately led to rebellion; but it does not appear that Lancaster was again represented in any of them except that which was held at Leicester, August 15, to which Ebenezer Allen was sent as delegate. A committee of seven, viz., Timothy Whiting, Moses Smith, John Sprague, William Willard, Benjamin Houghton, Michael Newhall and Samuel

Ward, were chosen to draw up "instructions for the said Allen, and lay them before the town." The committee reported to an adjourned meeting, on the fourteenth, and the instructions, after being "read paragraph by paragraph," were adopted. It may be taken for granted that the town authorized no revolutionary action. The delegate attended, and made a report to a town meeting on the twenty-first of August, when the meeting was adjourned to the first Monday in October. At the adjourned meeting, some of the points presented by the convention were approved, and some rejected. There was a proposition for a change of the constitution, and also for the issue of paper money. These were voted down. Those articles which asked for a redress of certain grievances were approved. The town steadily held to peaceable and constitutional methods of securing reform.

A meeting was held, January 4, 1787, when an address from the general court to the people was presented. This address was a sober appeal to all good citizens to abide by the regular mode of administering the government, and promising to give due consideration to the complaints of the suffering citizens. This address was referred to a committee, Samuel Ward, Timothy Whiting, jr., John Sprague, Esq., Moses Sawyer, Jonathan Wilder, Cyrus Fairbank and Jonas Goss. They reported to a meeting held on the twenty-second of January. On the same day the town voted to "discontinue the delegate to the county convention."

No man, so far as known, joined the insurgents, but a number of the citizens, according to Willard, joined Gen. Lincoln's army, and "continued with him till the rebels were dispersed." Their names, though worthy of remembrance, have not been found.

The question of revising the state constitution came before the town May 6, 1795, when the vote for revision was sixty-one; against it, twenty-five. Nothing came of the movement at this time.

At the election, April 3, 1786, Gov. Hancock did not receive a single vote. James Bowdoin had forty-four, and there

were two scattering. Thomas Cushing was the favorite for the second place. The rebellion having been resolutely squelched by Gov. Bowdoin, the people, in 1787, called Gov. Hancock again to the gubernatorial chair, and kept him therein till 1794. The vote in this town was eighty-four for Hancock, to thirty-eight for Bowdoin. Gen. Lincoln who led the troops against the rebels, received eighty-one votes for the office of lieutenant-governor.

In the meantime the states had succeeded in getting a convention together for the purpose of forming a National Constitution. This body completed its labors on the seventeenth day of September, 1787, and reported to the "United States in congress assembled a Constitution for the people of the United States." In accordance with a resolve of congress, submitting the Constitution to the people, a convention was called by the general court, to be held in Boston, to act on the proposed constitution. The meeting to choose a delegate was held, November 27, 1787, when the town voted and "chose the Hon. John Sprague, Esq., a delegate to represent the town in the convention to be holden at Boston on the second Wednesday of January next." At the same time a committee of seven was chosen "to draw up instructions for the said delegate." The committee were Benjamin Houghton, Samuel Ward, Ephraim Carter, Timothy Whiting, jr., Cyrus Fairbank, Josiah Ballard and Jonathan Wilder. Three of this committee were deacons, and two or three were captains. The town was opposed to the ratification of the constitution, and the committee, reflecting the views of the town, instructed the delegate to oppose it; but qualified their instructions so as to leave him to vote according to his discretion. Mr. Sprague was a wise man, and in opposition to the prevailing feeling in the town and county, gave his voice and vote in favor of the constitution. There were fifty delegates in the convention from Worcester county. Only seven of these voted in the affirmative; and Mr. Sprague was one of the honorable seven. Ephraim Wilder, of Sterling, a child of Lancaster, also voted in favor of the constitution.

At the annual meeting for choice of state officers, April 7, 1788, John Hancock received sixty-eight votes, Samuel Adams and Elbridge Gerry, each received one. Samuel Adams had fifty-five for the second office.

The constitution having been duly ratified, it was time to choose a representative to the congress of the United States, and a meeting for this purpose was held, January 29, 1789, when the voting was as follows. Hon. Timothy Paine had forty-eight votes; Hon. Artemas Ward, five; Jona. Grout, Esq., seven. There was no choice in the Worcester district. There is no record of a meeting to vote for presidential electors, but the town and state voted unanimously for George Washington. John Adams became vice-president.

The votes for governor from 1789 to 1800 were always for the winning man, except in one year, when Increase Sumner received more votes in Lancaster than Samuel Adams, though the latter was elected by the state.

1789.	For governor,	John Hancock,	47.
		James Bowdoin,	15.
		William Cushing,	2.
1790.		John Hancock,	76.
		James Bowdoin,	6.
Samuel Adams received every vote for lieut-governor.			
1791.		John Hancock,	66.
1792.		John Hancock,	67.
		Francis Dana,	4.
1793.		John Hancock,	58.
		Elbridge Gerry,	2.
1794.		Samuel Adams,	52.
		William Cushing,	31.
1795.		Samuel Adams,	65.
		Samuel Dexter,	3.
1796.		Increase Sumner,	71.
		Samuel Adams,	27.
1797.		Increase Sumner,	66.
		James Sullivan,	21.
1798.		Increase Sumner,	68.
		James Sullivan,	4.
1799.		Increase Sumner,	74.

The election of Gov. Bowdoin in the years 1785 and 1786, was the result of the confidence felt in him by the more conservative part of the people. It was thought that Gov. Hancock was inclined to nurse his popularity by being too lenient towards the lawless and disorganizing elements in the state. It was a time of danger, and power was lodged in hands that would wield it in maintaining the rights of property and the benefits of social order. As soon as the danger was over, the people, as is their wont, dropped the man whom necessity had constrained them to put at the head of affairs, and returned to their old favorite. But Mr. Bowdoin was held in the highest respect during life, and has an honored place in the history of the commonwealth.

In 1792, when Washington was elected to his second term of the presidency, the people of Lancaster were doubtless unanimous in his favor; but no one could infer this from the votes cast for presidential electors. The record will be copied as a curiosity.

For electors of president and vice-president of the United States, November 2, 1792.

Thomas Dwight, . . .	18	John Sprague, . . .	9
Moses Gill, . . .	20	Samuel Baker, . . .	1
Dwight Foster, . . .	14	Simeon Learned, . . .	1
Samuel Lyman, . . .	10	Jonathan Warner, . . .	2
Elijah Dwight, . . .	18	Samuel Henshaw, . . .	8
Abel Wilder, . . .	2		

The original idea of the college of electors was that they were to use their discretion in voting for president and vice-president. The voters therefore voted for electors according to individual preference, leaving the electors to cast their votes as they pleased. And yet, nearly if not quite all the voters of Lancaster and Massachusetts, and indeed of the whole country, wished and expected that Washington might be elected. But soon this early idea and method became obsolete. The people in the states became divided into two parties, each

having its candidates for the highest offices in their gift. Electors were nominated simply for the purpose of casting the vote of the state for a pre-determined candidate, and woe be to the elector who should thwart the intentions of his party.

According to the warrant, the freemen of Lancaster were entitled to vote for five electors "in the district formed by the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire." At the same time they cast their votes for five representatives in congress. For representative from Worcester county, Artemas Ward received every vote; in all, forty-seven.

In July, 1794, the town considered the expediency of offering additional encouragement to the soldiers required from this town, as its proportion of the detachment ordered from the militia. This was at the time when war with France was apprehended. The town voted that whenever the "present detachment of militia shall be called into actual service for the term limited by act of congress," etc., the town would make the wages to each man equal to forty shillings per month, provided the pay allowed by the nation, or the encouragement given by the state should not equal that sum.

In 1794, the votes for "one representative * * * to represent the fourth western district were for Levi Lincoln, 38; Dwight Foster, 13. In 1796 the preference of the town was reversed, and Dwight Foster had thirty-eight votes to five for Levi Lincoln. This was the year when John Adams was chosen president, as successor to Gen. Washington. Perhaps the five votes for the first Gov. Lincoln indicate the number who were friends to Mr. Jefferson. Judge Foster was a strong federalist, and supporter of Pres. Adams. The vote for elector was by single district, and Joseph Allen received thirty-six votes; one was given for Moses Gill.

Two years later Dwight Foster received fifty-three votes, for representative to congress, and Levi Lincoln four. Under Mr. Jefferson, a few years later, Mr. Lincoln became attorney general of the United States.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, and especially when our relations with France assumed a threatening aspect, the military spirit seems to have received a new impulse. The old song of "Adams and Liberty" was, doubtless, sung with special emphasis, at public gatherings. The French faction which sought to embroil the country in a war with England, in the time of Washington's administration, found little encouragement in Lancaster. But when the insolence of the revolutionary government of France became intolerable, the people of this place were ready to uphold the government in maintaining its integrity and honor. Probably the following action of the town was inspired in part, by national politics.

"Voted, May 28, 1798, that the selectmen be authorized to furnish each non-commissioned officer and private of the militia companies of Lancaster, on the application of the commanding officer of said companies, such quantity of powder as may be ordered for consumption at regimental musters, not exceeding at any one time half a pound to each man." Forty dollars were raised for the purpose.

At a meeting, June 18, the selectmen were directed to furnish twenty-four cartridges with balls, to each soldier in the two militia companies; and one hundred and ninety dollars were appropriated to pay the expense. At the same time one hundred and forty dollars were raised to enable the selectmen to "purchase a number of stands of arms for the use of those persons who are unable to supply themselves."

General Washington died on the fourteenth of December, 1799, and the event caused universal mourning. The people of Lancaster evinced their profound sorrow by appropriate action. A meeting was called, on the fifth of February, 1800, to adopt "suitable measures for carrying into effect the proclamation lately issued by the president of the United States, and the resolutions passed both houses of congress, in consequence of the distressing event of providence, in depriving the world of our illustrious and beloved GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The town met at the time appointed, and referred the article to the following committee, to report thereon. Gen. John Whiting, Eli Stearns, William Steadman, Josiah Flagg, John Maynard, Dea. Benjamin Houghton, and Captain Jacob Fisher. After an adjournment for half an hour the committee made the following report.

"The inhabitants of this town, sensibly affected by the afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence, in the removal of their illustrious and beloved patriot and citizen, General George Washington, do pass the following vote, viz.

"That they will form in procession at the house of James Liswell, on the twenty-second day of February instant, and move precisely at eleven o'clock A. M., accompanied by the members of Trinity Lodge, attended by the military of the town, and preceded by the youth, to the meeting-house; and that the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer be requested to attend with them, and by a suitable eulogy or discourse and prayer to commemorate the eminent virtues of the deceased, in compliance with the president's proclamation of the sixth of January last.

"That the male citizens on that day, wear a black crape or ribband on the left arm above the elbow; and that it be recommended to the females to wear a black ribband on their hats or bonnets.

"That the selectmen purchase four yards of decent black cloth to shroud the pulpit, and afterwards present the same to the Rev. Mr. Thayer.

"That Gen. Whiting, Joseph Wales and Caleb Lincoln be requested to marshal the procession on that day."

The recommendations of the committee were carried out with an earnest solemnity which evinced the grateful reverence of the people for the father of his country. The citizens of Lancaster have never wavered in their adhesion to the policy of Washington.

The leading offices of the town were held by the persons named below, between the opening of the Revolution and the

close of the century, December 31, 1800. The following were the moderators previous to 1782.

Ebenezer Allen,	Joseph Reed,	Ephraim Wilder,
John Sprague,	Cyrus Fairbank,	Solomon Jewett.
William Dennison,	Benjamin Richardson,	

In some years every meeting would have a different moderator. William Greenleaf was clerk for several years, with occasional intervals, when Nathaniel Beaman, Cyrus Fairbank and Josiah Leavitt filled the temporary vacancy.

The treasurer from 1777 to 1781 was Cyrus Fairbank. The town was divided in the latter year, and Peter Green was chosen to fill out the term.

During the same term of years the following were the selectmen, the first four named having been chairmen.

Ephraim Wilder,	Nathaniel Beaman,	William Greenleaf,
Solomon Jewett,	Samuel Sawyer,	William Putnam,
Levi Moor,	Gershom Flagg,	Ebenezer Allen,
Joshua Fletcher,	Joel Houghton,	Manasseh Sawyer.
David Jewett,	Josiah Kendall,	Benjamin Richardson.

The same men were kept in office successive years, but their position was often transferred, the chairman of one year being second or third the year following.

The delegates to the general court were William Dunsmoor, three years; Samuel Thurston, Joseph Read and William Putnam, each one year. Dunsmoor was a leading citizen and patriot to the close of the war.

The town was divided in 1781, and the first meeting of Lancaster after Sterling was set off, was in May, when officers were elected for the remainder of the year. At this date several prominent names disappear from our Records. The first town meeting was organized as follows: Josiah Wilder, jr., moderator; William Greenleaf, clerk; Peter Green, treasurer; Nathaniel Beaman, Moses Sawyer and Joseph Carter, selectmen. Beaman lived near the house of Charles Safford; Sawyer in the south part of the town, and Carter on George hill. Peter Green's house was the present barn of William H. McNeil. The road ran by the east side of

the house. William Greenleaf lived in the "Mansion house."

From 1782 onwards the following men were moderators.

Ebenezer Allen,	Josiah Wilder,	Cyrus Fairbank,
Peter Green,	Josiah Ballard,	Nathaniel Beaman,
Benjamin Houghton,	Timothy Whiting,	Michael Newhall,
Ephraim Carter,	Edward Heard,	John Maynard,
John Whiting,	Samuel Ward,	Timothy Whiting, jr.,
James Carter,	Joseph Wales,	William Stedman,
Moses Sawyer,	John Sprague,	Merrick Rice.

Several of these men held different offices, and were prominent for a long series of years. Timothy Whiting, father and son, were in this class. They kept the tavern on the Old Common, where Joseph B. Moore now lives, and served the traveling public during two or three generations. They held the titles of captain and esquire, then more coveted and distinguished than at present. Gen. John Whiting, son of Timothy, senior, lived nearly opposite, not far east from the Old Common cemetery. Later his residence was near the old brickyard on the road to the North Village, where John Powers now lives. Gen. Whiting was held in high esteem, and filled many offices, but having joined the party of Mr. Jefferson, could not be elected to congress from a district where the federalists were in a large majority. Capt. John Maynard was much relied on in all town business, not only as moderator and selectman, but as chairman of committees to build bridges and care for schools. Merrick Rice was a lawyer, and a man of considerable property. He built the house now owned by Mrs. Elnina Green, for many years the finest mansion in the county. John Sprague, Esq., was also a lawyer, and a man of great ability. Michael Newhall was prominent during his generation. Dea. Wales and Capt. Ward were merchants, and their stores were equal to the most extensive in the county of Worcester. The Carters were in all town offices, as were their ancestors and descendants in their time. William Stedman was high sheriff of the county, and represented the district in congress several terms.

The town clerks from 1781 to the end of the century, were : Samuel Ward, seven years ; Edward Heard, three years ; Joseph Wales and William Stedman, each four years. Peter Green was treasurer till 1790 ; Ebenezer Torrey to 1796, and John Maynard for the residue of the century.

The selectmen in this period of nineteen years were as follows :

Nathaniel Beaman,	Ephraim Carter,	Jonathan Wilder,
Samuel Ward,	Jonathan Whitney,	Timothy Whiting, jr.,
Jonas Fairbank, jr.,	Michael Newhall,	Timothy Knight,
Moses Smith,	Benjamin Houghton,	Josiah Ballard,
James Carter,	Daniel Stearns,	Eli Stearns,
Thomas Gates,	John Carter,	William Stedman,
John Whiting,	Merrick Rice.	Oliver Carter,
Asa Warner,	Joseph Wales,	Josiah Flagg,
John Thurston,	Joseph Carter,	Joseph White.
Moses Sawyer,		

From this list some familiar names gradually disappeared, while others came into notice. The long line of Whites is renewed in the above Joseph, deacon and probably captain, like all his predecessors, whether John, Josiah or Joseph. The selectmen, or a part of them, frequently acted as the assessors for the same year. Among the assessors not in the above list of selectmen, were Benjamin Wyman, Josiah Bowers, John Sprague, Paul Willard and Jonas Lane.

The delegates to the general court, were Capt. Michael Newhall, three years, 1787-9 ; Ephraim Carter, 1790 ; Ephraim Carter, jr., 1786, 1791-2 ; Hon. John Sprague, ten years, 1782-6, 1794-9. At the election in the spring of 1800, being in poor health, he declined a re-election, and Capt. Samuel Ward was chosen.

Probably there had been no period of equal duration, in the history of the town, when it was served in the various offices above named, and in other offices less responsible, yet important, with more ability and fidelity. The treasurers' books were kept, and the selectmen's accounts were presented, in the most approved method of the book-keeping of that

date. A committee was chosen, each year, to audit the accounts of the treasurer and selectmen, and they made a report to the town. The penmanship of the clerks was generally almost as legible as print, and some of the clerks held an elegant pen.

After the settlement of Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, he was always chairman of the school committee, and most of the visiting and examining of the schools was done by him. His associates on the committee were among the best educated and most respectable men of the town. Here are the names of some of them. John Sprague, John Whiting, Timothy Whiting, jr., William Stedman, Samuel Ward, Eli Stearns, Joseph Wales, Ebenezer Torrey, John Maynard. A singing-school was kept every season under the direction of a special committee. Another committee was always chosen to hire the Latin grammar-school master.

The preceding pages show whom the people "delighted to honor" in the affairs of the town, state and nation. Our fathers, in the early days of the republic, held sound principles of government, followed good methods of administration, and elected honest men to office.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIVISION OF THE TOWN ; PARISH AFFAIRS ; THE POOR ; ROADS
AND BRIDGES ; LOTTERY ; SCHOOLS ; ANNALS ; POPULA-
TION AND WEALTH.

BEFORE the close of the war the town was shorn of its large proportions, but thereby came into better and more convenient form. In June, 1780, a petition came before the town from certain inhabitants living in the extreme south, asking to be set off to Shrewsbury. A part of them had already been joined to the north parish of Shrewsbury, (now included in the Boylstons,) though still belonging to Lancaster for all town purposes. The reasons given were that they "labored under many and great inconveniences by being obliged to travel many times in a year, a great distance, to transact the necessary business of the town ;" and "being also obliged to travel a great distance to attend public worship on Lord's day, and at other times." The line of division which they asked for, is mainly the north line of the Boylstons at present. These are the names of the petitioners.

Aaron Sawyer,	Oliver Sawyer,	Josiah Bennet,
Nath. Sampson,	Silas Hastings,	Wm. Dunsmore,
Frederick Albert,	Sam'l Bigsby,	John Glazier,
Silas How,	Micah Harthan,	Phinehas Howe,
John Dunsmore,	Joseph Sawyer,	Elijah Ball,
Jacob Winn,	Ezra Beaman,	Robert Anderson, jr.,
Hugh Moor,	Edmond Larkin,	Nath. Davenport.
Nath Hastings,	Levi Moor,	

On the twenty-third of June the town took action, and this is the record : "Voted to see if the town would grant the pe-

tion of Aaron Sawyer and others to be set off to the town of Shrewsbury, and it passed in the affirmative."

Matters had now reached such a pass that there was a general readiness to concur in the plan to transform the second precinct into a town. The wonder is that the separation had not been effected many years before. The township was very large and ill formed; many of the inhabitants of the second precinct lived six, eight, ten miles from the meeting-house of the old town; those residing in the northeast corner of Lancaster had to travel ten or eleven miles when the town meetings were held in the meeting-house of the second precinct; there was clashing and division of interest in relation to schools, bridges and roads, and finally, there were inhabitants enough to form two respectable towns. It is not surprising therefore that a petition in favor of a division was signed by prominent inhabitants, as will be seen by the following names: Jonathan Kendal, Jonathan White, James Pratt, Gershem Flagg, Joseph Carter, Jonas Wyman, Jeremiah Haskell, Ephraim Carter, jr., Nath. Beaman, Daniel Rugg, jr., Timothy Whiting, Samuel Adams. The petition was brief, and in these words.

"We the subscribers petition to the selectmen of Lancaster, to call a town meeting forthwith, to see if the town will choose a committee to send to the general court to see if they will divide the town as the line now stands."

The town, September 25, voted to appoint a committee to go to the general court, and present the general wish that the town might be divided, according to the terms of the above petition. The men chosen were Capt. Ephraim Carter, jr., Capt. Benjamin Richardson and Mr. Thomas Brown.

The petition for the division of the town was granted by the general court, in April, 1781, with the following line between Lancaster and Sterling. "Beginning upon the south east corner of Leominster, and from thence to run a line east twenty-one degrees south, one hundred and sixty perch; and from thence to run south eight degrees west, two miles

and an half, and twenty perch, which distance will be due west from Jonas Fairbank's house; and from thence to run south eighteen degrees west, to a certain place called the foot of the Scar, and extending on south line until it shall strike the line of the town of Shrewsbury." The new town was named in honor of lord Sterling, a general in the army. The act of incorporation required that Sterling should pay its proportion of the "several taxes already assessed upon them" by the town of Lancaster; that the poor supported by the town of Lancaster, should be equally divided between the two towns; and that all the town stock should be equally divided between the towns of Lancaster and Sterling. Josiah Wilder, Esq., of Lancaster, was empowered to issue a warrant for the call of a town meeting for the organization of the new town.

By a resolve of the general court, passed May 2, Mr. Wilder was empowered to issue a warrant to "some substantial freeholder in Lancaster," requiring him to warn a meeting of the "inhabitants of the town qualified to vote for the purpose of choosing town officers." The resolve confirmed the officers already chosen, sworn and residing in Lancaster, and the warrant was directed by Esq. Wilder to Samuel Ward, who issued a warrant for a town meeting, to be held in the meeting-house, on the nineteenth of May, when all vacancies in town offices caused by the separation of Sterling, were to be filled. This meeting was duly held, and the town was put in running order. Josiah Wilder, Esq., was chosen moderator; William Greenleaf, town clerk; Nathaniel Beaman, Moses Sawyer and Joseph Carter, selectmen. Dea. Cyrus Fairbank was already town treasurer and continued in office till Peter Green was chosen in June. Other vacancies were filled, and the old town, with large territory still remaining, started on a new career of growth till Clinton was set off in the year 1850. The two towns contained about the same number of inhabitants. Perhaps Lancaster had a few more than Sterling. By the census of 1790, the two towns con-

tained 2880 inhabitants; of these 1460 belonged to Lancaster, leaving 1420 to Sterling.

The division of the town was followed by a new arrangement of parish affairs. Before the second precinct was erected in 1743, the whole town was a parish, and all parochial business was done in town meeting. When Chocksett became a parish, the remaining part of the town was also made a parish, in connection with the first church, and for nearly forty years the first precinct provided for the support of public worship, appointed parish officers, and kept its own Records. These Records have not come under the eye of the writer, and it is not known that they are in existence. As soon as Sterling was incorporated, the first precinct became merged in the town of Lancaster, which henceforth acted as a parish, and in town meeting, annually raised the minister's salary; and transacted all parochial affairs. Accordingly, at a meeting of the town on the eighteenth of June, 1781, it was voted to "pay the Rev. Timothy Harrington, the present year, so much money as shall make good the original contract; and that he may in June draw on the treasurer half, or in December following, for the remaining part; and that the selectmen do estimate the draught from time to time, until he shall have received so much in real value as would have made his salary good, as if paid at the above time when stated in November." When settled in 1748, Mr. Harrington was offered £2000 for the purchase of a parsonage, and £480 old tenor, as an annual salary. He accepted the call on these terms. The salary, says Willard, "was annually settled by the price of the principal articles of life, £480 old tenor, equal to £64 lawful money," or \$213.33. For a few years the salary was as high as \$300. The currency was so fluctuating, it was necessary to fix it by the price of the necessary articles of living. In 1783 the assessors were chosen a committee to settle with Mr. Harrington, and see what salary was due to him, and the treasurer was directed to give him a note of hand, with interest for the balance due to him. From

this time forward parish business occupied but little of the time in town meeting, except at long intervals, when repairs were made on the house of worship; collectors were chosen to collect a minister's tax, and action was taken to supply the pulpit in Mr. Harrington's old age, as well as to settle his successor.

In August, 1785, Cyrus Fairbank, Timothy Whiting, jr., and Jonathan Whitney, were chosen a committee to inquire into the state of the meeting-house, and see "what repairs are necessary to be made, and make a calculation as near as they can of the sum it will cost." But before the meeting-house could be repaired, it was necessary to raise money to pay the expense. For this purpose it was voted to "sell the ground where the three hind seats on each side of the alley below were built, and the back seat round the galleries together with the ground where the long pews were built." Probably an increasing attendance made a demand for seats, and therefore parts of the floor below and in the galleries, which had been free, and perhaps but little occupied, had now a money value. A committee was appointed to sell the "ground," or room, by public auction. This having been done, the house was repaired "so far as the pew ground money" went, in purchasing "clapboards, glass with new frames and sashes," and in building two new "porches, one on the south end, and one on the north end." The committee were Peter Green, Ephraim Carter and Cyrus Fairbank. The enlargement of seating room, made it necessary to reseat the house in part, and the town voted that the selectmen should seat the house "upon one poll, and real and personal estate."

At a meeting held October 15, 1787, the question came up whether two services should be held in winter, when it was voted that in the opinion of the town, the advanced age of the Rev. Mr. Harrington may render it injurious to his health to attend two services a day in the rigor of the three winter months; therefore the town requests the Rev. Mr. Harrington, whenever he finds it inconvenient to perform two services

a day in those months, or at any other season, to signify the same to the congregation at the close of the first service. The deacons, Fairbank and Houghton, Ballard and Whiting were chosen a committee to "wait on the Rev. Mr. Harrington with a copy of the above vote."

The following extract from the Records will serve to show how the minister was paid, and the money value of several articles of produce, in old and in lawful money. "The articles on which the Rev. Timothy Harrington's salary were stated as sold in the months of November and December, 1788.

Rye at 28sh. old tenor,	. . . . .	£140- 0-0
Indian corn, 21sh. "	. . . . .	157-10-0
Beef, 1sh. 4d. "	. . . . .	160- 0-0
Pork, 1sh. 6 3-4d. "	. . . . .	95-15-0
		<hr/>
Old tenor,	. . . . .	£553- 5-0
In lawful money, £73, 15, 4 ;"		or nearly \$250.00.

At the March meeting, 1789, it was voted "to hire preaching whenever Mr. Harrington's want of health should render him unable to preach," and deacons Fairbank and Houghton, with Israel Atherton, Esq., were chosen a committee for that purpose.

The roof of the meeting-house having been found "defective and leaky in every part to such a degree as to render it impossible to repair it to any good purpose without shingling," the committee on repairing the house were directed to shingle it.

The March meeting, 1791, directed the "old committee to complete the repairs of the inside of the meeting-house in the most prudent manner." In the May meeting the report of a committee appointed to sell "pew ground" was accepted, from which it appears that fifteen pews in the galleries had been sold, and paid for by notes of hand; and that two pews had been set up where the women's stairs stood; and the same number where the men's stairs stood; and four others had been "taken off the body seats" on the men's and women's sides of the house. Thus twenty-three seats were made available for revenue.

The report of the committee for "hiring preaching the year past," presented to the March meeting, in 1792, shows that Messrs. Alden Bradford, afterwards Secretary of State, Thaddeus M. Harris, afterwards Rev. Dr. Harris of Dorchester, Joseph Davis, and Daniel C. Saunders, afterwards president of the college in Burlington, Vt., had preached here, and received about one hundred and five dollars therefor, besides board. At the same meeting, March 12, the town voted "that a colleague—during the life of the Rev. Timothy Harrington—be settled as soon as the minds of the inhabitants, and circumstances of the town will permit; and after to continue pastor and minister among us." And a committee of seven was chosen to treat with Mr. Harrington "touching his inclination respecting such colleague; and also touching himself and the town; and to supply the desk for the space of twelve weeks with persons as candidates for settlement." A highly respectable committee was raised for this delicate business, viz., John Sprague, Esq., Dea. John Whiting, Israel Ather-ton, Esq., Dea. Josiah Ballard, Capt. Samuel Ward, Capt. Ephraim Carter, jr., and Dea. Benjamin Houghton. This committee reported to a meeting held July 2, that they had conferred with Rev. T. Harrington "touching the several subjects, agreeably to their instructions," and had supplied the desk twelve Sabbaths. The committee were continued, and the town voted to "hear Mr. Thayer a further time."

On the fourteenth of August the town voted "to set apart Thursday, the sixth day of September, for a day of fasting and prayer, to prepare the town for settling a colleague" with Mr. Harrington; and the committee were directed to wait on Mr. Harrington, and desire him to write to such of the neighboring ministers as he might choose, to join the town in keeping the fast, and some one to preach discourses suitable to the occasion.

Dea. Fairbank seems to have thought that the town had heard candidates enough, and on his motion, the town, on the last day of the year, voted that the town "decline, at

present, employing any person to supply the desk in future, but those whom they had heard before." But those having "itching ears," at the next meeting, January 14, 1793, secured a reconsideration of the vote, and the way was opened for a new list. The old committee were excused from further service, perhaps at their own request, and the following gentlemen were charged with the arduous service. Capt. James Carter, Capt. John Maynard, Mr. Jonas Fairbank, William Stedman, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Stearns.

At the April meeting two hundred pounds, lawful money, were raised for the "purpose of discharging the parson's salary, and supplying the desk" for the current year.

However, the "minds of the town" seem soon to have been united, and the church gave Mr. Nathaniel Thayer a call to settle in the gospel ministry as a colleague with Mr. Harrington, during the life of the latter, and after his decease, if Mr. Thayer should survive him. The town, at a meeting held June 3, voted "*unanimously*, that Mr. Nathaniel Thayer be settled with us as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Harrington, during the life of Mr. Harrington; and our minister if he survives Mr. Harrington, should Mr. Thayer agree to settle as our minister as above expressed."

The following committee of fifteen was chosen by the town to consult with Mr. Thayer in regard to terms of settlement, and report in the afternoon: John Sprague, William Stedman, Israel Atherton, Josiah Ballard, Ebenezer Allen, Moses Sawyer, Ebenezer Torrey, Jonathan Wilder, Jonas Fairbank, Ephraim Carter, jr., Joseph Wales, Cyrus Fairbank, Eli Stearns, Timothy Whiting, jr., and Benjamin Houghton. The committee reported "that the sum of two hundred pounds be given him as a settlement; the sum of ninety pounds annually during the life of Mr. Harrington, as salary; and after the decease of Rev. Mr. Harrington, the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds annually as salary." The report of the committee was accepted, and a committee of three was raised, to join with a committee of the church, to present Mr. Thayer

the "doings of the church and town relative to his settling in the work of the gospel ministry, in this place, and to request his consideration thereof and answer thereto." The committee were John Sprague, William Stedman and Israel Atherton, esquires. Mr. Thayer accepted the call in a letter which will be given in connection with the history of the church, in the next chapter.

The settling of a minister, in former times, was a memorable event, and it will be interesting in all time to come, to read the proceedings of the town on the occasion of Mr. Thayer's settlement. The whole action of the town evinces a high estimate of the Christian ministry; a delicate and reverent regard for the feelings of their aged minister; a suitable appreciation of their new choice, and the proper self-respect of an intelligent community. In these days, when ministers "come as visions; so depart;" when they are called in a hurry, and sometimes thrust out without ceremony, it is refreshing to recall the more dignified, kindly and respectable methods of our fathers.

A meeting to make preparation for the ordination was held on the twenty-sixth of August, when Mr. Thayer was "requested to address the Throne of Grace. Which being done, it was voted that Mr. Thayer "have the thanks of the town for his petition, etc. for the Divine Blessing." A committee of five was chosen to confer with the pastor elect on "such time and modes of payment of his settlement and salary as may be best adapted to his circumstances, and the convenience and interest of the town." The committee were Israel Atherton, Samuel Ward, Ebenezer Torrey, Timothy Whiting, jr., Ephraim Carter, jr. Another committee of five was raised, viz., John Whiting, Benjamin Houghton, Josiah Ballard, Cyrus Fairbank and Ebenezer Allen, all but the last deacons, to confer with Messrs. Harrington and Thayer on the time and manner of conducting the solemnity, [of ordination,] and transact any "other matter or thing that might be thought necessary for a decent and happy performance and conclusion of the whole subject."

Then a committee of three was elected by ballot for the purpose of contracting with some person or persons to make provision for the ordination of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, upon such terms and in such manner as they shall judge will be most for the honor and interest of the town. Eli Stearns, Oliver Carter, Joseph Wales were the committee.

The same meeting authorized the sale of one of the best long seats on each side of the middle aisle for pews, and thus raise money to pay for repairs. The committee for repairing the meeting-house were then "directed to plaster or white-wash, and support the floors and galleries" in such manner as might be suitable and safe for the ordination services. A crowd was always expected on such occasions. Not only the town's folk, but people from all adjacent towns were accustomed to attend. And they were always treated with the greatest hospitality, every family keeping open house for visitors.

A vote was then passed directing the selectmen to make such repairs in the pulpit as "would be for the convenience of Mr. Thayer." Wednesday, the ninth of October, was fixed upon as the day of ordination. This was more than a year after the candidate first preached in the place.

There was another meeting on the sixteenth of September, when the committee on repairs were instructed to "paint the front-work of the galleries, the pulpit, and the deacons' seat." The same day the committee on providing for the ordination, were "authorized to assign seats for the church, council, and singers, and to appoint suitable persons to guard the same, and the door, and preserve due order in and about the meeting-house on the day of ordination."

The ordination took place at the appointed time. The order of the services will find the appropriate place in the next chapter. Two or three items, however, remain to make the narrative complete. The committee to confer with Mr. Thayer on the "time and modes of payment of his settlement and salary," made a report which was adopted, as follows: "that

one hundred pounds be paid to the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, in one year from the day of his ordination, without interest ; and that an obligation be given him for the payment of the other hundred pounds of his settlement, payable in two years from the day of his ordination, with interest from that day till paid." The annual salary was to be paid half-yearly, on the first of March and September. This action was on the twenty-first of October, when the town voted to raise two hundred pounds for the settlement, "agreeably to the report of the committee."

The committee of entertainment presented their account of expenses at the ordination, amounting to nearly £57, or about one hundred and ninety dollars, and the amount was "immediately assessed for the purpose of discharging the account of the committee." Then voted that the thanks of the town be "presented to Messrs. Joseph Wales, Oliver Carter and Eli Stearns for their timely and useful exertions in preparing suitable provision, etc., for the ordaining council, and for the polite manner in which they conducted the business of attending upon them ; and that their freely rendering this service be recorded in grateful remembrance of their generosity."

It was voted, unanimously, to request a copy of the Sermon, Charge and Right Hand of Fellowship, for the press, and Messrs. Ebenezer Torrey, Timothy Whiting, jr., and Israel Atherton were chosen a committee to procure those productions. The sermon and other parts were to be printed by subscription, and the town treasurer was directed to subscribe for one hundred copies, for the use of the town, to be disposed of as follows, viz. "Twenty copies for the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer ; twelve for the Rev. David Osgood ; six for the president of the university at Cambridge ; sixteen, being one for each of the Rev. clergy who assisted at the council at the ordination ; and forty-six to be distributed among such heads of families belonging to the church and congregation as shall choose to receive them gratis."

The dogs of the town seem to have become demoralized towards the end of the century, necessitating the following action, on the thirteenth of August, 1794. "It being the indispensable duty of every citizen to promote good order and decorum in time of public worship, on the Lord's day, and there having been frequent disturbances in and about the meeting-house at those times, voted that the inhabitants be *earnestly requested* to confine their *dogs* at home, in future, on Sundays, in order to prevent like disturbances; and that the town may not be under the disagreeable necessity of adopting some other method to remedy so great an inconvenience."

November 3, those persons who usually "made use of the *pillows* in the meeting-house to hang their hats on" were requested to find some other place for them. At the same time the selectmen were directed to open a passage-way in front of the pews on the side galleries, and to assign seats there for the people of color.

The Rev. Timothy Harrington died on the eighteenth of December, 1795. His salary had been paid as usual, while he lived, and the town, at an adjournment of the March meeting, held on the fourth day of April, 1796, voted to appropriate one hundred and four dollars and fifty-six cents for the "payment of the funeral expenses of our late Rev. Pastor, Timothy Harrington, deceased, and other incidental charges."

At a meeting in April, 1797, Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, John Sprague and John Whiting were chosen a committee to "erect suitable gravestones in memory of Mr. Harrington, with such inscriptions thereon as should be proper for the subject." The gravestones cost sixteen dollars. The inscription will be found in the Notes on the Old Burying Yard.

An order for clearing and cutting the brush in the burying-ground, amounted to two dollars and a quarter. It is not specified whether the Old Yard or the Old Common Yard was meant. Subsequently, 1799, the matter of appointing a sexton or sextons to take care of the burying-places, was referred to the selectmen, who were authorized to carry it into effect.

The record of the town, in its capacity as a parish, will be creditably closed, for the last century, by the following action, taken, April 3, 1797, on a report made by Daniel Rugg, Ephraim Carter, John Sprague, John Whiting and Eli Stearns. "The committee to whom was referred the article relative to singing, beg leave to report that it will be expedient for the encouragement and promotion of knowledge in that part of religious worship, a sum be granted and assessed with the minister's tax of seventy-five dollars for the support of a singing-school." The report was accepted, and the money raised.

The setting up of Sterling having been effected, a few points remained to be adjusted between the mother and daughter. May 19, 1781, the town clerk and selectmen were appointed a committee to "recover the town of Lancaster's books from Sterling." Committees were chosen to perambulate the line of division, and also to divide the town stock and arrange about the division of the poor who received town support. Probably the wishes of these objects of bounty were regarded, by placing them in the towns to which they belonged by birth or residence.

A project was before the town, at different times, to unite with some of the neighboring towns, in establishing a workhouse and almshouse in common, but it does not appear that any permanent plan was ever adopted.

All matters of dispute between Lancaster and Sterling were finally adjusted, by the following agreement, bearing date November 1, 1784. "We the subscribers, selectmen of the towns of Lancaster and Sterling have this day reckoned and settled, and received in full for all accounts against said towns, and have agreed that all the accounts which shall be brought against said towns, shall be paid by the towns they originated from; and have divided all town stock, and poor of said town, agreeable to the act of the general court for the division of said towns, called the incorporating act. In witness whereof we have set our hands." Signed by Nathaniel Beaman, Jona. Wilder, Jonas Fairbank, jr., for Lancaster; and Israel Moore, Benj. Richardson, and Josiah Kendall, jr., for Sterling.

Subsequently it was agreed that the line between the towns should be according as those living on the border were taxed.

This accounts for the jagged and unsightly look of the map, made by running the line, zigzag, round farms which lay on either side of a straight line. Such folly has not since been allowed to disfigure any other part of the town's lines.

As stated already, the town had before it the question, how to support those who were unable to support themselves; and in this connection, was the other question, what should be done with the idle and dissolute, who would not support themselves, nor their children. For many years there was neither almshouse nor workhouse. The vicious, when their presence could be endured no longer, were warned out of town, if they had no legal residence here; or were handed over to the county jailer.

The poor were kindly treated. Sometimes aid was rendered to families. There is the record of a woman receiving aid from the town for taking care of her husband. Like cases when one relative cared for another, are found. Some were boarded at the expense of the town, in families which would receive them. They were expected to work on the farm or in the house, so far as they were able. This diminished the cost to the town. The children of such parents were to be sent to school according to the requirements of the law. It was the duty of the town authorities to take the place of parents towards children whose natural guardians were unable or unwilling to take good care of them. They were bound out to farmers or mechanics, and so trained to habits of industry and thrift. The men who took them into their service, were under bonds to feed and clothe them, and to give them training in business, as well as a fixed time to attend school. Towards the close of the century, there appears to have been an unusual number of children needing the guardianship of the fathers of the town. It is believed that the town has an honorable record in regard to its treatment of her unfortunate children.

In 1791 the selectmen put an ancient law into working order, by instructing the constables to warn out of town certain specified persons. The edict was issued several times between January and April, and more than a hundred persons, male and female, with their children, and all under their care, were ordered to depart. The warning reached high and low alike. Jacob Fisher, Michael Newhall and Eli Stearns, were in the number. An extract from the Records, March 11, 1791, will illustrate a curious phase of life in preceding generations. The mandate is to the constables, in the words following. "You are directed to warn and give notice unto the Hon. John Sprague, late of Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, Esq., and sheriff of the county of Worcester, John Maynard, late of Framingham, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., Edmund Heard, late of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, Esq., Ebenezer Torrey, late of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, gentleman, William Stedman, late of Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., Merrick Rice, late of Brookfield, in the county of Worcester, gentleman, and Joseph Wales, late of Braintree, in the county of Suffolk, gentleman, who have lately come into this town for the purpose of abiding therein, not having obtained the town's consent therfor, that they respectively depart the limits thereof, with their children and all under their care within fifteen days."

Judge Sprague had been in the town about twenty years, and had already represented the town in the general court not less than four years. The others were frequently in responsible offices. How then can we account for this apparent freak, and make that seem reasonable which appears absurd? It was the law that no one could gain a residence without the consent of the town, and when persons moved in whose presence was not desirable, they were warned to depart. In the case of new comers who were welcome, nothing was done, and in process of time, perhaps half the people of a town would be in the category of those who were liable to be warned off. It is conjectured that about the date above named, a

number of people came hither, who for various reasons, were not wanted, and that in warning them to depart, strict impartiality was used towards all who had not obtained the town's consent to set up their homes in Lancaster. The warning having been given, those whose presence was desired, could easily get permission, while the others would be obliged to return to their legal domicile, or "seek fresh fields and pastures new." Fortunately for them the commonwealth was large enough to give every man a home.

Seven years later, there was an article in the warrant, May 2, 1798, to inquire in what manner citizens of the town who were not lawfully settled herein, might become so; and the subject was referred to a committee of three, viz., John Sprague, William Stedman, and Timothy Whiting, jr. The result came out in this form at an adjourned meeting: "that the subject of that article be referred to the assessors, they to communicate with the committee thereupon, and receive from them the results of their inquiries, and thereafter to act their discretion relating thereto."

During the revolutionary war, nothing was done in relation to the education of the young besides keeping the schools as usual. No changes by way of improvement, and no addition to the annual appropriation could be expected in such a time. At the annual meeting, 1780, the town voted to raise the sum of £8,000 for schooling. Nothing was done in regard to the grammar school, but probably it was continued. The grant was in the depreciated currency, and perhaps was equal to \$270.00.

The next year Sterling was set off, with about half of the territory, and nearly that proportion of the children of school age. But the appropriation for schools was made before the division. The sum raised for schools was eight thousand pounds, when the "price of a man's labor" was fixed at twelve pounds a day in summer, and nine pounds in winter. The method of keeping the grammar school was not changed.

At the annual meeting in 1782, eighty pounds were raised to "be schooled out in squadrons as formerly." This was the sum granted in years before by the undivided town. The word "squadron" as applied to divisions of the town for school purposes, seems to have come into general use about the time of the revolution. This year the price of a man's labor was three shillings to the last of September; and two shillings for the remainder of the year. The next two years the same sum was applied to schooling. The currency was greatly improved.

But in 1785, a step was taken in advance. The sum devoted to schools was £100, and a committee was chosen to "inquire into the condition of the several school squadrons, and make a new regulation so that there may be a squadron or squadrons so large, nearly in the center of the town, as will be sufficient to maintain a grammar school through the year." Gershom Flagg with the Assessors, who were Nathaniel Beaman, Ephraim Carter, jr., Timothy Whiting, jr. and Moses Smith constituted the committee. They reported to the adjourned meeting, April 4, when the town voted that George Hill squadron and the Neck squadrons [there were two] should keep the grammar school that year, and that nine pounds additional should be raised for schooling, the said squadrons to have the benefit thereof. This included the whole of the Neck; on the east and west roads, South Lancaster and George hill; in short, a large majority of the town and probably a still larger proportion of taxable property.

The town at the same time authorized the purchase of "the back part of Mr. Sprague's house for a workhouse," on the ground doubtless, that the idle and vagrant needed some wholesome discipline. Probably nothing was done in regard to the workhouse, as the matter came up the next year, in another shape.

The annual meeting in 1786, took action in regard to schools similar to that of the year before. The question came up as to what measures the town would take "with divers idle, dissolute and disorderly persons and poor families" who had

come into the town, but had not "gained an inhabitancy therein." The town also considered the best measures for providing for the "support and education of the children of poor and improvident parents, * * * and for preventing the baneful influence of indolence and intemperance" that too much prevailed. Another article for consideration related to uniting with the towns of Harvard and Bolton in building a workhouse.

Votes were passed in favor of the joint workhouse, and removing the idle and dissolute who had not gained a residence. With regard to the neglected children, the following important action was taken. The selectmen were directed to attend immediately to the circumstances of the poor families in the town who were likely to become chargeable, and to bind or put out to good masters, or into good families, all children which by law they were impowered to put out, to the end that the "rising generation in this town might not be brought up in idleness, ignorance and vice."

The joint workhouse project failed of concurrence.

The appropriation and division of the school money continued the same in the two succeeding years, with the following important modifications which were presented and approved, May 12, 1788.

"Proposals for a grammar town school. On condition the town will vote to any squadron in town twelve pounds to support a grammar school for the space of one year, and also vote that the subscribers may be a squadron in town, and draw their own money as other squadrons do, the subscribers do engage to become a squadron agreeable to such vote, and to support such school for that term on the following plan. 1. Arithmetic, Grammar and other Arts beneficial to the rising generation, shall be taught in said school. 2. No scholar shall be admitted into said school who cannot read the Psalter well without spelling. 3. The school shall be quarterly visited and inspected by a committee of five persons, whereof the minister of the town for the time being shall be Chairman. Two

of the four shall be chosen by the town, and two by the squadron. 4. The town may at any time vote minors into the school, whose parents are unable to educate them there, paying their proportion for each scholar so voted in, and by a committee vote in school affairs, on equal principles with subscribers, and be considered as part of the squadron while they have one or more scholars in the school. 5. And whereas the money which the said squadron may draw as their proportion of the school money granted by the town, may not be sufficient to defray the charges of the school, and the remainder must be otherwise raised, 'tis therefore provided that any person may send one scholar, paying their proportion of the money so otherwise raised, and to be averaged by the number of scholars in said school, such scholars being entered for one year at least, and no person not being of the squadron, shall send more than one when the number of scholars shall amount to thirty. 6. The squadron shall have the sole direction of the school so far as is consistent with the foregoing plan." The subscribers to the school were John Sprague, William Greenleaf, William Locke, John Ballard, Michael Newhall, Jonas Wyman, Nathaniel Willard, Edmund Heard, Moses Smith, Josiah Wilder, Samuel Ward, Israel Atherton and Peter Thurston. The town voted the conditional twelve pounds for one year.

The same arrangement was continued in the year following. It was in this year that the general court enacted the law authorizing towns to divide themselves into districts for school purposes, which Mr. Mann considered the "most unfortunate law ever enacted in the state" in relation to the schools. The town immediately acted under the law, and on the tenth of May, 1789, formed several squadrons or districts. One was called the northern squadron, and was "formed of the following persons and estates," and the school-house was placed at the "cross of the roads south of William Hosley's," now Joseph Farwell's. The names of Willard and Farwell are still common in that section of the town. The Whites, whose head-

quarters were at the fork of the roads west of Still river bridge, have no representative in the neighborhood.

Samuel Sanderson,
John Willard,
Oliver Tenney,
Jona. Tenney,
Samuel Stevens,
Jona. Willard,
John White, jr.,
Frank Davis,
Jonathan White,
Abijah White,
William Hosley,
William Willard,

Paul Willard,
John White,
Leonard Farwell,
Abner Whitney,
Peter Tenney,
William Willard, jr.,
Simon Willard,
Benjamin W. Willard,
Jotham Woods,
Nathaniel Willard, jr.,
John White, 3d.

Another squadron, with a school-house at Col. Henry Haskell's, north of the Brick tavern, was formed of the following persons and their estates.

Henry Haskell,
John Richards,
Daniel Knight,
Joseph Farwell,
Peter Atherton,
Ebenezer Pratt, jr.,
Daniel Willard,
Jona. Stone,
Solomon Goodfry,
Lemuel Barret,
Israel Butler,

Timothy Barret,
Jere Pratt,
Peter Stickey,
William Deputron,
Peter Willard,
John Campbell,
Benjamin Priest,
Joseph Priest,
Jacob Zwear,
Asa Wyman.

To the squadron of Edward Robbins in the northwest part of the town, the following persons were added: Daniel Rugg, Manassah Knight, Jacob Kilbourn, Daniel Johnson, Widow Knight and Samuel Rugg.

On the seventh of June, 1790, the town accepted the report of a committee, which provided for the building of a "Latin grammar school" near the house of Rev. Mr. Harrington, and raised one hundred pounds for the support of the English grammar school, to be divided among the several school squadrons upon the same principle as before, with the exception that an appropriation of fifteen pounds should be

annually deducted from the two center squadrons, viz., the Neck and George hill, so called, which sum was to be used in support of the Latin grammar school, provided such a school should be kept in a school-house situated in the most convenient central spot in the town.

The "most central spot" was not considered, on reflection, to be near Mr. Harrington's, whose house was in front of the residence of Mr. Thayer; and therefore, the town, on the fourth of October, voted to place the Latin grammar school-house on the "common land south side of the road opposite Gen. Greenleaf's garden." Gen. Greenleaf lived in the Mansion house, so called, and the school-house was placed near the house of Daniel Stowell. From this it appears that the town owned "common land" in the vicinity of Mr. Stowell's and the railroad station. The school-house stood there, and there many children received a good education, during two generations. The house was moved to the Old Common, and thence to South Lancaster.

The plan of the house reported by the committee did not suit the town, whereupon another committee was chosen who immediately reported that the house should be "28 feet long and 22 feet in breadth, with 12 feet posts, with nine windows, 24 squairs of glass each, and a porch in front 10 feet by 7, with two windows 12 squairs each, two chimneys, one at each end of said house, and to be seated within as the committee for building said house shall direct." Deacon Cyrus Fairbank, Capt. John Maynard and Mr. Jonas Lane were chosen a building committee.

In 1791, the town raised one hundred and forty-seven pounds for schools, and appropriated the money as in the year preceding. Efforts were made to satisfy the minds of the people in regard to the division of the money, and the support of the Latin grammar school, but nothing permanent was effected.

The appropriation, the next year was one hundred and fifty pounds, and the money was divided according to the following plan, by which it appears that the town was now arranged

is thirteen squadrons. The committee to whom the matter was referred, found that it would be impracticable at that time to alter the bounds of the squadrons so as to make an equitable division of the money, and gave their opinion that the "several squadrons as they then stood" ought to draw their several parts of one hundred pounds which might be raised for the support of the English grammar schools in the following proportions, viz.

Neck, [present Center]	. . . . .	£15- 3- 9
George hill,	. . . . .	14-19-10
Old Common,	. . . . .	5-10- 0
William Willard, [north east]	. . . . .	7- 4- 5
Simon Willard, [old No. 3, east side]	. . . . .	2- 1- 1
James Goodwin, [Lunenburg road]	. . . . .	6- 7- 9
Henry Haskell, [Shirley road]	. . . . .	4-16- 8
Ebenezer Allen, [New Boston]	. . . . .	7- 1- 0
Cyrus Fairbank, [Deers Horns]	. . . . .	8-10- 0
Aaron Lyon, [No. 3, west side]	. . . . .	8-13- 2
Walnut swamp, [Ballard Hill]	. . . . .	14- 0- 0
William Tooker, [Clinton]	. . . . .	3- 1-10
Stephen Wilder,	"	2- 9- 8
		<hr/>
		£100—0—0

"And should the town appropriate one hundred and fifty pounds for schooling, that fifty pounds of the same be appropriated for the support of the Latin grammar school in the same way and manner as in the last year." The committee were John Sprague, Israel Atherton, William Stedman, Timothy Whiting, jr., Samuel Ward. The idea does not seem as yet to have dawned on the town that all the children should have equal opportunities for education, but only according to the taxes of their parents or guardians.

At an adjournment of the annual meeting in 1793, held April 1, much business was done in relation to schools. First, one hundred pounds, lawful money, were appropriated for the

support of the English grammar, and sixty-five pounds for the Latin grammar schools, to be applied as in the last year. The following men were chosen to "inspect the schools": John Sprague, William Stedman, Israel Atherton, Esq. This is the first record of a visiting committee. It had always been the duty of the minister, but Mr. Harrington was now too infirm to do the service.

Next a committee of six,—John Sprague, William Stedman, Israel Atherton, Timothy Whiting, jr., esquires, Capt. Samuel Ward and Mr. Benjamin W. Willard—was chosen to "report a uniform method to be observed by the school-masters in town for teaching schools in future." Then a committee of three was raised "for hiring a Latin grammar school-master" for the year ensuing. Ebenezer Torrey, Timothy Whiting, jr., and Eli Stearns were charged with this duty.

Later in the year, the two squadrons, known as Col. Haskell's and Salmon Goodfry's were united, and the "people called Shakers" had the privilege of "drawing their own money, and schooling it out in their own way."

The report of the committee appointed to propose a uniform method of instruction in the schools was not made till January 7, 1794, by which time Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was in position to render assistance, for which the town voted grateful acknowledgments. The report is too long for insertion, but some of its regulations may be given in an abridged form. 1. The grammar school was to admit all who could read the English language by spelling the same. 2. The third class was to consist of those who could read by spelling, and they were to be taught to spell the words in the lessons without the book. They were also to attend to accents. 3. The second class was to read without spelling the words, and they were to use the Dictionary in spelling. They were to study Grammar and apply its rules in reading. Then they were to learn to write. 4. The first class was to advance to the study of Arithmetic and Geography. 5. The same rules, substantially applied to the scholars in the district schools. 6. Persons

qualified for the study of Latin and Greek, were to take up those languages if their parents desired it. 7. The books prescribed were these : Perry's Spelling Book and Grammar, Perry's Dictionary, the Bible, Pike's Arithmetic, Morse's Abridgment of his Geography. The Latin and Greek authors were to be selected by the committee. They recommended that the town provide school-books for the scholars, but that one book might be used by more than one scholar. That is, the same book would go from one to another. They also advised that teachers should obtain certificates of their qualifications, according to law, before beginning their schools. One hundred pounds were appropriated for the support of the English grammar schools, and seventy pounds for the Latin grammar school. The committee to inspect schools were Messrs. Thayer, Sprague, Timothy Whiting, jr., John Whiting, Stedman, Ward and Eli Stearns.

Two hundred pounds were devoted to schools in 1795, seventy of which went to the Latin school. Salaries and fuel were included. The town was districted anew for the purpose of lessening the number of schools, and increasing their duration. The three northern districts were reduced to two, and the two in the southeast were united in one. The Neck and Old Common districts were formed into two. The several districts were to be known by numbers as follows, viz.

The school-house near Leonard Farwell,	No. 1
“ “ in the northwest,	“ 2
“ “ near Jeremiah Ballard,	“ 3
“ “ “ Samuel Wilder, [George hill]	“ 4
“ “ “ the corner of Wm. Phelps, [Lane Crossing]	“ 5
“ “ “ Dea. J. Wales, [Neck]	“ 6
“ “ “ Amos Sawyer, [Deers Horns]	“ 7
“ “ south of Prescott's mills, [Clinton]	“ 8
“ “ near Edward Fuller, [Harris mills]	“ 9

The committee reported that the town should build the school-houses ; that the money for schooling should be divi-

ded among the schools according to the number of scholars from four to twenty years of age ; and that the Latin school should be suspended two months in the year, between December 20 and February 20 ; and that the money thus saved, should be "averaged upon the five smallest and most distant districts." It appears, however, from the Records that ten districts were retained.

Federal money came into use in 1796, and two hundred and seventy-five dollars of it were appropriated for the support of the Latin grammar school ; and five hundred dollars for the other schools. Nothing was done, as yet, in the way of building the new school-houses. In some districts there were old houses ; in some, barns, shops and rooms in dwelling-houses were used.

The appropriation in 1797 took off twenty-five dollars from the Latin grammar school, probably because the time had been shortened. An important modification of the schools was made, this year, in accordance with the recommendations of a committee, headed by John Sprague. Avoiding details, the following will enable the reader to understand the main point of alteration. "That the Latin and Greek grammar school be kept the current year, by several masters in several places, viz., six months in the grammar school-house by a master provided by the hiring committee ; two months in the Neck district ; two months in George hill district ; and two months in the Walnut swamp district, different in time from the said six months, by masters provided by the several districts, and paid out of the school money they severally draw." It will be seen that the same master might have been employed by the several districts in succession, and that probably was the intention. Latin and Greek scholars might attend in any district to which they did not belong by paying tuition.

The visiting committee in 1798, consisted of eleven highly respectable men, probably every one of them capable of performing their duties, except in the examination of the Latin and Greek classes, and perhaps half of them were equal

to this service. Nathaniel Thayer, *ex officio*, Samuel Ward, T. Whiting, jr., William Stedman, Ebenezer Torrey, John Maynard, John Sprague, John Whiting, Joseph Wales, Jonas Lane, John Thurston. The duty of visiting the schools, however, was mainly done by Mr. Thayer, who was very faithful and efficient.

This year two hundred dollars were expended on the classical school and five hundred for the other schools.

The same appropriation for the support of schools, was made in 1799, and that the money might be well expended, the town amply provided competent committees, as will appear from the following list.

For hiring a Latin grammar school-master, Samuel Ward, John Maynard and Oliver Carter. John Maynard "requesting to be excused," John Whiting was chosen in his stead.

A school committee of eleven "to visit the schools" was composed of the following leading citizens. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, Ebenezer Torrey, Jonas Fairbank, Israel Atherton, John Sprague, William Stedman, Timothy Whiting, jr., John Whiting, John Thurston, Jonas Lane, Daniel Rugg.

The committee for "hiring a singing-school master," were Jonathan Wilder, John Thurston and Samuel Rugg.

This arrangement reached into the year 1800, and thus the old century closed with honor. The opening of the present century was under favorable auspices, as regards education. Mr. Thayer had enlarged ideas in relation to schools, and he was surrounded with men endowed with more than common foresight and culture. Sprague, Ward, Stedman and John Whiting had more than a local reputation, and the other gentlemen were noted for their good sense and energy.

Mr. Thayer came at the right time, and he fitted into the place which providence had provided for him. His visits were made regularly to all the schools in the town, and his advice and general influence related not only to the teaching and government of the children, but also to morality and religion. There have been improvements in school-houses and school-

books ; in the range of studies and the methods of teaching, but it may be doubted if our schools now exert a better influence in raising up men and women fitted for all the duties of life.

Not much was done in the way of building new roads in the last quarter of the last century. Chockset had been well supplied with highways, byways and private ways before the old town had become willing to part with that section of her domain. After that event there was a call for new roads, or for the straightening of old roads, in the south and west part of the town ; nearly all of these traveled ways pointing to Prescott's mills, or Clinton. That enterprising town owes much to the successive generations of Prescotts, inasmuch as they began to make the mills the central point of travel.

In 1792 a road was laid out from Still river bridge to a point not far from the present residence of the Misses Farnsworth. Early in the history of Lancaster there was a road from the old home of John White, [now Edward Houghton's,] over the land of N. C. Hawkins and S. R. Damon, across the road by the clay pit, and thence to the south end of Pine hill. The road forked by the first Scar, and crossing the river by a ford, passed on to the Bolton road south of the Haynes estate. The left branch passed along the west side of Pine hill to the point where now the Farnsworth road crosses the Cranberry meadow. Then it ascended the hill, and ran north the whole length of the hill, and came out at another John White place, opposite what is now known as the Dyer place. Long afterwards the road to Harvard, after reaching the vicinity of Eben C. Mann's house, turned to the right into the woods, descended the hill into the lands east of the house of Cyrus K. Goodale, and thence went north and east by the old brick yard, to John White's, and so forwards to Still river, or White's bridge. The road, in 1798, was laid out nearly on its present line, leaving the valley, and keeping on the hillside, by the Willard, the Whittemore and the Burbank farms to the Harvard line.

In the same year the road leading from the present town

farm, by Mr. Schumaker's, (once the land of the celebrated John Hancock,) and the old Capt. Maynard place, to the county road by Taylor's mills, (now Ponakin,) was opened.

A road was also laid out from the house of Aaron Lyon, on the Shirley line, south by west one hundred and seventy-seven rods to a point on an old town road. This was done "at the request of the people in this town known by the denomination of Shaking Quakers, and on condition that they be at the whole expense of the laying out and making such road."

Though the roads of Lancaster became fixed in their present beds a hundred years ago, with such variations as always occur in the onward life of a town, yet the bridges, on the other hand, have been a constant and a heavy charge, through every generation to the present day. In 1782 the vote in the May meeting raised only sixty pounds for highways and bridges. Later in the season, fifty pounds were added, and still later, ten pounds more. But this amount merely kept the roads and bridges in passable order for the time being. Not far from this time there must have been a great destruction of bridges, because the Records show that the town was engaged, for several years, in building bridges, at great expense, and raising money by unusual methods.

A special meeting was held on the first day of January, 1783, to see if they would "choose a committee to petition the general court for a lottery in said town, for the purpose of building and repairing the bridges." The town chose John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, jr., and Samuel Ward a committee for this purpose, who succeeded in obtaining authority for getting up a lottery. At the March meeting, one hundred and seventy pounds were raised to be "worked out at highways and bridges."

On the seventh of April a committee of five, viz., Jonathan Whitney, Ephraim Carter, jr., Gardner Wilder, Jonas Fairbank, jr., and Moses Wilder, was chosen to "superintend the rebuilding and making good the public bridges and cause-

ways" in the town, and to "draw money out of the hands of the managers of the lottery for payment of the same."

In 1784 one hundred and twenty pounds were devoted to repairing highways and bridges; and a vote was passed in March that the "lottery should commence drawing on the first Tuesday of April," and further that the town "would take to their own risque and account all the Tickets" that should remain unsold at the time of drawing.

The town, on the sixth of September, raised the question whether to "purchase a road through Quassaponakin, or to build a bridge across the river in said Ponakin." The matter was referred to a committee,—Ephraim Carter, jr., Jonathan Whitney, Timothy Whiting, Ebenezer Allen and Peter Green,—who reported at another meeting in favor of making the purchase of a road, instead of building a bridge. The state of the case was probably this. The road through Ponakin intervale was partly private, and perhaps portions of it had been washed away, as there have been frequent and great changes in the course of the river. Possibly also a bridge at Ponakin, had been carried off by a flood. The question was, whether to buy a road through the intervale, on the east side of the river; or go along the west side to Ponakin, and then bridge the river at that place. The phrase "purchase a road" seems to show that there was already a road; probably, as said above, in part or wholly a private way. The selectmen were authorized to purchase the road. The building committee were directed by the town, September 21, to call on the inhabitants to "work out their rates in the last town tax * * * at the bridges."

The lottery scheme did not work smoothly, and the town took measures to secure its rights. The history of the whole proceeding would furnish a curious and painful chapter, but it must be passed over briefly. It appears that the managers had sued the town for damages and costs of prosecution. The dispute was about the cost of managing, as the profits were distressingly small, and the managers charged a large percent-

age. A committee was appointed to settle with the managers, on the eighteenth of November, and the selectmen were empowered to borrow money, since the taxes and the profits of the lottery were not sufficient to meet the demands on the treasury. The town was found to be in debt to the managers in the sum of £317-0-9½; so that we are not surprised to find that a committee was raised to inquire what the "common custom was for managers to have for managing a lottery."

The work of bridge building went forward, but at a moderate rate. Perhaps the committee were hindered by the want of money; perhaps by successive floods. Some of the voters were becoming impatient, as was evinced by an article in the warrant for a meeting in March, 1786, which was to see if the town would dismiss the bridge building committee, and choose another in their place. The town, however, voted to pass over the article.

Then came a new disaster, as appears by the following, in a call for a meeting, September 27, 1787, to see "what method the town will come into for repairing the bridges and causeways which have been carried away in the late flood, and to raise money for the above purpose." A hundred and twenty pounds were raised for the purpose, and the work was put into the hands of Nathaniel Willard, Moses Sawyer, Michael Newhall, Edmund Heard and Ephraim Carter.

Action was taken, October 15, to see if the town would appoint "Inspectors of bridges that in case of floods every precaution should be used to prevent the loss of bridges." Two inspectors were appointed for each of the following bridges.

Jonas Wyman, } Meeting House [Sprague] bridge.
Edmund Heard, }

Nathaniel Willard, } Neck* bridge.
John Whiting, }

Josiah Phelps, } Below Dr. Atherton's.
William Locke, }

*This was sixty rods below the present Center bridge.

Jonathan White, }
 John White, jr., } White's [Still River] bridge.

Gardner Wilder, }
 Nathaniel Eaton, } Bennett's [North Village] bridge.

The new bridge committee with the addition of Major Gardner Wilder, and Dea. Houghton, were directed to consider the expediency of building a bridge near Greenleaf's mills. These mills, formerly Col. Joseph Wilder's, were several rods, down stream, below the present Ponakin bridge. A saw mill was on the east side and a grist mill on the west side of the river. The committee reported in favor of the project, and the town, November 5, voted to build the bridge. This bridge was placed above the old dam which was washed away in a subsequent flood. Fifteen days later the town raised one hundred and twenty pounds for building the bridge, and charged James Carter, Benjamin Houghton, James Goodwin, William Wilder and Jonathan Wilder with the work.

The bridge at Greenleaf's mill was built, but not without a supply of liquor, as appears by the following vote, May 12, 1788. "The committee for building the bridge * * * will be empowered to provide drink for said purpose at their discretion."

The bill for repairing and building bridges, in May, was as follows :

For building the Atherton bridge,	. . .	£156-15- 6½
“ “ Sprague “	. . .	296- 2- 6
“ “ White, or Still river,	. . .	54- 4-11

The net proceeds of the lottery up to the same date footed up to a respectable amount, as these figures show.

Net proceeds of the second class of the lottery,	£73-14- 3
“ “ third “ “	113-15- 0
“ “ fourth “ “	62- 7- 8
“ “ fifth “ “	88- 5- 0
Total,	£338- 1-11

Sawyer's bridge, so called, in the extreme south part of the town, (now in Clinton,) was built in accordance with a vote, April 6, 1789. In May the "old bridge committee" were dropped, and John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, jr., and John Maynard were substituted.

The reader may be interested in seeing the working of the lottery scheme, as shown by a report, July 6. In the sixth class the number of tickets was 2,700 at two dollars each, = \$5,400. Paid in prizes, \$4,732, leaving \$668. Ten per cent. on the nominal value of all the tickets was paid the managers, equal to \$540, leaving profits to the amount of \$128.

The seventh and eighth classes had three thousand tickets each; the expenses at each drawing were four hundred and eighty dollars; and the amount of profits in both cases was six hundred and twelve dollars. The managers received the lion's share in every drawing. Many thousand dollars changed hands, and as the tickets were probably bought by the poor more freely than by the rich, the cost of the bridges fell upon the former to a far greater degree than if the bridges had been paid for by a tax. It is a fair supposition that many of the prizes were drawn by parties living in other towns, thus taking money from Lancaster. But a far more damaging item, pecuniarily, was the waste of time when the town came together, on many different days, watching with intense eagerness the results of chance. And worse than all was the habit of gambling which was induced and encouraged by the legislation which allowed such a mode of raising money.

In 1795, November 23, five hundred dollars were raised to defray the expense of rebuilding the bridge near Paul Whiting's, on the Bolton road.

The great expense to which the town was subjected by the frequent floods which carried away one or more of the bridges, led the town to apply to the general court, in the fall of 1796, and a committee was chosen to present the request, in connection with the selectmen and the representative. It does not appear that the appeal was successful. At the same time the

"selectmen with Mr. Torrey were authorized to keep the Neck bridge in legal repair for the term of one year." One year only, as the town hoped the state would lend its aid. Mr. Torrey lived near the entrance of the road upon the intervale beyond C. L. Wilder's barn.

An important change was proposed in the last year of the century, but was not consummated at once. In the warrant for a town meeting, January 6, 1800, was an article to see, among other things, if the town would take measures in future, to "rebuild the bridges with stone instead of wood."

The ravages of the small-pox in former times were fearful. The dread of its coming marred the happiness of millions. Anything which would mitigate its virulence was hailed with joy. Lady Wortley Montague made herself the benefactress of the English race by advocating the method of inoculating for the small-pox, which she had become familiar with while her husband was British minister at Constantinople. By her persistent endeavors the practice was begun in England, by some of the faculty, and soon grew in favor. It was introduced into this state by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, against the prejudices of the people, and the opposition of the profession. The learned Rev. Cotton Mather, one of the most enlightened men of his times, and unmatched in America for his various learning, gave Dr. Boylston his powerful aid. It gradually grew in favor, till the benefits of vaccination were demonstrated, since which time it has gone into disuse. Dr. Israel Atherton, of Lancaster, exposed himself to the hazard of disease and death, as well as the hostility of some of his townsmen, by setting up a "pock house," or "pest house," as the hospital for inoculated patients was vulgarly termed. August 30, 1790, the town was asked to give "consent to have a hospital opened under the direction of Israel Atherton, Esq., for the purpose of inoculating for the small-pox," and the required consent was given. Dr. Atherton was to occupy the house of Jotham Wood, with his leave first obtained. By repeated licenses of the town, the hospital was kept open till

1794, and was much resorted to by those who were willing to obtain security from the disease in the natural form, by running the risk incurred by inoculation. The house of Jotham Wood was on Pine hill, in a most beautiful situation, towards the northeast end. There is a spur of the hill here which juts out into the intervale and overlooks the valley of the Nashua and the opposite hills, for many miles. Standing here the lover of nature feasts on the prospect with delight.

Dr. Atherton was authorized to erect other buildings, so far as needful, according to the demand of the patients. Wood's house was large, and the depression of the cellar still remains, with other depressions very near. The house was taken apart, at a later date, and moved from the hill to the road that goes by the Dyer place to Still River. It was then made into two houses, one of which was occupied by John White and his descendants for many years. The old cellars bear witness to this day.

A fallen stone or two indicate where the remains of a few victims of the loathsome disease were buried on the hillside. Near at hand was, and is, a copious spring, issuing from the bank, half way down to the intervale. So much in memorial of a custom and a locality which once were a subject of deep and painful, yet hopeful interest to all the people of this town and the towns around.

In this connection it may be stated that there were in the last century several other houses on Pine hill. There was a little neighborhood, perhaps a mile south of the house of Jotham Wood, on the east side of the hill, and looking down upon the intervale, and the ever beautiful Nashua. The remains of cellars still mark the location of the houses, and until quite recently the remnants of an old orchard were visible. Three houses at least were removed from the hill, and are now occupied by Silas Houghton, Edward Wilcox and John R. Wyman, on the road to Harvard. After the public road over Pine hill was superseded by the present route to Still River, the place became too isolated for habitation, and the

residents moved away. With pleasant neighbors it would be a charming place for a rural home. Now it is a frequent resort for boys and girls, young men and maidens, and even children of a larger growth who delight in the wild haunts of nature.

The state, in 1795, required the towns to make a survey, and accordingly this town, August 6, chose a committee of three to "take or procure an accurate plan of the town." The committee were Gen. John Whiting, Dea. Benjamin Houghton and Major Merrick Rice. This ancient plan or map is now preserved in the office of the Secretary of State, Boston.

A heliotype copy of the map, somewhat reduced in size, is here inserted. By consent of the Secretary of State, Hon. Henry B. Pierce, a photograph was taken, full size, from which our copy was made. The following items of information were written at the top of the sheet; but as there was not room for them in the heliotype copy, they are inserted in this place. [See map on the opposite page.]

"The above Plan represents the town of Lancaster * * surveyed in obedience to an order of the general court, dated June 26, 1794. On the above Plan is inserted and described each town line which meets or joins with Lancaster, and the time when ran, and by whom surveyed. Also the rivers and roads being surveyed and planned; have noted the bridges which are as followeth, viz. beginning upon the south branch of Nashua river, the first bridge is called Prescott bridge, 99 feet long, town way; 2d bridge is called Sawyer's bridge, 90 feet long, town way; the 3rd bridge is called Atherton bridge, a small space above the confluence of the branches of Nashua river. Said bridge is 90 feet long, on a county road. The 4th bridge that I am about to describe is called Ponikin bridge, on the north branch of the Nashua river, on a county road; said bridge is 136 feet long. The fifth bridge is called Bennett's bridge, on the Post road, 123 feet long; Causey, 20 rods. 6th bridge is called Sprague's bridge, near the meet-

ing-house, a small space above said confluence. Said bridge is 140 feet long, and a Causey 40 rods long on a county road. The 7th bridge is called the Neck bridge, [60 rods] below the confluence of Nashua branches, on the Post road; said bridge is 173 feet long. The 8th bridge is called Jones' bridge, 90 rods [feet] long, no road to said bridge. The 9th bridge is called White's bridge on Harvard road, 49½ feet in Lancaster, and 80 rods Causey. The 10th bridge is called Wileses [Wilds'] bridge, 58 feet long in Lancaster. The width of said rivers, the south branches and north branches in general, is about 6 or 7 rods wide; and below the confluence is about 9 or 10 rods wide. But one house for public worship which is represented in the above, near the Center of said town. Falls in the Entervales northwesterly of said meeting-house. The distance from Lancaster to Worcester, the shire town, is reputed at 15 miles; and from said Lancaster to Boston, through Concord, 36 miles; through Lincoln, 35 miles; through Sudbury, 37 miles. In Lancaster are 8 Ponds, and two pieces, as above. There is but one fall of water worthy of note, although a swift stream, which is noted above. No mountains, manufactories. Here is two Potashes, and one Pearl Ash; one fulling mill; one machine for manufacturing nails; one furnace for casting hollow-ware; one trip-hammer. Mills here are four saw-mills and two grist-mills. No mines, or minerals, or iron works. In Lancaster is one farm claimed by the Commonwealth, containing by estimation, seventy-five acres, formerly owned by Col. Abijah Willard, about sixty rods eastwardly of the meeting-house. This above plan is plotted by a scale of 200 rods to an inch. Completed surveying and plotting, May 29, 1795, by the subscribers, (excepting what credit is given for.)

MATTHIAS MOSMAN,
CALEB WILDER, JR."

The population of the town in 1790, by the first national Census was fourteen hundred and sixty, and in 1800 it was fifteen hundred and eighty-four, making a gain of one hundred and twenty-four in ten years.

The ever-recurring question of dividing the county, came before the town again in 1798, when three men voted in favor of a division, and more than one hundred in the negative.

The town purchased of John Sprague, Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Thayer a "piece of land for a burying-field," May 28, 1798. This is now known as the "Middle Cemetery," of which a more extended notice will be given in the chapter on Cemeteries.

Great changes in the population took place in the latter part of the century; first by the coming of several families from Reading, and secondly by the formation of the Shaker families in Lancaster and Shirley.

Probably there were changes in all parts of the town, as well as in the northern section, but we have more definite information in regard to the latter. One whose memory is a full repository of ancient facts—J. Marshal Damon—gives the following items in relation to several families who took up their abode here between eighty and ninety years since.

Samuel Damon, with his family, came from Reading to this town, April 20, 1796. He owned a large section of land where C. K. Goodale and the Willard brothers now reside. He was soon followed by a number of families who settled on lands that had been owned by persons who had joined the Shaker community. The following came from Reading. William Gould, Joseph Emerson, with three sons, Elias, Ephraim and Charles, Timothy Lewis, Jonathan Tenney or Kenney, Joseph Upton, John Goodwin, William Nichols, Isaac Cowdry, and the widow Foster, who married Nathaniel Burbank. Dr. John Hawkes had preceded these by many years. Isaac Saunders lived on the south side of Ponakin hill. The old house still remains in a ruinous state.

The formation of the Shaker community was the occasion of a remarkable revolution throughout the northern part of the town, from side to side, and extending as far south as Goat-ham and Ponakin hill. Mother Ann Lee, whose strange

history cannot be read without interest after the lapse of nearly a century, raised a moral tempest in the three northern school districts as they then existed. Her character is still in dispute, but there can be no question that she was a woman of strong will and magnetic power. In one of her journeys from eastern New York to New England, she came to Lancaster, and seems to have found here a field all ready for the sowing of her strange doctrines or fantasies, as different parties might view them. Her coming was about 1780, and her first lodgment seems to have been made in the northwest section of the town. A man named Phillips owned the Simeon Whitney place on the road to North Leominster. This, with the house of Elijah Wilds, in Shirley, became the headquarters of Mother Ann at her advent. She was mobbed once when at the house of Wilds. She jumped from a back window and hid in the swamp west of the Shaker settlement. She held meetings at various houses, but after a time, a large room was used for the purpose on the east end of the house of Aaron Lyon, now owned by Otis Houghton, on Ponakin hill. This was in 1781-2, when the community or family was formed. To this center came crowds of people, who were moved as the wind bows the forest, by the burning words of Ann Lee. It is reported that strong men were so wrought upon by her searching words and terrible denunciations, as to fall upon their knees in open meeting, and with streaming eyes beg for mercy. By 1783 several families were numbered among her converts. Aaron Cook, John Clark, Aaron Johnson and Samuel Barrett, owners of farms in the north part of the town, joined the community. Moses Howard owned the Emerson place; Thomas Beckwith the John Whittemore place; a man named Melvin owned the house which stood on land of William J. Knight on the Greenbush road; Samuel Whitney lived on the place now owned by Charles Fairbank; Susie and Relief Whittemore, sisters and maiden ladies, owned the James H. Holman place. Most if not all of these, with a Mr. Worcester, on the Carr place, and Mrs. Manasseh

Knight, united with the Shakers. It is said that many fell away, and went back to the world, but that a large portion remained and died among them.

At length the Shakers were gathered into three families, one of which was in this town, just south of the northern line, and the other two north of the line, in Shirley. The last two still remain, but the buildings in Lancaster are rented. In some cases families were broken up, the father or mother leaving home, and joining the community. There was a violent ferment; the strangest notions were broached and discussed from house to house, as well as in public meeting. Yet the epidemic was confined to one section of the town, and scarcely raised a ripple south of Ponakin hill. In process of time the excitement subsided, and the seething elements, ceasing to effervesce, settled down into a quiet, well-ordered and thrifty community.

Members joined the Shakers from other towns, but Lancaster supplied a large quota. To show how the location of families was changed, it is necessary to go a little more into detail.

Aaron Lyon lived at the coming of mother Ann on the top of Ponakin hill, in the same house which is now occupied by Otis Houghton. The house is still in good repair. The situation is pleasant and commands an extensive view. Lyon joined and then left the Shakers. He had three sons, Aaron, John and Luther. His daughter Mary married Jonas Johnson. The late John E. Lyon, who acquired a fortune in connection with railroad business, was a grandson.

Abel Beckwith went from Ponakin hill to the Shakers, and remained till his death. Moses Howard, who also lived on Ponakin, joined the community.

Samuel Whitney went from the Ephraim Rugg place, which was near the corner of the Shirley and Gotham road. John Melvin went from his place on the Greenbush road. The Whittemore sisters lived on the northern slope of Ponakin hill, at the Holman place.

The wife of Manasseh Knight left the Knight place, so called, and joined the family. This place is now owned by Mr. Coburn of Gardner, and the house has recently been repaired and made to look as good as new.

Aaron Cook, another convert, lived back of the "old brick tavern." A family by the name of Cooledge lived on a spot long forgotten except by a few old men. It is a little north of the land which lies between Spectacle and Oak hill ponds, and is a pleasant little nook, in the woods. This pretty glade is marked by a few old apple trees, and the remains of a cellar and chimney. In old times a bridle, private, or some other way came down from the turnpike, by the house, and between the ponds, and so passed on to the Rugg mill. But Cooledge left his sylvan nest, and cast in his lot with the Shakers. Probably other families or individuals joined them, but it is impossible to get positive information so long after the events took place. However, there is reason to believe that John Phillips, and Abijah Phillips, with his three daughters, Grace, Hannah and Elizabeth, became members.

The burying yard of the families is in Lancaster, a little south of the town line. The field slopes gently to the southeast, and the mounds of earth are all in rows reaching north and south across the yard. The brothers are in one section and the sisters in another. The head-stones are small and plain, but they are marble. The yard is truly a cemetery, a quiet sleeping place.

The "holy hill" of the community is also in Lancaster. This rises like a dome just south of the town line, and west from the road. The summit is crowned or circled by trees which can be seen from a great distance. The appearance of the hill attracts attention and awakens inquiry. From a person who once ascended the hill, by invitation, on occasion of a religious ceremony, the following facts are elicited.

All the families in the community ascend the hill twice a year, at least. Whether the procession is made oftener is not certain. One procession is made in October, and one in the

spring. Outsiders are not expected or desired to be present.

When the time comes for the ascent, they all meet in the big house and form a procession. They march abreast in platoons, two or more males in line with two or more females. There is an alley or space between the sexes. At the foot of the hill on the north side is a small brook, spanned by a bridge. Here on the occasion referred to, the procession halted and formed into a square, the males and females on opposite sides. The elder then said something to this effect. "Whoever among us has anything against a brother or sister, let not him or her pass this brook until reconciliation is made."

Then and there all differences are settled. Explanations are made and received. Things which cannot be explained away or excused, are acknowledged. Forgiveness is asked and freely given. They all shake hands in token of amity and confidence. They then stand in the square and "throw love to each other." This is done by throwing both hands towards one another, and then drawing back the hands towards the heart, as if to take in the proffered love.

This touching ceremony, which has the appearance of entire sincerity, being finished, the procession is again formed, and all march up the hill in silence. The summit is enclosed by a neat fence. The enclosure is entered by a gate, and made convenient by a gravel walk.

In the center of the lot or sacred place, is a monument on which there is an inscription including the name of Jesus, and supposed to be in his honor. One person,—probably the religious leader,—read the inscription aloud in the hearing of the whole assembly. Then all knelt in silent prayer around the monument. After a suitable time devoted to this impressive exercise, they rose to their feet and sang one or more of their hymns. While singing they marched around the monument.

Several addresses followed from different members, after which the marching was resumed. This was again accompanied with singing. The interest increased and was expressed by shouting, though in musical cadence.

The whole ceremony having been completed, the company formed in procession again, and marched down the sacred hill in the same order as that in which they had ascended. When they reached the houses, those who by reason of age or infirmity were not able to join the march, stood in the doors and "threw love" to their brethren and sisters, and gathered it back again with their peculiar motion, as if taking it into their bosoms in double handfuls. The procession then dissolved, and each one returned to his or her respective home.

Our informant speaks of the whole exercise as having been peculiarly solemn and impressive. It was certainly well adapted to promote brotherly kindness and Christian charity. Whether the annual or semi-annual service is always conducted according to a set form is not known by our informant. But whether *ex tempore* or prescribed, there must be a blessing in it.

This chapter will be appropriately closed with a statement of the doings of the town, somewhat in detail, for the year 1800, the last year of the eighteenth century.

At the annual meeting, March 3, Capt. John Maynard was chosen moderator, William Stedman, clerk, and John Maynard, treasurer. The selectmen were Joseph Wales, Josiah Flagg, Joseph White. The assessors, John Whiting, Jonas Lane, Paul Willard.

The regular school committee consisted of the following prominent citizens. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, Dr. Israel Atherton, Hon. John Sprague, William Stedman, Esq., Ebenezer Torrey, Esq., Capt. Timothy Whiting, Benjamin W. Willard, Gen. John Whiting, Capt. Jonas Lane, Merrick Rice, Esq., Josiah Flagg. It was the duty of this committee to visit the schools. In earlier times, that duty was generally expected of the minister of the town.

The committee to hire the Latin grammar school-master, were John Whiting, Oliver Carter and Eli Stearns. This school was under the inspection of the general committee.

Jonas Lane, Joseph Wales and Benjamin Wyman were chosen a committee to employ a singing-school master.

Fish Reeves were still chosen as regularly as the year came round. The legal profession were largely represented on the committee in 1800, as follows: John Sprague, William Stedman, Merrick Rice and Ebenezer Torrey.

Four hundred dollars were raised for highways, to be worked out.

At the April meeting the political sentiment of the town was shown by the vote for governor, Gov. Strong receiving ninety-seven votes, and Elbridge Gerry fifty.

Some looseness in disbursing the school money in the districts, led to the choice of a committee to call to account the several school districts respecting the expenditure of their respective portions. The committee were William Stedman, Benjamin W. Willard and Daniel Stearns.

When the first interments were made in the north part of the town is not definitely known, but the following action shows that the need of a burial ground was felt there before the close of the last century. In accordance with a petition from several persons, Benjamin W. Willard, Jonas Lane and Benjamin Wyman were chosen a committee to "consider the expediency of appropriating a certain piece of land at the north part of the town, where a number of persons are buried, for the purpose of a burying field." The committee reported favorably, and the field was taken under the care of the town.

When the time came for choosing a representative, Judge Sprague, who had held the office many years, declined to be a candidate, and a vote was passed, "that the town do request him to accept of their thanks for his past attention and faithful services in that station." Capt. Samuel Ward was chosen in his stead.

At the same meeting the duty of putting a "rail fence round the Old Common burying field" was assigned to Col. Jonas Lane, Capt. Timothy Whiting and Gen. John Whiting. This yard had already been occupied more than a hundred years.

There was, at the time, a project for building a turnpike through the Center, and Old Common to Bolton, and a com-

mittee to whom the subject had been referred, reported in its favor, and recommended that a subscription be taken up in aid of the enterprise. The list of subscribers comes under a later date. The committee to raise subscriptions were Merrick Rice, Samuel Ward and William Stedman.

It was voted that the small bridges in the town should be built with stones; that is, with stone abutments.

The town determined to have a road from the meeting-house, (then near the house of Mrs. Abbie Lane,) to the Old Common, and raised a committee to solicit subscriptions for a road and bridge. This was to avoid going round by the old Neck bridge. The committee were John Sprague, Timothy Whiting and Thomas Ballard.

At the October meeting another committee was elected to carry into effect the previous vote for building a road and bridge from the Center to the Old Common. John Maynard, Merrick Rice, John Thurston, Eli Stearns and Timothy Whiting were charged with this important undertaking.

Out of this action grew the present road from the Center by the railroad station and Center bridge to the Old Common. Previously the way was by the place of Charles L. Wilder, then along the Neck road on the west bank of the river to a bridge about sixty rods down stream from the present bridge. Soon after, that part of the Neck road which was on the intervale was abandoned by the town notwithstanding the people living on the Neck strove to have it retained, and even extended to the Center bridge after the old Neck bridge had been swept away for the last time.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MINISTRY OF REV. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON, FROM 1748
TO 1795. STATE OF RELIGION AND MORALS AT THE
CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

THE pastorate of Mr. Harrington continued during the long period of forty-seven years. In that period great events occurred which affected the whole people, and local affairs often stirred the feelings of the citizens of the town to the lowest depths. The last French and Indian war ; the Revolution ; the rise of parties, federal and democratic, which divided the nation, all concurred to bring about strife and division in communities, parishes and churches. The gradual change of sentiment in relation to religious truth, which came about in this period, brought its questionings and doubts into this community. Troubles in regard to the relative power of the church and the clergy, which agitated and divided churches in the immediate vicinity, threw their influence over the lines, and threatened to involve the minister and people here ; but the mutual confidence of the pastor and his flock made all these disturbing elements harmless.

The first settlement of Mr. Harrington was at Swansey, N. H., then called the Lower Ashuelot. A note in the Church Records states that the plantation of the Lower Ashuelot was broken up by the French and Indian enemy in the spring of 1747. The people were scattered, but the church, or a majority of it, seems to have been in Rutland the next year, as a document soon to be quoted, shows.

The church in Lancaster, at a meeting, August 8, 1748, "chose Timothy Harrington, pastor of the church late at the

Lower Ashuelot, to be their pastor, desiring him, if he accepted their invitation, to give with his answer of acceptance, a testimonial from the church late of the Lower Ashuelot, of their consent hereunto; which was concurred in by the parish assembled on the same day." On the fourteenth of October, Mr. Harrington gave his answer of acceptance, and also the required testimonial, which will be read with interest by the generations following.

"At a meeting of the church late of the Lower Ashuelot, held by adjournment at the house of Lieut. Daniel Davis, in Rutland, on Wednesday, the twelfth day of October, 1748, assembled to consider and act upon the Rev. Timothy Harrington's request of a Testimonial of our acceptance of his Doctrines and Conversation amongst us, and of our consent to his settling in the work of the ministry either at Lancaster, or wherever God in his providence shall open a door for it;

"And having taken his request, with all circumstances, into consideration, (although we should have greatly rejoiced to have sat again under his ministry at the Lower Ashuelot) yet we grant his request, to testify to the first church in Lancaster, or to any other church wherever God shall open a door for his settlement, in the work of the ministry, that while he stood in a pastoral relation to us, his doctrines and conversation were acceptable to us. And we heartily can and do recommend him to the work of the ministry, either to the first church in Lancaster, or to any other church that shall call him to the work of the ministry among them.

"And may grace, mercy and peace be to him and you. And asking an interest in his and your prayers, we are yours in the faith and fellowship of the gospel. Nathaniel Hammond, Timothy Brown, Jonathan Hammond. In the name and on the behalf of the church late of the Lower Ashuelot."

The record of the church, after receiving the above document, proceeds. "There was a parish meeting called, at which the sixteenth day of November, 1748, was appointed for his installment; and the first church in Cambridge, the church in

Lexington, the church in Watertown, the church in Waltham, the west church in Sudbury, the church in Southborough, the first church in Westborough, the church in Stow, the church in Bolton, the church in Harvard, the church in Lunenburg, the church in Leominster, and the second church in Lancaster were invited to assist in the solemnity by their elders and delegates.

“Who accordingly assembled at the time appointed, formed themselves into a Council, accepted of what had been transacted, and performed the solemn service.”

The ministers present, from the churches above named, and in the same order, were, Rev. Dr. Appleton, Rev. Messrs. Hancock, Storer, Williams, Loring, Stone, Parkman, Gardner, Goss, Seccomb, Stearns, Rogers and Mellen. Rev. Mr. Hancock, father of Rev. John Hancock, of Braintree, and grandfather of Gov. Hancock, preached the sermon from the text, in I. Cor. 9 : 19. “For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more.”

A meeting of the church was held in the meeting-house, March 2, 1749, called by request of the Hon. Joseph Wilder, Esq., and Mr. Josiah White, to see if the church would consent to their resigning the office of deacon on account of advanced age. There was first a “solemn address to God by prayer ;” then “some discourse upon the occasion of the meeting,” whereupon it was voted not to “consent to their resignation of their office, *nem. contrad.* But to “relieve them in their advanced age.” This vote was also unanimous. They then voted to choose “two persons more into the office of deacon,” but because the attendance was thin, the meeting was adjourned two weeks, when, “God willing,” they would proceed to the choice.

At the adjourned meeting, after a “solemn address to God,” the church, by “written votes, and a great majority,” chose Joseph Wilder, jr., Esq., and Mr. Joshua Fairbank. They were desired “not suddenly to refuse serving the church in

said capacity, but to take the matter into a deliberate consideration, and to give their answer at the next sacrament. After which they were recommended to God by prayer, and the meeting dissolved." Such was the becoming manner in which church business was transacted by the fathers. And the mode of accepting the office was characteristic of the times. At the sacrament in April, following, the deacons elect were desired by the pastor, if willing to accept the office to which they had been chosen, to "manifest it by assisting in the distribution of the elements; which they did accordingly."

A troublesome case of administration came up in 1755, which lasted more than a year, in which the complaint related to a scandalous offence. It was somewhat intricate, but the church maintained its integrity by not admitting the accused party into fellowship, until he could make "proper satisfaction."

The church met, at the request of Dea. Joshua Fairbank, September 9, 1761, for two objects. The first was to determine what to do with a legacy left to the church by Mr. Thomas Sawyer. The church requested Br. David Wilder to obtain a copy of the will, and report to another meeting. The item in the will, dated 1735, was as follows. "My will is that my executors pay out of my estate the sum of twelve pounds to purchase a vessel for the use of the church in Lancaster, at, on, or before one year after my decease." The legacy was worth, when the will was made, £22-8 in the currency when the church took this action. As the estate had been settled, the question was whether the church should receive the £12 in depreciated currency, or the real value as the giver intended. That would depend on the good will of the heirs. Therefore, one of the brethren—Dea. Joshua Fairbank—"was empowered to wait on such of the heirs of the executors of the last will and testament of the said Mr. Thomas Sawyer, as have not paid their proportion, according to the said computation, and to see whether they will do it." In due time Dea. Fairbank reported that the aforesaid parties had "consented to pay their proportion, and it was done accordingly." They

were honest people, and appear not to have tried to evade an obligation.

Dea. Hooker Osgood had purchased two Silver Tankards with £5-10sh. of the money, old tenor. The church voted that the legacy should be made good out of the other money in the treasury ; and then, in compliance with the exact terms of the will, the church empowered Br. William Richardson to "procure a Silver Cup for the communion table equal to said legacy, with the said Mr. Sawyer's name inscribed at large upon it." The finale of this business occurred at a meeting December 30, 1762, when the "church was informed that Br. William Richardson had agreed with Mr. William Swan of Worcester, to make a silver cup for the communion table equal in value to Mr. Sawyer's legacy, and that he was expecting the church would receive it at said table the next Lord's Day." Then comes this, "N. B. The said cup was received on the next Lord's Day." This Thomas Sawyer was son of the first Thomas Sawyer. He came into the place before the town was incorporated, and his son Thomas, the donor of the silver cup, was born in 1649. His death occurred in 1736, three years after his will was made. He died in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

The other item of business proposed at the meeting of September, 1761, was the request of Dea. Hooker Osgood, that the church would elect another deacon in "consideration of a paralytic disorder incommoding him in the distribution of the sacramental elements." His request was granted and Br. Joseph White was chosen. There were now two deacons White, Josiah the aged, and Joseph. The new deacon desired time for consideration, which was granted. Dea. Israel Houghton next desired that "another person might be elected to the office of deacon in consideration of his distance from the meeting-house." In due time Br. David Wilder, the sturdy juror of whom we read in revolutionary times, was chosen.

There is an entry in the Records, September 29, 1763, which was followed by subsequent action, and the case was not closed till nearly thirty years had elapsed. It is one of those cases which is read with sadness long after the parties have passed away, and when the person involved was exonerated in his own lifetime. A male member of the church, his name need not be mentioned, was "sworn to be the father of a spurious child." He denied the charge, and "affirmed his innocence in a most solemn manner." As however he could not prove a negative, the brethren were not satisfied, and he was desired to abstain from the "communion in the holy supper for the space of six months next ensuing." The design was to give opportunity for further light. At the next meeting his suspension was made indefinite, or until the church "should see further light and satisfaction." The sequel came in August, 1793, when the church took up the case of the accused brother, and as a final result, upon mature deliberation, voted "that in consideration of the sober life and conversation of our brother ——— ———, during the long time of his suspension, he be restored to communion and fellowship with this church." During nearly thirty years he had the burden of shame and ignominy, but by an upright life had compelled the confidence and esteem of his townsmen, and of his brethren in the church.

In Willard's History there is a condensed statement of the case of Moses Osgood and his wife, which lingered through fifteen years before reaching a final settlement. The chief feature of interest in the whole transaction was the infinite patience of all the parties concerned, so far as can be judged at this late day. The matter came before the church "after the afternoon service on Lord's day, January 27, 1765." The parties had "absented themselves from communion in the holy supper more than twelve months." By vote of the church brother and sister Osgood were required to give the "reasons of their absenting themselves" in writing, to be communicated on the first Sunday in March. The pastor sent a copy

of the votes by Br. Benjamin Ballard ; but for a "special reason he delivered the said copy to Br. Joseph Abbot, who, in the presence of Br. John Sargeant, delivered it to the said Br. Moses Osgood in his own house."

The occasion of the trouble was the introduction of a new version of the Psalms. In many places the bringing in of instrumental music caused divisions and unseemly demonstrations even in the house of worship. But it is stated that the most violent form of dissent in Lancaster was the shaking of one Mr. Wheelock's head when the pitch pipe was sounded, and the departure of a Mr. Holt at the sound of the same harmless instrument, or when "funeral thought" was sung. Many however were grieved by the use of the new version. Dunster, president of Harvard College, had made an improvement on the translations of earlier New England writers, as John Eliot, Welde and Richard Mather, and his work was used in Lancaster till after the death of Mr. Prentice. The intricacies of the case need not be given, though interesting to a student of the past. Mr. Osgood was asked if he did not esteem it his duty to have made a regular application for redress of any grievance, instead of withdrawing from the Lord's table, and replied in the affirmative. Being called upon for their reasons for withdrawing, Mr. and Mrs. Osgood joined in the following statement to the church.

"We being called upon by you to give the reasons of our withdrawing from the Lord's Supper, they are as followeth, viz. The bringing in the New Version, (that of Tate and Brady,) as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. — Also we find in said version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. — The composers of the said version we find have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the Scriptures. — And as for the Hymns taken from other parts of the Bible, we know of no warrant in the Bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantable-

ness for them from the Word of God. — We are therefore waiting the removing, or in some way or other the satisfying the abovesaid doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest. — But if peace and love should again reign among you as formerly, we should rejoice thereat; and should be glad to rejoice again with you as heretofore in all things. — These are reasons, why in conscience, we cannot join with you in special ordinances. From yours in sincerity.

MOSES, }
MARTHA } OSGOOD.

May, 1765."

These reasons were voted unsatisfactory, and then Judge Wilder, jr., one of the deacons brought forward other grounds of complaint. One was that they had said, "the Church had broken covenant with them in bringing in the New Version of the Psalms, which they affirmed to be made for Papists and Arminians, to be full of heresy, and in an unknown tongue." Another was "their affirming that Mr. Harrington asserted at the conference meeting that he was half the church, and that he would disannul the meeting." And lastly "their positively denying that they had affirmed that the New Version was full of heresy."

The third point was not insisted upon, and the brother and sister "made such satisfaction as was accepted" in relation to the second. Dea. Wilder and his witnesses were then heard; and the accused offered what they had to say, under the first article of complaint, when the church adjourned to the close of the next public lecture, which was July 11, 1765. At that meeting the action of the church was modified to read as follows: "that they esteemed the said reasons insufficient to justify their said brother and sister in the *manner* of their late withdraw."

The trial was prolonged from meeting to meeting, until the church voted that the Pastor should send a letter of admoni-

tion to the erring parties. In the meantime they were suspended from communion. The letter was a solemn and faithful remonstrance, sustaining the action of the church and urging the brother and sister to perform their duty. The following entry shows how such business was done formerly. "October 25, 1765. Agreeable to the vote of the church on September 4, 1765, the Pastor proceeded to the house of the said Moses Osgood, and in the presence of Daniel Rugg and Joseph Abbot, brethren of the church, read the above letter of admonition and suspension to him. And as the wife of the said Moses was not at home, left a copy of it."

The case was before the church again, next year, but with no satisfactory result. Growing out of the difficulty, was the following rule, declared by vote, June 8, 1768, by the church, "that she expected of all her members who might henceforth labor under any grievance, that they should strictly pursue all those measures for redress prescribed in the constitution of these churches, before they withdraw from her communion."

In 1770 the church were on the point of voting "admonition and suspension," in the case of another member, Br. Benjamin Osgood. His offence was withdrawing from the Lord's table for more than two years before his reasons were demanded. What his reasons were we are not informed. But before the church took final action, he made the following confession. "I acknowledge, brethren, that my withdraw from communion was just ground of offence to you; for which I desire to be humbled before God and you; and ask forgiveness of God and you, a restoration to your charity, and to the table of the Lord." He was restored, and on his request, was dismissed to the church in Swansey, where Mr. Harrington formerly ministered.

But nothing appears to show that Moses Osgood ever acknowledged the error of his ways, or that he was restored. Neither does it appear that he was excommunicated. His death occurred in the year 1776, and we may charitably hope

that he went where the "service of song" is more agreeable than any human performance.

Not so with Mrs. Osgood, who made a statement to the church, May 3, 1780, fifteen years after the trouble began, and four years after her husband's decease, that she had not concurred in any of the words used by her husband in his list of reasons, but that in withdrawing from the Lord's table she had acted irregularly through ignorance of the constitution, and contrary to her covenant engagements with the church, for which she asked forgiveness. She was restored to full communion.

In 1766 Dea. Josiah White, agreeable to his own request, was dismissed from the office of treasurer of the church, and received thanks for his fidelity. Dea. Joseph White was chosen his successor.

In 1777, April 2, Josiah Wilder, Esq., Capt. Benjamin Houghton and Mr. Cyrus Fairbank were elected deacons. In September, 1781, Mr. Josiah Ballard was chosen to the same office by ballot. John Whiting became deacon in 1789. This was Gen. John Whiting, who was chosen treasurer of the church in the following year.

The action of the church in the two following cases, evince discretion and a Christian spirit. A division of feeling had arisen between Dea. Cyrus Fairbank and Br. Joshua Fletcher. Being brought before the church, that body refused to take cognizance of it, but voted "seriously to recommend to them both to converse together freely on the subject, and reciprocally endeavor to bury their animosities in everlasting oblivion. But should they *fail* of obtaining *so* desirable a good, Br. Fletcher is most earnestly requested to examine himself, hoping that he may thereby be satisfied that it is his duty to return to the table of the Lord from which he has absented himself."

Mother Ann Lee came to Lancaster about the year 1781, and by her preaching and conversation, awakened much interest in her peculiar views, especially in the northern section

of the town. Some members of the church living in that locality were led to "separate from their communion and join the sect of *Shaking Quakers*," in regard to whom the church, June 18, 1783, passed these votes. "1. That the said members did not appear to them to be so composed in mind, at the present, as to be capable of receiving any benefit from counsel, reproof or admonition; and therefore, 2. That committing them to the mercy and grace of God, the church would wait until they were become more capable of receiving advantage from their Christian endeavors for their recovery."

These few cases seem never to have raised contending parties in the church, nor to have caused alienation between Mr. Harrington and his people. During his ministry there was violent agitation in neighboring churches and parishes, leading to a dissolution of the pastoral connection. In all these cases, the church in Lancaster was involved, both by neighborhood, and by the fact that the disturbed churches were all daughters of the mother church. The churches referred to were those of Leominster, Bolton and Sterling.

The Rev. John Rogers, the first minister of Leominster was settled in 1743. He married a daughter of Rev. John Prentice, and was well known to the people of Lancaster. At the time of his ordination, and for some years after, he was considered sound in the orthodox faith. But in the course of ten or twelve years, he began to avow opinions which caused grave anxiety among many of his people. This ultimately led to a proposal for a mutual council, which he declined. An *ex parte* council was then called, composed of pastors and delegates from fourteen churches, near and remote. Two delegates accompanied each pastor. The council found Mr. Rogers defective in several fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and the result was his dismissal from the church in Leominster, and suspension from the ministry.

Mr. Rogers was a man of ability and considerable learning, but as he had confessedly ceased to preach the body of truth which he engaged to advocate at his ordination, the manly

and Christian course for him to take was to withdraw from his church, and seek a more congenial field of labor. But leaving this, the special point of interest to the reader of our local history, respects the conduct of the minister of Lancaster on the occasion. Was he honest or hypocritical in joining with the rest of the council in condemning Mr. Rogers? It was claimed by some, that Mr. Harrington had gone through the same change as Mr. Rogers in his religious opinions, and that he gave his voice and vote in opposition to his convictions, to avoid suspicion and trouble at home, and in his larger ecclesiastical connections. Mr. Willard rather inclines to take a lenient and favorable view. In this the historian of Leominster, Dr. David Wilder mildly concurs, though evidently in spite of grave doubts. But it is easy to believe in the entire honesty and sincerity of Mr. Harrington in the whole affair. The change from Orthodoxy to Arminianism, Arianism and Unitarianism was very gradual, and without observation. If, as is generally supposed, Mr. Harrington became an Arminian, so called, in the latter part of his life, there is no decisive evidence that he ever went the length of Mr. Rogers in the way of denying many main points of the Orthodox faith. And there is no proof at all, that at the time of Mr. Rogers' trial, only nine years after his own settlement in Lancaster, he had become conscious of the least departure from the system of truth which he avowed when installed in this place.

Mr. Harrington had not a leading mind. He was a good scholar, but not an original investigator. He took the doctrines in which he had been educated, or which became prevalent afterwards around him. He was like a man whose vessel imperceptibly glides along with the current, and who finds at length, that he is at some distance from his point of departure. Or as a man, leisurely ascending or descending a mountain, as the case may be, becomes conscious, after a while, that the air has become murkier or clearer, and that he is in a new atmosphere, so it is quite supposable that Mr. Harring-

ton, in later years, had imbibed the views which had become quite rife in fashionable circles, not only in Cambridge and Boston, but in the Nashua valley.

The troubles in Sterling and Bolton had a different origin, but the particular point which threatened disturbance here was the same in both instances. It became a question as to the relative power of the church and the clergy. The ministers claimed, not only the right as moderators of the church meetings, to give a casting vote whenever there was a tie; but as ministers and pastors, they sometimes claimed that no measure could be carried without their assent. In a word, they asserted the veto power.

It will be sufficient for all the purposes of this history, to give a brief relation of the Bolton case. The difficulties arose in Bolton from the alleged misconduct of the minister, Rev. Thomas Goss. A majority of the church dismissed him, and a respectable minority, claiming to be the church, adhered to him. An ecclesiastical council was called which acquitted Mr. Goss of the charges brought against him, and censured those who had voted his dismissal. They tried also, as a logical result, to exclude them from partaking of Christian ordinances with other churches. This was on the ground that the majority, by uncongregational action, had unchurched themselves. In this condition of things, a committee of the majority, calling themselves the church in Bolton, applied to the church in Lancaster, to know whether they would be permitted to hold communion in special ordinances; or in other words, would be recognized as members of a Congregational church, in good and regular standing. The matter came before the church, July 8, 1772, when they were called, in the words of the Records, to "consider a letter from a number of the brethren in Bolton, styling themselves the church in Bolton." The subject was considered, and "after some considerable debate, without either receiving or rejecting the said letter," the meeting was adjourned to the twenty-first of July, nearly a fortnight, that due deliberation might be exercised.

When the meeting came, the question took this form: "Whether the church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally?" The vote was in the affirmative.

Mr. Harrington then added the following note and statement of his non-concurrence.

"Which vote was non-concurred by the Pastor as follows. Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational church in general, to this church in particular, and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do before you, that I cannot concur in this vote."

"This vote shall be recorded, but my vote must be recorded with it."

"And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied.— But as the church-act in their favor is not perfected, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us, till their society is in a more regular state."

Here we have the assertion of the veto power on the part of the pastor. It is not known that the brethren of Bolton ever put the matter to the test, by presenting themselves at a season of communion. But if they had, there can be no doubt as to the result. They would have been permitted to partake of the elements, unless they had come for the express purpose of carrying their point. In that case, probably leading members would have advised them to retire, and wait till better times. The claim by the clergy to exercise the power of vetoing the action of the church has long been obsolete. In Congregational circles the claim would now be considered extravagant and intolerable. But no alienation seems to have resulted between Mr. Harrington and his flock.

And herein we have an illustration of the influence he had over them. He must have been a lovable man, for his people clung to him, and respected him to the last, notwithstanding political differences, and great changes in religious and

ecclesiastical opinions and usages. The words of Mr. Willard may be here fitly quoted : " Mr. Harrington continued to live in harmony with his people during a long and useful ministry ; no lasting disturbance injured his good influence ; no root of bitterness sprang up between him and his people. He is represented as possessing respectable powers of mind, with great mildness and simplicity of character. Liberal in his feelings, he practised charity in its extended as well as its narrow sense. True piety and an habitual exercise of the moral and social virtues, rendered him highly useful in his sacred office, and an interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life."

Mr. Harrington was born in Waltham, on the tenth of February, 1716 ; he was in Harvard College in the presidency of Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth who died in 1737, the year when Mr. Harrington took his first degree. He was not an author, though three of his sermons were given to the press. One of these was from the text in Hosea 7 : 9. " Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not ; yea, gray hairs are here and there upon him, and he knoweth it not." The subject was expressed in these words : " Prevailing wickedness and distressing judgments, ill-boding symptoms on a stupid people." Another, preached in 1753, when the town was one hundred years old, has been drawn from largely in the earlier part of this history. It is creditable to the author by its fulness of matter, lucid arrangement and ease of style. It has been reprinted several times, with notes, in connection with the " Removes " of Mrs. Rowlandson.

Mr. Harrington was twice married. His first wife and the mother of his children, was Anna Harrington, of Lexington, a cousin, born June 2, 1716, and died May 19, 1778. Their children were Henrietta, who married John Locke, of Templeton, brother of Pres. Locke, of Harvard College ; Arcthusa, born in 1747, at Lexington, as was her eldest sister ; received into the church in Lancaster, in 1768, and ancestress of many respectable families. Eusebia, born in Lancaster,

May, 1751 ; received into the church the same day as the two former, wife of Paul Richardson ; Timothy, born in 1753, graduated at Harvard, 1776, a physician at Chelmsford ; Dea. Thomas, born in 1755, settled in Heath ; Anna, born in July, 1758, married Dr. Bridge, of Petersham, and after his death, Dr. Joshua Fisher, of Beverly. Other children died in infancy. His second wife was the widow of the Rev. Mr. Bridge of Framingham.

The death of Mr. Harrington occurred on the eighteenth of December, 1795, in the eightieth year of his age. Mr. Thayer, his colleague, preached a funeral sermon, December 23, which was printed, in which he speaks in high terms of the worth of his venerated predecessor. The intellectual faculties, the literary culture, the mildness, the affability and the remarkable charity of Mr. Harrington are extolled. His public discourses "exhibited ample proofs of the scholar and the divine. The purity, pertinency and fervor of his addresses to the throne of grace" were acknowledged and applauded by all. "In him," says Mr. Thayer, "was discovered a happy union of those qualities which gratify in the man, which please in the gentleman, and which delight in the Christian. He could so temper his gravity with cheerfulness, his decision with mildness, and his earnestness with moderation, that persons of both sexes and of every age esteemed, respected and loved him. The child looked to him as its father ; the young as their friend and conductor ; the aged as their companion and brother."

The annual list of admissions to the church shows a steady accession throughout the ministry of Mr. Harrington. Occasionally a year would pass when the addition was small, but the average number received, during the whole term of his pastorate, was a fraction over ten. The whole number admitted to full communion, in forty-seven years, was four hundred and seventy-eight. By reason of age and infirmity, Mr. Harrington did but little service in the pulpit, or in pastoral visitation, during the last five years of his life. Fifteen hun-

dred and thirty-one were baptised; probably the large majority of them in infancy or childhood.

It is known that Mr. Harrington, like his predecessor, did not desire the presence and aid of the celebrated Whitefield, in his own parish. It is quite possible that he mistook or undervalued the spirit and influence of the great pulpit orator and evangelist. If so, he was sustained by many of his clerical brethren who were steadfast in the formulas of the ancient faith. There is no evidence that the two ministers of Lancaster, in the time of Whitefield dissepated from his statement of doctrines; they differed from him in methods. Many then as now believed that a parish minister could do more good in ten or twenty years, without help, except in times of extraordinary interest, than by the occasional aid of evangelists. Many now as then, believe that there is a numerous class in congregations and communities, who will never be aroused from spiritual sloth, and led to decision in religion, unless they are awakened by means out of the usual course. On this subject good and useful men may differ. Mr. Harrington took his course, and has gone to his account. The church appears to have had a large share of influence, and to have increased quite up to the average, in his day. His own personal and pastoral influence was always in favor of pure, earnest, vital godliness.

But he, in common with all the clergy, had much to contend against in the spirit of the times. The proof is abundant that there was a low state of morals, throughout the land, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The laxity began before the Revolution, and, with local exceptions, lasted down to the time of the great temperance and religious reformation in the first third of the present century.

The influence of camp life; of absence from home; of political contention; of French infidelity, and of the free use of imported and home-made intoxicants, went far to counteract the power of domestic training in the ways of pristine morality and virtue, and the power of the pulpit in leading to the

fear and love of God. Reckless speculation, horse jockeying, gambling, lottery drawing, litigation, loose living and intemperance combined to lower the tone of thinking and living. The vice of intemperance, especially, became fearfully prevalent. It rarely invaded the ministry, but it left its foul marks upon the records of the church ; and in the community at large its havoc was wide-spread and deadly. In the words of many who remember the men who lived in the end of the last and the opening of the present century : "everybody used to get drunk." This is, of course, a free expression, not claiming to be precise, but it contains a true charge. Everybody drank ; many drank freely, and to frequent intoxication ; a large number became sots, and if they did not die early, passed a sad and shameful old age. In these regards the former times were not better than those in which we live. Perhaps the lowest point of demoralization, in the large sense of the word, was reached about the year 1800 ; since which time society has been on the ascending grade.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE TOWN FROM THE BEGINNING OF
THE CENTURY, 1801, TO THE YEAR 1843.

IN the opening of the century, John Adams was still president of the United States, in which office he continued till the fourth of March. Caleb Strong was governor of Massachusetts, a man of capacity and energy, and strong in the confidence of the people. The sentiment of Lancaster was almost unanimous in the support of the chief magistrate of the state and the nation. In this allegiance to the federal policy of Washington the town never wavered. State rights and national supremacy were united in the view of the voters; or more correctly speaking, they held that both the state and the national governments were sovereign in their spheres, and that the body of the people were under God, the source of power.

During the one hundred and fifty-seven years since the first three habitations were set up in this valley, and the one hundred and forty-seven since the town was incorporated, great changes had occurred. Besides the revolutions which had taken place in Great Britain, and which had affected the colonies in all their interests, our own revolution had severed the connection between the colonies and the mother country. All these events were a part of the education of the people during successive generations, by which their minds were stimulated to thought, and specially trained in political science.

Local changes had kept pace with the progress of external events. The town had been shorn of its magnificent proportions, and reduced to about one-third of its former size. The natives had disappeared. The wild beasts had been extermi-

nated. The forests had been laid open to cultivation. The land had been cleared of stumps and stones. The rivers had been bridged, and made subservient to human use by means of numerous mills for cutting lumber, working in iron, and dressing cloth. The early log cabins, and one-story houses had given place to substantial, convenient, and in some cases, elegant residences. The schools had undergone gradual improvement, and there had been progress in general intelligence and refinement.

In regard to education and manners, there had been a marked difference between a few families and the mass of the town, from the first, through all generations. The former had been in close connection with kindred families in Boston and other ancient towns, and thus were familiar with the literature and the usages of cultivated society. But the generality of the inhabitants, though plain in dress, and homely in manners, were sensible, independent and self-respectful. They were of the true Puritan stock, and raised families of their own ways of thinking. Thus the town maintained its highly respectable position in comparison with other towns, and also sent off successive swarms to build up other communities.

FLETCHER'S REMINISCENCES.

The pen of the venerable writer who gave us, on a former page, incidents in connection with the coming of the Carter and Fletcher families, has furnished the following reminiscences of his early days. They give us a glimpse of life on George hill, and notes in relation to several prominent families in other parts of the town, near the beginning of the century.

"I recollect," writes Mr. Fletcher, "one old Mr. Carter who died about 1801. He was probably of the second generation. Of the third generation were living on their respective paternal farms, in my time, Joseph Carter, John Carter, Thomas Carter, and also Timothy Fletcher, Rufus Fletcher, William Fletcher, — all brothers and cousins. The children of these

six families, of whom I was one, all went to school together at the red school-house* at the foot of George hill. These six families raised at least thirty-six children, only two of whom settled on the old homestead, viz., Alpheus Carter and Otis Fletcher. The former died in middle age, without issue; the latter sold out and moved to Clinton where he now resides.

"Mary Ann Fletcher, daughter of Timothy, and great-granddaughter of John and Hannah Fletcher, was the last of the Fletchers on George hill. She was of the fourth generation; was born in 1798, and died in 1867. Other members of the family emigrated, and have descendants now in almost every state in the Union. Robert Fletcher, of the second generation, settled west of Blue hill, on a part of the Carter grant, known long after as the Fletcher farm. Next to him resided his sister Lydia, married to Abel Rugg. Their land was in a cold, rocky region. I have heard that Robert was killed by the Indians.

"I do not know the last of the Carters on George hill, but I believe none of them remain. Their descendants, like the Fletchers, are in many of the states where land and living are more easily obtained. The Wilder family is another family run out on the hill."

The Wilders are still numerous in other parts of the town, especially in the Center and South Lancaster. The Fletchers are represented by Charles T. Fletcher, nephew of the writer of the above. The Carter descendants in the town generally bear other names.

Our correspondent proceeds in his recollections as follows: "In January, 1809, a little past fifteen years of age, I left my native town for a situation in a store in Boston. My recollections are previous to that date. Of the old people whom I recollect faintly, are uncle Rugg, and his wife, aunt Lydia; Capt. Elisha Rugg, and his brother who was called [nickname] Chippirous Rugg; Mr. Moses Wilder; old Mr. Carter, perhaps the father of John Carter; Ebenezer Allen and his wife. Her I saw again several years after her husband's death, dur-

* Not the present brick school-house.

ing a visit from Boston to see my mother. I went with her to see aunt Allen. She was then about ninety-three years old, and her daughter Tabitha was near seventy-five; and at that age she talked to her daughter just as though she was only a child. 'Tabby, bring a chair; Tabby, do this and do that,' etc. They had always lived together, and the relation between mother and child had never been broken. We were shown large hanks of linen thread that aunt Allen had spun that summer, on the little wheel. What interested my attention was aunt's discourse about father's courtship. She described him as a fine-looking, high-spirited young man, who rode a handsome, dapple-gray horse, and was altogether superior to the other beaux who came to visit Mary. The distance between their houses was near three miles, quite a ride of a cold, frosty night, when the ground was covered with snow. She had much to say about the wedding day. She was married the next May, and moved into his father's house. His mother had then been dead eleven years. The original house was a log house. After a time a frame was built on the west end of the log house. Again, after a time, the log house was pulled down, and a frame built in its place; probably on the occasion of Joshua's marriage.

"I recollect Mr. Moses Smith, the blacksmith; Capt. Goss, the carpenter; Josiah Flagg, town clerk, a principal citizen and storekeeper."

Next follows a view of Lancaster as it appeared to the youthful Fletcher in 1808. "Beginning at the George hill school-house, and going westward, the first house was Samuel Wilder's, and adjoining, Calvin Wilder. Above the great hill, Maj. Fletcher. On the right hand road leading to Sterling, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stevenson, Capt. Elisha Rugg, Dr. Litta, [sic]; and on the Sterling line, Joseph Peirce. Then in Sterling, Mr. Headley and the famous Capt. Thomas Wright. On the Worcester road,* first, William Wilder; then Moses Wilder, John Wilder, Capt. Gates, Esq. Thurston. From

* The branch on which Messrs. Bancroft, Pope and Tuttle now reside.

the school-house, north,* Joseph Carter, Joshua Fletcher, John Carter, Rufus Fletcher, Polly Conquerette, Peter Osgood. On the lane leading west, [by Frank Taylor's new house,] Thomas Carter, Isaac Rugg, Ephraim Carter, Jack Carter, widow Carter, Peter Divol. [In early times this was a county road, and the first road over George hill.] On the road leading south from the school-house, Manasseh Wilder, Capt. Goss. On the road leading east from the school-house, [towards South Lancaster,] Moses Smith, Capt. Ward, on the corner, [now Mrs. May Ware's,] and farther east, on the Boston road, [near the house of Mrs. Humphrey,] the splendid mansion of Dr. Atherton.

"Beginning at the meeting-house, and going south, (there was but one meeting-house, then, the old frame building which stood on the Common at the intersection of the roads,) first was Squire Sprague's house, now occupied by his grandson, Mr. Vose, near the river. Then the new graveyard, then the minister's house, the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer. Then Mr. Joshua Fletcher, jr., Capt. Goodwin, Gowen Newman. A hatter's shop was on the other side. Opposite to Dr. Atherton's, the old store with a court and open place, and beyond a large two-story frame building, unpainted. In New Boston, (South Lancaster was then called New Boston,) Squire Flagg's house and store; the widow Flagg's house; on the opposite (east) side, Mr. Ballard; on the same (west) side, Mr. Bower's tavern. On the other side, a blacksmith's shop, and then Mrs. Sawyer, Mr. John Thurston's hatter's shop and house, and near by, his brother's house. At the corner of the road leading [by Deers Horns] to Worcester, the stage house and tavern. Thence on the road south, a dreary waste until we came to uncle Allen's house, nearly opposite to where Fuller's saw-mill is now located. Here I used to stop and rest when I went to mill. The picture is — an old horse loaded with bags of corn and rye, and a little boy ten years old put on top, — bare-foot, linsey-woolsey jacket and pants, a felt hat less the crown. *That was me.*

* This road went west of the house of Mr. Henry B. Stratton, up the hill, and so on to the road by David Matthews.

"Uncle Allen owned about two hundred acres of land in that vicinity. Journeying thence south, the next house was Capt. Gould's, [the home of the poetess, Miss Hannah F. Gould,] and one other house, (I forget the name,) and then I came to the mill,* where Clinton now stands. The mill and the miller's house was all of what is now Clinton. A loose sandy soil, with scrub oaks and acres of pine, and at the cross roads the district school-house, is my recollection of the site where the busy city [town] of Clinton now is. I suppose at that time much of the land might have been bought for five dollars an acre.

"My recollection of the Old Common is, Esq. Whiting's house on the south, and Gen. Whiting's house on the north side of the street, Capt. Lee's brick house, Mr. Safford's house and bakery, Jonathan Wilder, Horatio Carter, Mr. Pollard, &c.

"On the north road from the meeting-house, Maj. Rice, Mr. Prentice's store, the store-house, Mr. Sweetzer and others. On the north road, [through the North Village,] Maj. Fisher, Mr. John Bennett, and ascending the hill, Dr. Carter's large house. Near Wekapeket brook, Mr. Lawton's house and one other, and the saw-mill. On the cross road south through the woods, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Osgood, uncle Rugg. These are some I remember in my boyhood; also Esq. Stedman, Dea. Wales, Eli Stearns, and Mr. Torrey.

"The old people when they walked to church, wore white caps and broad-brim hats, and long, blue greatcoats, and walked with long canes."

The following paragraph in regard to the value of land then and now, will be read with interest. "On George hill and the farming section, the price of land has remained nearly stationary. About the year 1804, my father bought two acres of Mr. Wilder for sixty-six and two-thirds dollars. About the year 1870, C. E. Blood who resides in the same house, married to my father's great-granddaughter, bought three acres from the same farm, adjoining the other, for one hundred dollars. No alteration in value for nearly seventy years. While

*The site of Prescott's mill.

in the south part of Lancaster—now Clinton—land that might then have been bought for five dollars, is now worth more than five hundred dollars an acre.”

In regard to means of travel, Mr. Fletcher states that in his boyhood, a stage coach left the Lancaster house three times a week. The following words give his appreciation of the scenery of his native town. “In beauty of landscape, hill and dale, river and mountain, Lancaster and its surroundings, exceed any place which I have seen, and I have been in eighteen states in this Union.”

ANNALS.

The proceedings of the annual March and subsequent meetings, will bring before us Lancaster as it was in the year of our Lord, 1801. Gen. John Whiting was moderator, Josiah Flagg was clerk, and Daniel Stearns, treasurer. Josiah Flagg, Joseph White and Thomas Ballard, were selectmen. The assessors were Jonas Lane, Samuel Ward, John Maynard. An auditing committee annually inspected accounts. This year the duty was performed by Timothy Whiting, Eli Stearns and Ebenezer Torrey. The school visitors were Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, B. W. Willard, James Goodwin, William Gould, John Maynard, Jacob Fisher, William Stedman, Josiah Flagg, Timothy Whiting, John Thurston, John Hunt, Stephen Wilder. These men belonged to certain districts, as follows. Willard, No. 1; Goodwin, No. 2; Gould, No. 3; Maynard, No. 4; Fisher, No. 5; Stedman, No. 6; Flagg, No. 7; Whiting, No. 8; Thurston, No. 9; just as our schools are now numbered, with No. 6 dropped out. No. 10 was in Clinton. The Latin grammar school committee were Gen. Whiting, Maj. Rice and John Thurston. Their duty was to hire the master; Mr. Thayer had the principal care of the school.

The committee chosen the preceding year to regulate or bound the districts, made a report substantially as follows, which was adopted.

District No. 1. The inhabitants and estates living within a line drawn south of John White's farm, from the west bank of Nashua river, running westerly, north of the farm lately owned by Reuben Lippenwell, and Joseph Rugg; thence north, including the farm of John Mycall to Shirley line.

No. 2. The section of the town west of No. 1, to Leominster and Lunenburg lines.

No. 3. Nearly the same bounds as pertain to the present No. 3 school; from south of Samuel Damon's, westerly to the small bridge north of Asa Warner's. This bridge is over Canoe brook, between the house of Mr. Sawtell and Shoeshank.

No. 4 was the Ballard hill, or Walnut swamp district, including Ponakin, but excluding a few families west of the bridge in North Village.

No. 5. The school-house was on the west side of the river, near the house of Mr. Power. At one time the river undermined one side of the building. The district included some families near by, and extended easterly to the house of Caleb Lincoln, where Thomas Blood now lives; thence northerly to Quassaponakin brook.

No. 6 took in the whole Neck, east and west roads, southerly to the Sprague, Center and old Neck bridges. The school-house was near the railroad-crossing north of the house of S. R. Damon. At the same time the Latin grammar school was between the houses of Mr. Stowell and Mr. Symmes.

No. 7 began at the river south of Sawyer's bridge, [now Carter's mill,] and went westerly over George hill, (between the house of George A. Parker and the summit,) to Sterling line. It included George hill and South Lancaster.

No. 8 included the Old Common and the roads extending south to the bend of the river.

No. 9 took in all of Deers Horns, and extended, on the west side of Mossy and Sandy ponds, to the Boylston line.

Nos. 10 and 11 included all the rest of what now belongs to Clinton on both sides of the river. The present Center and South Lancaster, now Nos. 11 and 10 had no separate school.

The town treasurer was directed to dispose of what stock the town held in United States funds. The amount was not large: \$104.76.

The committee on the Center bridge were empowered to build according to a specified model.

The selectmen were authorized to license Dr. Israel Atherton to "inoculate for the small-pox to ascertain the efficacy of kine-pox."

On the fifth of April the town cast ninety-two votes for Gov. Strong, and forty-seven for Hon. Elbridge Gerry.

For the new burying field, (now the Middle cemetery,) fifty-six dollars were appropriated. The Old Common burying yard was fenced at an expense of about thirty dollars. Eight hundred dollars were raised for highways. The roads had been damaged by a great flood. The price of labor on the highways was fixed as follows. Man's labor, eight cents per hour. Pair of oxen, five cents; horse, three cents; cart, two cents; plough, one cent.

It was the practice of the town, during several years, to put the great bridges under the care of certain men. The assignment this year was:

Edward Goodwin,	.	.	.	Sprague	bridge.
Ebenezer Torrey,	.	.	.	Neck	"
Jonathan Wilder,	.	.	.	Atherton	"
Daniel Stearns,	.	.	.	Paul Whiting's	"
William Haskell,	.	.	.	White's	"
Josiah Bowers,	.	.	.	Paul Sargent's	"

The Center bridge was not yet built, and Ponakin bridge had been washed away.

The subscriptions for the new road from the corner of Gen. Whiting's land, (Old Common,) to the guide post near Lancaster meeting-house, to be a post road instead of the old Neck road, and to be paid in labor or materials, were according to this list.

John Sprague, \$100	Paul Faulkner, \$5
Nathaniel Arnold, 20	Thomas Safford, 15
Thomas Ballard, 15	Prentiss and Atherton, 10
Jacob Fisher, 6	Paul Whiting, 5
Merrick Rice, 30	Stephen Wilder, 5
Oliver Carter, 15	Samuel Wilder, 2d. . . . 5
William Stedman, 20	Samuel Ward, 15
Timothy Whiting, 30	
Abner Pollard, 5	Total, \$311.00
Richard Haven, 10	

In May, Samuel Ward was chosen representative to the general court, and the vote for candidates for congress gave the following result. Gen. John Whiting, seventy-eight; Jabez Upham, Esq., forty-five; Seth Hastings, Esq., four. There was no choice, and at the next trial Mr. Upham was dropped, when Gen. Whiting had eighty-six votes to ninety-five for Mr. Hastings. The latter carried the district.

The committee to consider and report on building Ponakin bridge and repair the road, were John Whiting, Jonathan Wilder, Jonas Fairbank, John Carter, Jonathan Whitney, Asa Warner, Benjamin Wyman.

In August a plan was adopted with reference to pursuing and capturing horse-thieves, who then infested the region. On the ninth of November the plan was enlarged, and thieves of every kind were included. Two if not three lawyers were on the committee, viz., Merrick Rice, William Stedman and Ebenezer Torrey. Probably it was hoped that a committee full charged with law would be a terror to evil doers. Perhaps it was at this time, and in reference to this state of morals, that the following lines were written by a cynical rhymster, who had some wit, but whose head, at times, was a little daft.

“Lancaster, a long and narrow strip of land,
Cursed at each end, and in the middle damned;
With well-fed jockies thickly peopled o'er,
A fair outside, and truly—nothing more.”

The building of Ponakin bridge was finally committed to John Maynard, Jacob Fisher and Daniel Laughton. This closes the municipal history of the year.

LIST OF VOTERS.

A roll of names is an important element of history. In the history of a nation we look for the names of the actors. But as the limits of such history forbid the insertion of many names, we are, of necessity, confined to those who filled the highest places. A town history is nothing without a multiplicity of facts, and the more names can find a place the better for the work. This is a sufficient reason for inserting the following list of voters in the town in the year 1807. These men, with those who had recently passed away, and those who soon were added to the list, were the town, in its corporate capacity, for a whole generation. The list was found among papers relating to Lancaster in the library of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

Allen, Ebenezer,
 Allen, Samuel,
 Atherton, Israel,
 Atherton, Peter,
 Baldwin, Oliver,
 Ballard, Jeremiah,
 Ballard, John,
 Ballard, Thomas,
 Barrett, Jonathan,
 Barrett, Reuben,
 Bennett, Elisha,
 Bennett, Nathan,
 Bennett, Thomas, jr.,
 Blanchard, William,
 Bowers, Josiah,
 Brigham, Ephraim,
 Burbank, Nathaniel,
 Buterick, Horatio G.,
 Carter, Calvin,
 Carter, Ephraim,
 Carter, James,
 Carter, James, jr.,
 Carter, John,
 Carter, John, jr.,
 Carter, John, 3d,

Carter, Oliver,
 Carter, Solomon,
 Carter, Thomas,
 Chase, Charles,
 Chinnery, Thaddeus,
 Clark, Gregory,
 Clark, James,
 Cook, Aaron,
 Daby, Nathan,
 Damon, Samuel,
 Damon, Samuel, jr.,
 Divol, Ephraim,
 Divol, Manassah,
 Divol, Peter,
 Dolleson, John,
 Eager, Horace,
 Eaton, Nathaniel,
 Elder, James, jr.,
 Emerson, Elias,
 Emerson, Ephraim,
 Fairbank, Cyrus,
 Fairbank, Jonas,
 Fairbank, Jonas, jr.,
 Fales, Jeremiah,
 Fales, Jeremiah, jr.,

Farwell, Joseph,
 Farwell, Leonard,
 Faulkner, Paul,
 Fisher, Jacob,
 Flagg, Josiah,
 Fletcher, Joshua,
 Fletcher, Timothy,
 Fletcher, William,
 Fuller, Edward,
 Fuller, James,
 Fuller, Solomon,
 Gates, Abraham,
 Gates, Thomas,
 Goodwin, Edward,
 Goodwin, James,
 Goodwin, John,
 Goss, Daniel,
 Goss, Daniel, jr.,
 Goss, John,
 Goss, John, jr.,
 Gould, Nathaniel,
 Gould, William,
 Harris, Daniel,
 Haskell, Elias,
 Haskell, Henry,

Haskell, Israel,	Maynard, John,	Sawyer, Moses,
Haven, Richard,	Mead, Theodore,	Smith, Moses,
Hawks, John,	Newman, Gowen B.,	Smith, Moses, jr.,
Hawks, John, jr.,	Newman, Joseph,	Stearns, Daniel,
Hayden, Daniel,	Newhall, Pliny,	Stearns, Eli,
Haywood, Moses,	Nichols, Joseph,	Stedman, William,
Hazen, Ebenezer,	Oliver, Joel,	Stevenson, Martin,
Hildreth, Micah,	Osgood, Ephraim,	Stowe, Jacob,
Hildreth, David,	Osgood, Joel,	Studley, C.,
Hiller, Joseph,	Osgood, Moses,	Sweetser, Jacob,
Hosley, John,	Peabody, Calvin,	Thomas, Joshua,
Houghton, Benjamin 2d	Phelps, Abijah,	Thurston, Gates,
Houghton, Oliver,	Phelps, George,	Thurston, John,
Howe, Thomas,	Phelps, Robert,	Thurston, Peter,
Hudson, Robert,	Phelps, Sylvester,	Thurston, Peter, jr.,
Hyde, John,	Pollard, Abner,	Thurston, Silas,
Johnson, Aaron,	Pollard, Gardner,	Torrey, Ebenezer,
Johnson, Aaron, jr.,	Pollard, John,	Tower, Asahel,
Johnson, Jonas,	Prentiss, John,	Townshend, John,
Jones, Aaron,	Prescott, John,	Townshend, Robert,
Jones, Moses,	Rice, Benjamin,	Turner, Nathaniel,
Jones, Samuel,	Rice, Ezekiel,	Wales, Joseph,
Jones, Samuel, jr.,	Rice, Joseph,	Ward, Samuel,
Joslyn, Jonas,	Rice, Merrick,	Warner, Asa,
Joslyn, Samuel,	Rogers, Joseph,	Wheeler, Reuben,
Keyes, Daniel,	Robbins, John,	White, Abijah,
Knight, Charles E.,	Robbins, John, 2d,	Whiting, John,
Knight, Manasseh,	Rugg, Aaron,	Whiting, Paul,
Laughton, Daniel,	Rugg, Abel,	Whiting, Timothy,
Lawson, James,	Rugg, Abijah,	Whitney, Ephraim,
Leach, Joseph,	Rugg, Daniel,	Whitney, Jonas,
Lewis, Charles,	Rugg, Elijah,	Whittemore, Nathaniel,
Lewis, Timothy,	Rugg, Ephraim,	Whittemore, Nath'l jr.,
Lincoln, Caleb,	Rugg, Isaac,	Wilder, Abel,
Lincoln, Jacob,	Rugg, Joseph,	Wilder, Ebenezer,
Low, Edward,	Safford, Thomas,	Wilder, Calvin,
Low, Jabez B.,	Sargent, John,	Wilder, Gardner,
Low, John,	Sargent, Seth,	Wilder, Joel,
Low, Nathaniel, jr.,	Saunderson, Elisha,	Wilder, John,
Lyon, John,	Savary, John,	Wilder, Jonathan,
Lyon, Luther,	Sawyer, Amos,	Wilder, Manasseh,
Mallard, Abraham,	Sawyer, John,	Wilder, Samuel,
Mallard, James,	Sawyer, Luther,	Wilder, Samuel, 2d,

Wilder, Stephen,	Willard, Amasa,	Willard, Simon,
Wilder, Titus,	Willard, Benjamin,	Willard, William,
Wilder, Titus, jr.,	Willard, Benjamin W.,	Worcester, Samuel,
Wilder, William,	Willard, Paul,	Wyman, Benjamin,
Willard, Abel,	Willard, Salmon,	Zweir, Jacob, jr.

ANNALS CONTINUED.

In 1802 Gov. Strong received more than two-thirds of the votes for governor. Gen. Whiting received more votes for senator than Mr. Gerry for governor. The general seems to have been personally popular, and to have received more than his party support, but being a Jeffersonian, was never elected to congress.

William Stedman now occupied a prominent position in the town. In May he was chosen to the legislature, and in November he was sent to congress, in which body he continued, by successive elections, till 1810.

The meeting-house needed repairing in 1803, and John Prentiss, Jacob Fisher and Merrick Rice were chosen a committee to attend to the business. In November, Dea. Joseph Wales had leave to set a store on town land near the Latin grammar school-house, a fact interesting as showing that there was a common at the north of the railroad station. At the same time the town chose Samuel Ward, Timothy Whiting and Merrick Rice a committee to apply to the general court for authority to hold a lottery. But on reflection, this action was wisely reconsidered.

At the presidential election, November 5, 1804, the republican or Jefferson party showed a large relative gain, the vote having been for federal electors, 96; for republican, 87. For congress, William Stedman, 76; John Whiting, 84. Stedman had a majority in the district, but Whiting was the favorite of the town.

It was a favorite plan of some, during many years to unite several towns in establishing a union workhouse, and a committee of five was appointed in March, 1805, to confer with

the towns of Sterling, Bolton, and other towns in the vicinity in regard to erecting a suitable building for the purpose. The project was never carried into effect.

In April the selectmen were directed to build a hearse house and magazine. The town supplied the military with ammunition in those days. The next year the sum of \$22.-67 was voted to "provide powder for the militia." The bass viol came in for repairs every year, and the town voted a dollar or two to keep it in working order.

At the congressional election in November, 1806, Mr. Stedman received ninety-four votes, and Gen. Whiting sixty-four.

The Records contain several references to law suits in successive years. In 1807 Merriek Rice, Esq., was appointed to defend the town in a suit brought by Sterling. The cases were not of historical interest, with possibly one or two exceptions. Some illustrate the state of morals, but the scandal of the past may sleep in the records of the courts. In general the town had costs to pay without the satisfaction of gaining its case.

The plan of having the selectmen nominate all officers to be chosen at the annual meeting except those elected by ballot, was brought before the town in May, 1808, and at other times; but the article was always passed over. It does not appear that the town ever gave any time to the consideration of the subject, feeling doubtless fully competent to select its own officers.

From the year 1808 to the close of the last war with England in 1815, the people of Massachusetts felt a deep interest in the foreign policy of the national government. The commercial pursuits of the people in seaboard towns were thought to be unfavorably affected by the embargo laws, and other measures of the administration. The war was very unpopular in this state, though the prowess of the army and navy was recognized with patriotic pride. The first reference to this phase of national politics to be found in the town Records, is under date of September 15, when the town voted to present a petition to the president of the United States urg-

ing him to suspend the embargo laws. Major Hiller, William Stedman and Samuel Ward were the committee to draft the petition. Their report was adopted, and by vote, the document was signed by the selectmen, attested by the clerk, and sent to president Jefferson.

A special meeting was called, John Maynard in the chair, February 1, 1809, "to take into consideration the alarming state of our public affairs, and to petition or address the legislature of this state on the subject of our grievances." The subject was referred to a committee of five,—Joseph Hiller, Moses Smith, Jonathan Wilder, Samuel Ward and John Thurston. The meeting adjourned to three o'clock, P. M., when the committee reported. Their report was adopted by the town, signed by the selectmen, and sent to the general court. This was an effort to reach the general government through the state legislature. The town was strong in support of the federal party, as was evinced by the state election in May, when the vote was for Gov. Gore, 198; Levi Lincoln, 97. This was the elder Levi Lincoln, who was attorney-general of the United States under Mr. Jefferson.

The next year, 1810, Gov. Gore received nearly three-fourths of the votes for governor, against Elbridge Gerry. However the latter was chosen, and was re-elected the next year, when Caleb Strong was brought forward again, and was elected.

The militia companies and town stock of ammunition cost \$70.95.

The ravages of the small-pox received the attention of the legislature, and a law was passed giving the towns increased power to deal with the evil. Therefore the town held a meeting, May 7, in compliance with the law, and chose a committee of five,—Eli Stearns, Moses Emerson, Merrick Rice, John Maynard, John Thurston—to "superintend the inoculation of the cow-pox." The inhabitants were required to assemble in the several school-houses at specified times, for the purpose of being inoculated.

Three days later a special meeting was called by "personal notice," that is by leaving a notification of the meeting at each voter's residence twenty-four hours before the time of meeting. The town was alarmed by an *epidemic fever* which prevailed at the time. It appears that the selectmen had called in physicians from other towns, in addition to those residing here, and the town voted to authorize the fathers of the town to "pay those physicians whom they have employed from other towns the charges they have against persons unable to pay such charges, and afford further supplies to such as are sick and in distress."

At the fall election Mr. Stedman declined to be a candidate for congress, and the vote of this town was as follows: Abijah Bigelow, of Leominster, 130; Timothy Whiting, of Lancaster, 23; Moses White, 8; Ephraim Emerson, 1.

At the annual meeting, March 2, 1812, the late law regulating the choice of town officers, and town meetings was read. In the Records of different years, it is noted that this law, or the law concerning riots, or the law against profane cursing and swearing, was read in open town meeting. The clerk also always recorded that prayer was offered at the opening of the annual meeting, by Rev. Nathaniel Thayer. Sometimes he noted that the prayer was "appropriate;" then, that Mr. Thayer prayed to the "Governor of the Universe;" and again to the "Great Author of all existences."

As the war was about to be waged, the federal or anti-administration sentiment became more pronounced. Gov. Strong, the head of the peace party, received votes as follows, 217, while for Gov. Gerry only 74 were cast. But the town was ready to support the governor in repelling the invaders of the state, and provided knapsacks for the militia.

In June a petition to president Madison was voted by the town, calling on him to "avert the calamities of war if it can be done consistent with the honor and dignity of the nation." Or to "memorialize congress on the subject of the war." Passed by a vote of 115 to 15. In August, John Maynard, Jona-

than Wilder and William Cleveland were sent to a county convention, and Joseph Hiller, Jacob Fisher, Eli Stearns, Benjamin Wyman, John Thurston were chosen a "committee of correspondence and public safety." This measure had a smack of the old revolutionary spirit. At the November election, when presidential electors were chosen, this town gave but twenty-two votes in favor of Mr. Madison, to one hundred and eighty-six for the opposition candidate.

The question came up, whether the town would employ the celebrated Dr. Nathan Smith, of Hanover, N. H., to operate upon the eyes of Archibald McIntosh; and the question was referred to Drs. James Carter, Samuel Manning and William Smith.

This year marks the extension of business in the south part of the town, now Clinton, when it was voted to exempt Messrs. Poignand and Plant from taxation. They started a factory on the site of the old Prescott mill, and another where the yarn factory of the carpet mill now stands, and being men of enterprise, did a large business for those days. Mr. Poignand was a native of the Isle of Jersey, one of the islands in the British channel, near the coast of France. The people are French, but subjects of the sovereign of England.

At the election in April, the vote was for governor, Caleb Strong, 226; Joseph Varnum, 62. For first representative, Jacob Fisher, 155, and four scattering; second representative, William Cleveland, 95, with 79 for others.

In 1814, February 21, a special meeting was called to "consider the propriety of petitioning the legislature of this commonwealth to adopt such constitutional measures as to them shall seem necessary relative to the oppressive operation of the late embargo laws of the United States, as well as to insure to the people of this commonwealth their rights as citizens and as a state." The matter was referred to Eli Stearns, Moses Smith, Jonathan Wilder, Jonas Lane and Samuel Manning, who made the sensible report that "considering the present session of the general court is near closing, and also the

small glimmering prospect that a peace may take place, and the oppressive restrictions on commerce be removed," therefore the subject should be referred to the May meeting.

The militia expenses in 1813-14 for powder and other articles were nearly \$200.

It is known that several men belonging to the town were in the military service during the war with Great Britain, in the years 1812-15, but the number cannot be given. The rolls containing the names of the soldiers in the national army are not in the state Archives. Perhaps the record office in Washington contains the needed information, but it could not be conveniently examined.

In the autumn of 1814, the company of artillery belonging to this town was summoned, in haste, to Boston. This was a volunteer or independent company, containing fifty or sixty members. Capt. John Lyon led the company when they marched away on a Sunday, and continued in service about two weeks. Then Capt. Lewis Parker, of Sterling, for some reason, took the command. Perhaps a fourth of the company was made up of Sterling men. A few from other towns were in the company. John Taylor was second lieutenant, and Abraham Mallard was ensign. The company was in service thirty days. Capt. Carter Fisher, a venerable citizen still living, went as a substitute, being too young to be a member of the company. He remembers the return, when the soldiers marched through the Center to the gun-house in North Village, where they were dismissed. The company was in no action, and the alarm having subsided, it was sent home.

There were two infantry companies at that time; one in the north and the other in the south part of the town. The latter marched, having been called out on the supposition that it was a volunteer company. When the mistake was discovered, the company was dismissed. The cannon of the artillery company belonged to the state, and with the tumbrils and other property were kept in the gun-house, which stood nearly opposite the house of Henry Jewell.

In the latter part of this year, an effort was made to secure a better observance of the Sabbath. The files of the "Massachusetts Spy" about the close of the war, show that conventions of ministers and laymen were held in different places, for the purpose of checking the alarming increase of Sabbath desecration, growing out of the war. Dr. Thayer and other gentlemen of Lancaster, were prominent in this movement. Probably the action of the town in November was in the same direction. The question was, shall there be an addition to the number of tything-men? The town voted in the negative, but chose the following committee to aid them in carrying out the laws relating to the due observance of the Sabbath: viz., Jonathan Buttrick, Joseph Leach, Moses Emerson, John Goss, Abner Pollard, Calvin Wilder, Jacob Fisher, Caleb Lincoln, Jonas Lane, Pliny Newhall, Jeremiah Dyer, Benjamin Willard, Elisha Sanderson, Charles E. Knight, Moses Jones, Daniel Wilder and Solomon Carter. These men were in different sections of the town, and occupied "strategic points," where they could notice all travelers, or strollers, and ascertain if such persons were abroad on errands of "necessity or mercy."

FIFTH MEETING-HOUSE.

The time had come for better accommodations on the Sabbath. The old meeting-house, — the fourth since the settlement of the town, — was built in 1743, and was unsuitable in style and dimensions, for the altered circumstances of the people. The town was still united in one parish, though there were individuals besides the Shakers who did not attend the ministry of Mr. Thayer. There were a few Baptists, Swedenborgians and Quakers; and some were connected with no religious society, though but few families entirely neglected public worship. The town regarded Mr. Thayer as their minister, and there was an uncommon degree of harmony in church and society.

At a town meeting, May 1, 1815, a committee — Messrs. Jonathan Wilder, John Thurston and Jonas Lane — was chosen to confer with Capt. Benjamin Lee “respecting the purchase of his farm, or such part of it as the committee may deem desirable for the purpose, suitable to build a meeting-house thereon.” The subject came before the town, October 23, upon two articles in the warrant, when on motion of Moses Smith, Esq., it was voted “that a committee of one from each school district be appointed to view and consider what spot would be most eligible to erect a meeting-house upon, and how much land would be necessary. If a spot on Capt. Lee’s place should be considered preferable, whether the town can afford to give the price he asks; and how the residue, after selecting the spot, can be disposed of. Also to make some estimate of the probable expense of building a meeting-house with brick as well as with wood. Also to consider the propriety of compensating the pewholders, and otherwise dispose of the old meeting-house.” The committee represented every section of the town. No. 1, Elisha Sanderson, near the Shirley line; 2, John Robbins; 3, William Gould; 4, Thomas Ballard; 5, Jacob Fisher; 6, Eli Stearns; 7, Samuel Ward, 8, William Cleveland; 9, John Thurston; 10, Daniel Harris, now in Clinton; 11, Titus Wilder, near Clam Shell pond; 12, Josiah Bridge, west Neck road, or Main street in the Center.

On the fourth of December the committee reported that Capt. Lee’s place was desirable, and that two acres were needed. They further estimated that a building seventy-one feet square inside, if made of wood, with porch, tower and cupola, would cost \$12,000. A brick building of the same dimensions would cost \$14,000. If a portico were added, the expense would be increased.

At another meeting held the same day, it was voted to build a new meeting-house, seventy-one feet square in the interior. It was decided to use brick, and have a cupola. Major Fisher agreed to buy the whole farm of Capt. Lee, and sell two acres

to the town at a price "fixed by three judicious, disinterested men." The building committee were chosen, viz., Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher, William Cleveland. The town voted to borrow money to defray current expenses in building.

A meeting was held, January 3, 1816, to fix upon the size of the house. The subject was referred to a committee who were to report in half an hour. Their report was indefinite, though within certain bounds. "Reported to build so as not to contain more than 4,400 nor less than 4,200 square feet. It was also agreed to build both a porch and portico."

The committee chosen to appraise the two acres of Capt. Lee's land, which had been selected for the site of the meeting-house, were James Wilder, Moses Thomas and Thomas H. Blood, all of Sterling, who decided that the "land was worth \$633.33, and no more." The land was conveyed directly to the inhabitants of the town of Lancaster, and the selectmen were authorized, March 4, to receive the deed. It was voted to have a clock dial, and a committee was raised to prepare sheds to cover lime, and for the shelter of the workmen. The house was to face the south, with the door on the south front.

This arrangement did not meet with general concurrence, and another meeting was called on the twenty-first of March, when the vote in favor of facing west was ninety-nine to fifty-seven in favor of fronting south. The kind of wood for the pulpit was left to the judgment of the architect, Mr. Hersey. Tradition sends down to us an amusing incident, which probably occurred at this time. It is said that Capt. Cleveland, then living on the Old Common, was the only man in town who kept a coach. He came to meeting in what seemed quite an imposing style. A Mr. Rugg made this an argument in favor of placing the front of the house towards the south, for, said he, "Mr. Cleveland comes up the road from the south, and thus will directly approach the door." An eccentric man, named John Willard, and nicknamed "old beeswax," of whom many anecdotes used to be told, immediately rose, and replied that the reason just given reminded him of an invention of

his which would remove all difficulty, and meet the minds of every person in town, no matter from what point of the compass he might come. His machine, he continued, was an improved bed wrench, and by placing that under the meeting-house, each man, as he came up, could take hold of the handle and bring the house round towards himself. There was a shout of laughter, and the meeting adjourned.

But the matter was not settled, and another meeting was held on the eighth of April, when the former vote was reconsidered, and Hon. Moses Smith submitted a motion to "settle this question in a manner which shall be fair, and satisfactory to all the inhabitants, and prevent the ill consequences which always flow from disputes and quarrels in towns, and to promote that peace and harmony for which this town has ever justly been distinguished and celebrated." He proposed a plan for selecting a fair committee, which being amended on motion of Dea. Lane was adopted as follows, in substance. A committee of twelve, half of them in favor of the south entrance, and half of them in favor of the west, should be chosen, who should choose a committee of six. These six were to select a locating committee. The committee of twelve were "nominated, voted for and chosen" as follows. For the south entrance, Samuel Ward, Benjamin Wyman, Jonas Lane, Jonathan Locke, Jonathan Wilder, John Thurston. It may seem strange that Messrs. Lane, Wyman and Locke should represent the south end, seeing they all lived on the Neck, and north of the location; but at that time there was no cross road to the Center, and they came to meeting by the present residences of Charles L. Wilder, and Dr. Thompson. The west-siders were Thomas Ballard, Levi Lewis, Edward Goodwin, James Carter, Isaac Child, Thomas Howe. The meeting was then adjourned "twenty minutes to give time for said committee to retire and select from the inhabitants, the two committees of three each to choose the locating committee." The committee soon reported the following list, viz., Samuel Ward, Jonas Lane, John Thurston, (south;) Thomas Ballard,

Isaac Childs, Edward Goodwin, (north). Ballard lived on Ballard hill, Childs near the North Village, and Goodwin on the Lunenburg road. The town accepted the list. The names of the locating committee are not recorded. The matter of clock dials was left to the building committee.

There was another meeting, June 3, when the locating committee who were probably gentlemen not belonging to the town, reported in favor of fronting the meeting-house towards the south, as it now stands. The west-siders were not satisfied, and asked to have an entrance on the west, with a suitable porch in addition to that on the south. The old house had doors on three sides, so that the proposition did not seem so absurd as it would at the present day. After much questioning and answering and debate, it was voted that the locating committee, and the committee who selected them, had acted "with fairness and candor," and "that no undue influence was had on the occasion of locating the meeting-house." The vote was unanimous. The decision of the committee was accepted according to previous agreement. It was then voted, that the "gentlemen of the locating committee, being at this meeting, all present by particular invitation, are entitled to the thanks of this town, for their polite attention in attending this meeting, and that they be invited to retire to Mr. Rand's tavern, where refreshment is provided for them by the selectmen."

The question was then put, whether there should be an additional entrance and portico, that is, one on the west end, and the vote was decisive. In favor, twenty; against, seventy-five.

The location being finally settled, the corner stone was laid with appropriate services on the ninth of July. Beneath the stone a silver plate was deposited with these words inscribed: "Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid July 9, 1816. May God make our ways prosperous, and give us good success. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of our church." The pastor made an address before the laying of the stone. The 87th Psalm in Belknap's

Collection was sung by a full choir of singers led by Mr. James Newhall, and at the close, Mr. Thayer offered prayer. This was in fact the fifth house of worship.

The town, August 20, voted to have a bell, and that the weight of the bell should be left to the building committee. November 4, it was voted that the shed ground should be "sold to the highest bidders, and that sheds should be built on a uniform plan."

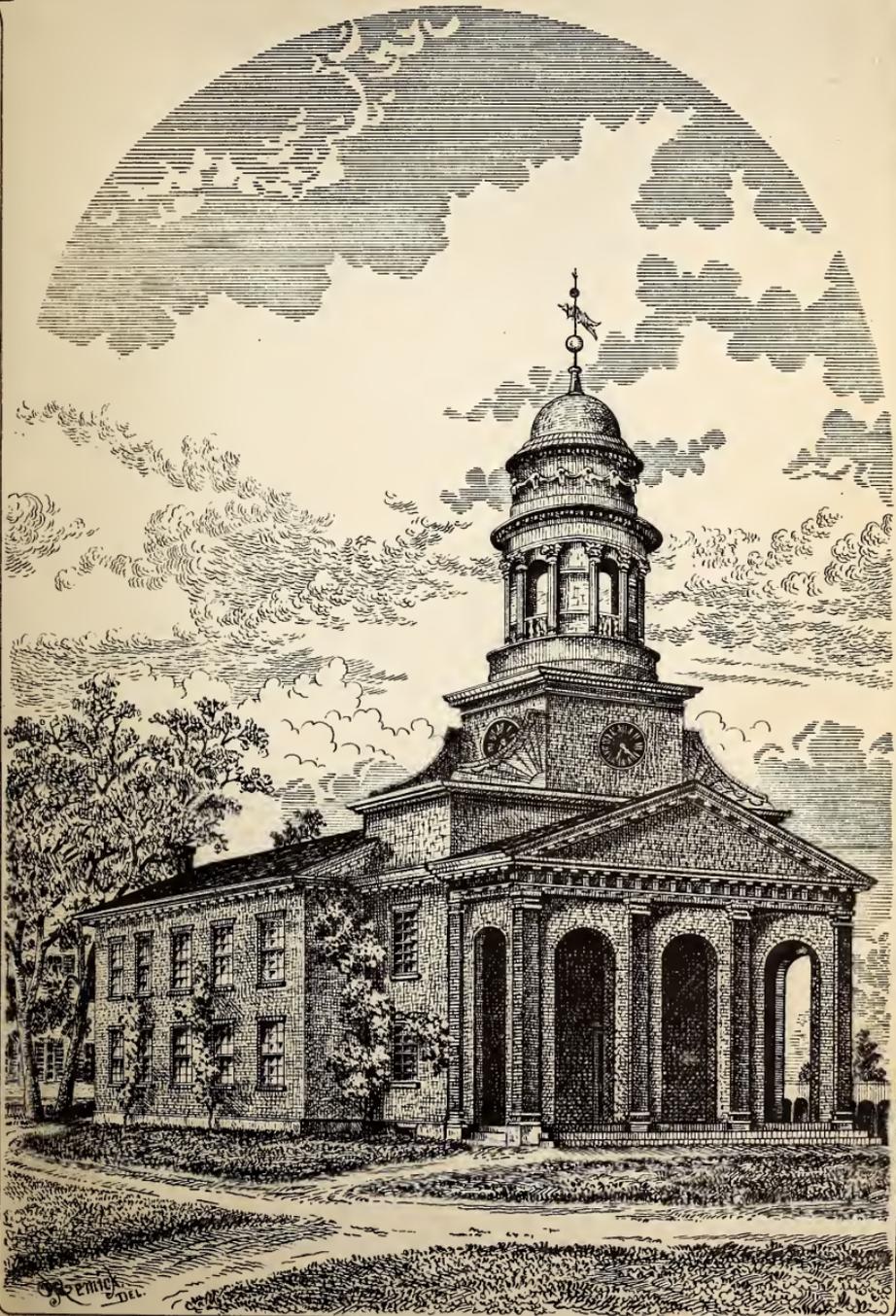
On the sixteenth of December a committee consisting of the building committee, and one from each district, with Capt. Hersey, was authorized to "assess the whole expense of building the meeting-house upon all the pews according to their relative value." The building committee were directed to sell to the highest bidder all the pews not reserved by the town, and the town treasurer was authorized to make and execute good and sufficient deeds. The dedication was fixed for January 1, 1817, and Davis Whitman, Moses Emerson and Jonas Lane were chosen a committee of arrangements.

The following description of the meeting-house, published at the time, should be read before coming to the exercises at the time of dedication. The extract is found in the History of Lancaster by Mr. Willard, and perhaps was from his pen. "The design of the edifice was by Charles Bulfinch, Esq., of Boston, (afterwards national architect at Washington). The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a porch, portico, tower and cupola. The portico is 48 by 17 feet, of square, brick columns, arched with pilasters, entablature and pediments of the Doric order; the vestibule or porch is 48 by 19 feet, and contains the gallery stairs; the tower is 21 feet square; the cupola is circular, and of singular beauty;—it is surrounded with a colonnade of 12 fluted pillars, with entablature and cornice, of the Ionic order; above which is an Attic encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a dome, balls and vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. Inside, the front of the gallery is of balustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the

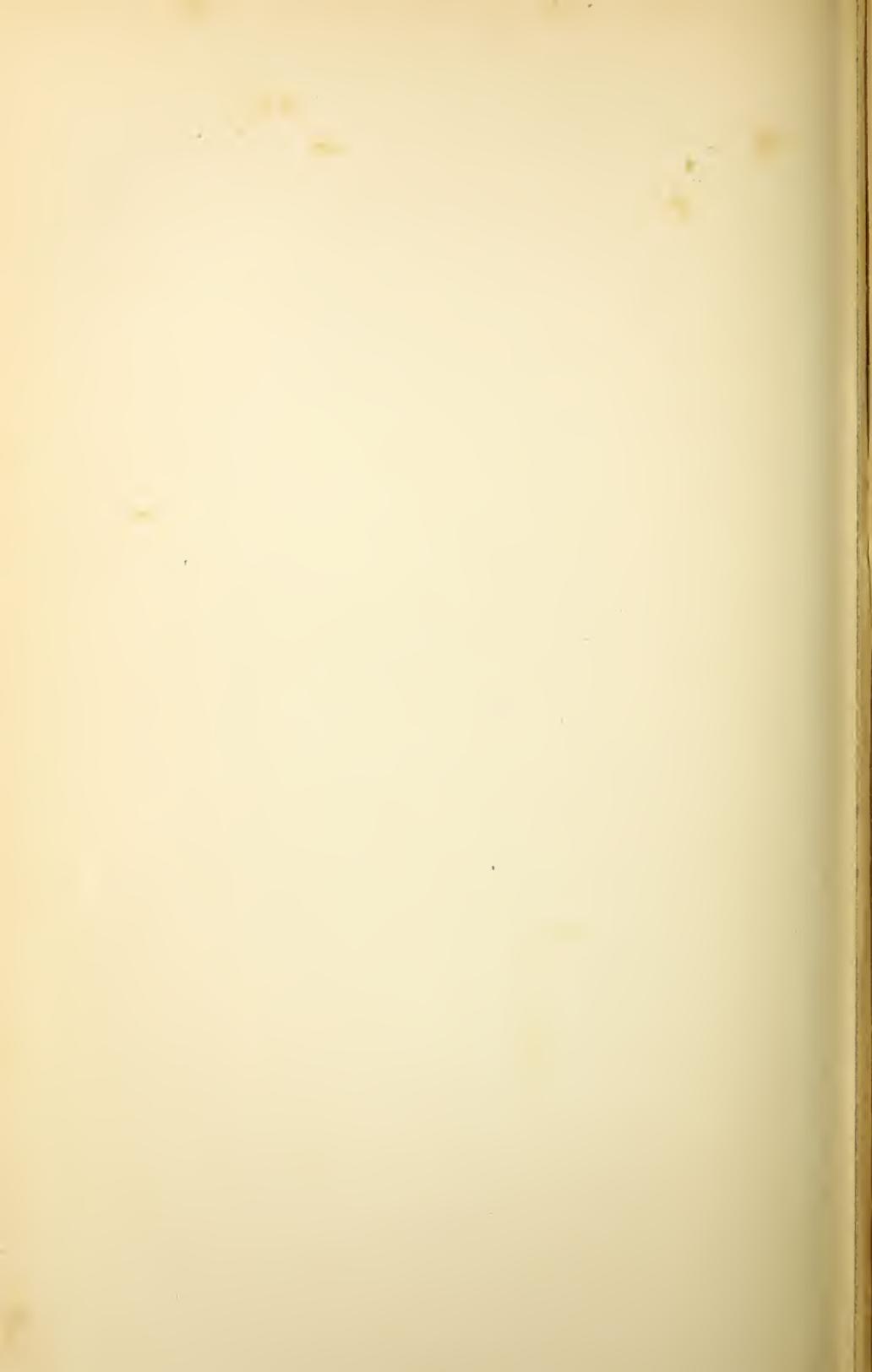
Doric order, presented by a gentleman of the society, Major Jacob Fisher. The pulpit rests on eight fluted columns, and four pilasters of the Ionic order; the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns, also fluted, and is lighted by a circular-headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted; entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order. This is decorated with a curtain and drapery from a Parisian model, which with the materials, were presented by a friend, S. V. S. Wilder, Esq. They are of rich green figured satin. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend, Mr. Abel Wrifford. A bell weighing 1,300 pounds was given by gentlemen of the town."

The interior of the building has since been altered and improved, but the architecture and general appearance, both within and without, remains unchanged; and distant be the day when its grand and comely features shall be marred by the dissolving touch of time or the vandal hands of man.

On the last Sabbath of the year, the people took a formal farewell of the ancient meeting-house. At the afternoon service Mr. Thayer preached from the text: "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favor the dust thereof." Psalm 102: 14. Passing by the history of the church and the town, on the ground that an edition of Rev. Mr. Harrington's Centennial discourse had recently been printed, he merely glanced at a few general facts in relation to the character of the people in the past. The spirit of union and harmony had enabled them to go through severe trials without division and alienation. The town had been privileged with "reference to the men of honor and affluence" who had been its inhabitants. He could "recount many worthies who were the friends of the ministers of Christ; who were the unfailing observers of religious institutions; and whose example, talents and riches were consecrated to the interests of virtue, and to advance the prosperity and quiet of this church and town." A tribute was paid to the freemen because of the "propriety, the order, the union and despatch" which had characterized their elections



FIRST PARISH CHURCH.



and town meetings. They had obtained distinction by their hospitality and charity. The early settlers were a sober and virtuous race. "The Christians," he continued, "who here took up their early residence, or received their first views of religion, appear to have been men extraordinarily enlightened, and whose hearts were full of the charity of the gospel." He spoke of it as a "memorable fact" in our history, that in one hundred and eight years there had been only ten months, the time which elapsed between the death of Rev. Mr. Prentice, and the ordination of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in which the church had been without a settled minister. Then follows this reference to his two immediate predecessors. "It is no less worthy of being mentioned with gratitude, that our records are not defaced with any instance of a controversy between this church and either of their pastors. I have ever contemplated those two holy men as remarkably displaying a model of the ministerial character at the time in which they respectively lived. In the Rev. Mr. Prentice were united the commanding dignity, the severity of manners, the pointedness in his public preaching, which were thought by the generation he served to be indispensable characteristics of a Christian minister. 'The young men saw him and hid themselves; and the aged arose and stood up.' The Rev. Mr. Harrington exhibited the urbanity, the condescension, the cheerfulness, the candor for youthful errors and frailties which are congenial with the spirit of more modern times, and a nearer imitation of the temper of the Great Master. While classical learning shall be viewed an honorable attainment: while charity and the general practice of the ministerial and Christian virtues shall enhance personal worth, or be esteemed an ornament to society, and to the church, the name of Harrington will be in precious remembrance."

Mr. Thayer, speaking for the people, took leave of the old place of worship in these words. "We now bid these walls adieu, which are remembrancers of the worth of our fathers, and of the ancient moral glory of this town. We bid them

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

The next day was devoted to the sale of the pews, of which there were one hundred and thirty-four. They were valued at \$20,000, an average of about \$150 for each. The highest valuation was \$230, and the lowest, \$40. The financial results will be found under a subsequent date.

On Wednesday, January 1, 1817, the new meeting-house was dedicated to the worship and service of God. Aged people who were present remember that there was a great congregation present on the occasion. The spacious house, including gallery, aisles and porch, was crowded. Rev. Mr. Capen, of Sterling, made the prayer of invocation, and read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, as recorded in I Kings, chap. 8. The prayer of dedication was offered by Rev. Dr. Bancroft of Worcester. The concluding prayer was by Rev. Mr., afterwards Dr. Allen, of Berlin. A large choir, trained for the occasion led in the service of song. The pastor, Dr. Thayer, preached the sermon from Ephesians 2: 19-22. "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: In whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit." The points of the sermon were: "1. The *equality* of churches of Christ. 2. Their *common foundation*, being 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.' 3. The *means* by which

the churches may be made to appear as a well-proportioned and perfect spiritual structure." The sermon in tone and spirit, was finely adapted to promote harmony in the church and community. A report of the dedication in the Boston *Centinel* states that the assembly "testified by their profound silence and solemnity their approbation of the services."

At the March meeting the appraisal of the pews by a committee was approved, amounting to \$20,000; the pews remaining unsold were left with the committee to be sold; and it was voted to procure blinds for the pulpit window, to shade the trimmings of the pulpit.

In April the selectmen were authorized to "regulate the ringing and tolling of the bell;" and \$14.34 were allowed for "entertaining music at the dedication." It is supposed that the word "entertaining" does not refer to the quality of the music so much as to the entertainment provided for the performers who gave their acceptable services on the occasion.

May 5, the town being in session, voted that the clock should be paid for by the town, as that was the only tax on the town for the house. Before the business was finally settled the town was obliged to meet quite heavy arrearages. At the same meeting the building committee reported that the whole cost of the house, including interest on borrowed money, was \$19,088.66. One hundred and four pews had been sold for \$16,297, which were settled for. Four pews had been sold, but not paid for, which brought \$501 including choice money. One pew was reserved for the minister, and four were free, equal to \$800; and twenty-one pews remained unsold, valued at \$3,480.

This was a good exhibit on the supposition that the unsold pews should be disposed of at the appraised value; that those sold and not paid for, should be paid for; and finally that the notes of those who had settled for their pews should all prove good. In that case there would be a surplus of \$198.34, besides the free pews.

We return to the narrative of events, as they occurred.

At the April meeting, 1817, \$30 were equally divided between the two military companies to procure instruction in military music, and uniform clothing for the musicians. The money to pay the expense was taken from fines received from military exempts. These companies had their regular fall and spring "trainings" besides the "regimental muster" in the autumn. It was a great day when training came, not only for the militia, but for hucksters and small boys.

In May, 1818, the question came up in regard to exempting some from expenses in support of religious services, when a committee reported that the "expense incurred for the purchase of the meeting-house spot, support of singing-school, expense of the meeting-house sheds and clock, be a parochial and not a town charge." This was probably a compromise to pacify some who thought the town ought not to be chargeable for things pertaining to the parish.

The old meeting-house was used as a town-house, though sometimes when the weather was cold, an adjournment to the tavern was effected. In 1821, April 2, the matter of building a town-house, and selling the old house, was referred to Jacob Fisher, Jacob Stone and John Thurston. At the May meeting the question was whether the old meeting-house, or town-house, and the Latin grammar school-house should be sold, and a new town-house built. The committee in charge of the question were Davis Whitman, Jonathan Buttrick and Jacob Fisher. Nothing was done. But in April, 1823, the matter was again agitated, and Jonas Lane, Davis Whitman and Jacob Fisher were entrusted with the business. They bargained with Henry Moore, of Bolton, to build a new town-house for \$440 in cash, in addition to the old house, from which he took materials so far as they were available. The town granted \$200, and \$298.80 were raised by subscription. The old house was estimated at \$150. Part of the surplus was laid out on a new piazza instead of an old porch. The new house was placed near the site of the former, and remained there until the present town hall was built in 1848, and several

years later. It was sometimes used for thinly attended town meetings in cold weather, and was also occupied for other gatherings. It was finally sold, moved near the depot, transferred into a boot and shoe shop. It is now unoccupied, but contains much of the timber and some of the framework of the fourth meeting-house.

The work being finished, the town, on the first of March, 1824, resolved "that the thanks of the town be presented to Davis Whitman, Esq., and his associates, a committee appointed to contract for, and superintend the building of the new town-house, for their faithful services, gratuitously rendered in that behalf; and particularly to Mr. Whitman, the chairman of that committee, for his liberal donations, his constant and unwearied attention generously bestowed in the erection and completion of said house, whereby the town is furnished with a handsome and commodious building for the transaction of their municipal concerns."

The Latin grammar school was sold to "the best advantage of the town," an Academy having been established.

Lancaster, in August, 1820, voted against a constitutional convention; but as the state decided to call such a body, the town sent as delegates, Jacob Fisher, Esq., and Mr. Davis Whitman.

Eli Stearns was treasurer for the business of the new meeting-house from the inception of the enterprise to 1820, when it appeared that he had a bill amounting to \$90.98 for services as agent. This and some other matters were referred to a committee, who made the suggestive report that the charges were not greater than those by other men charged with such business, but that the town in future ought to be careful to see that such business should be done in the most economical manner. In November, Benjamin Wyman, Esq., was made treasurer for the new meeting-house. The next April he was authorized to rent unsold pews for less than the interest on their appraised value; and in November he was directed to adjust the settlement of pew notes with those who were un-

able to pay, and also to sell to the highest bidder all or any of the unsold pews.

At the March meeting in 1822, Rev. Dr. Thayer proposed to the town to relinquish fifty dollars of his salary, as his proportion of the loss sustained by the society in the late sale of pews. The town, evidently with reluctance, accepted the generous offer, stating in a resolution that he had stood in the front rank with the friends of that enterprise; had bought two pews, and had paid choice money; but to gratify his feelings, complied with his suggestion.

After consulting a "learned and able lawyer" the town May 30, voted to raise \$1,500 to pay arrears of expense in building the meeting-house. In May, 1823, the sum of \$1,000 was raised for the same purpose. It was stated that so many pews had been taken back, the debt for the house was still large; and that if it were not paid, families would not be attracted to the town. The bell which had been broken, was recast, with a weight of eleven hundred pounds. In 1824, the sum of \$2,000 was applied to the extinguishment of the meeting-house debt; but the minister's salary was restored to its former sum, \$550. This closed the business, but in the meantime, quite a number had left the parish, having "signed off" under the provisions of a law made to relieve those who objected to paying for the support of religious views which they did not approve. Previously all were taxed for the support of the parish, which was Congregational, just as they were taxed for the support of schools, on the ground of public good. The new law allowed all dissidents to withdraw, and give their money in accordance with their own convictions. That was a step towards the complete freedom which now prevails.

The Constitutional Convention, which has already been referred to, reported to the people, fourteen amendments, nine of which were approved by the voters of the state. The people of Lancaster voted in favor of every amendment except the fourteenth, which provided for making future amendments without calling a convention.

PROVISION FOR THE POOR.

The care of the poor had been confided to successive individuals almost without exception since the time when there were indigent persons who needed support outside of their own families. For a series of years Dr. Calvin Carter, a physician of wide reputation and large practice, had taken charge of this unfortunate class, at a stipulated annual compensation. Adding the cost of those who received aid at home to the sum paid to Dr. Carter, the amount often ran above \$1,000. Some years it was more than \$1,200. And yet the town charge for the poor was less than before. Dr. Carter had ample room in his large three-story house which was built for the accommodation of medical students. The school having been abandoned, he took in the poor, and added medical care to general supervision. It is a curious fact, that his house and farm, after nearly fifty years occupancy as a hotel and a private dwelling, was purchased by the town in 1872, as an asylum for the indigent.

In the year 1824, Rev. Asa Packard, a retired clergyman, having been for several years a resident, moved in town meeting, March 1, "that a committee be chosen to ascertain at what price, for the money at the delivery of the deed, a farm may be purchased in this town, suitable for a pauper establishment, in the opinion of said committee; and that the committee consider the subject at large, and report on the expediency of changing the present mode of supporting the poor." The subject was referred to a committee of twelve, one from each district. From No. 1, Levi Farwell; 2, Simeon Whitney; 3, Nathaniel Warren; 4, Thomas Ballard; 5, Jacob Fisher; 6, Davis Whitman; 7, John G. Thurston; 8, Richard Cleveland; 9, John Thurston; 10, Daniel Harris; 11, G. Pollard; 12, or Center, Asa Packard. The latter acted as chairman, and has always been considered the prime mover in establishing the modern system of supporting the poor in this town. At the May meeting the committee reported in favor of buying a farm for a pauper establishment, and a new committee

was chosen to make the purchase. John Thurston, Davis Whitman, Jacob Fisher, Joel Wilder and Asa Packard. Voted to borrow not more than \$3,000. The committee reported, November 1, that they had bought a farm of Benjamin Wilder, "containing one hundred and forty acres, for \$2,000; and had borrowed \$2,000 of Robert G. Shaw, of Boston, payable in two, three, four and eight years." They had also purchased another piece of twenty acres for \$300. The town was to have possession on the first of March, 1825. Asa Packard, Benjamin Farnsworth, 2d, and Calvin Wilder were chosen a committee to have charge of the business till the March meeting, make suitable repairs, and get things in order.

At that meeting the committee reported that they had bought furniture, tools, stock, hay and articles of food, at a cost, including wages, of \$796.66. The following overseers were chosen, Benjamin Farnsworth, 2d, Joseph Farwell, Nathaniel Rand, John Thurston, jr., and Jonathan Locke. The committee had engaged Abel Osgood to be superintendent. All the bills for the poor in the preceding year amounted to \$1,254.70.

In 1828 a bill of \$1,528.99 was paid for new buildings to complete the pauper establishment. The poor were provided for on this farm till the year 1872, when the present house and farm were purchased of Edward Phelps. It is believed that the unfortunate wards of the town have been kindly cared for in all generations.

ANNALS CONTINUED.

At the annual gubernatorial election in 1825, there was no contest, Levi Lincoln receiving for governor, 123 votes, and Marcus Morton the same number for lieut.-governor. There was a single scattering vote for each office.

At this time the towns on the northern side of the state from Boston to the Connecticut river and beyond, were deeply interested in the project for digging a canal from the valley to the seaboard. At a meeting, June 20, Jacob Fisher, Will-

iam Stedman and Davis Whitman were appointed a committee to "give information to the civil engineer, (the famous Lo-Ammi Baldwin,) in relation to his survey of the route for a canal, and promote the project so far as in their power." The canal was not made, but the public spirit of the citizens should be remembered to their lasting honor. It is by securing means of transit to and from all points of the compass, that towns and cities are builded.

The first notice of measures for warming the meeting-house, is found in May, 1827, when Davis Whitman brought the subject before the town, and \$200 were appropriated. Mr. Whitman, Joseph Willard and Nathaniel Rand were charged with the business. The furnaces cost \$188.70. Painting the wood-work on the meeting-house cost \$175. Joseph Willard got the buildings on the town farm insured at \$1,400.

At the November election, 1828, the electors in favor of John Quincy Adams for president, received 102 votes to 8 for Andrew Jackson.

April 6, 1829, the selectmen were authorized to act "according to their discretion about preventing the river changing its course, and cutting off Atherton and Center bridges." The river in its course between Carter's mills and the Center bridge has varied much since the settlement of the town, sometimes flowing back and forth across the whole breadth of the intervale.

At the May meeting, after some very pertinent remarks by Rev. Asa Packard in relation to the purchase of fire-engines, the subject was referred to Levi Lewis, Ferdinand Andrews and Luke Bigelow, to inquire and report. Fire-hooks, ladders and buckets were procured at a cost of \$50, but nothing is recorded of engines.

In accordance with a Resolve of the general court, in relation to a survey of the several towns of the commonwealth, James G. Carter,—April 5, 1830,—moved that a committee be chosen to cause a survey to be made of this town. The plan included the making of a map, fixing the position of

school-houses, dwelling-houses, etc., and giving topographical information. Referred to John Thurston, jr., Anthony Lane and Nathaniel Rand. The survey was made that same year, by Major Fisher, and the map was drawn by James G. Carter, in 1831.

The election in 1830 gave Levi Lincoln for governor, 166 votes, and Marcus Morton, 5 votes.

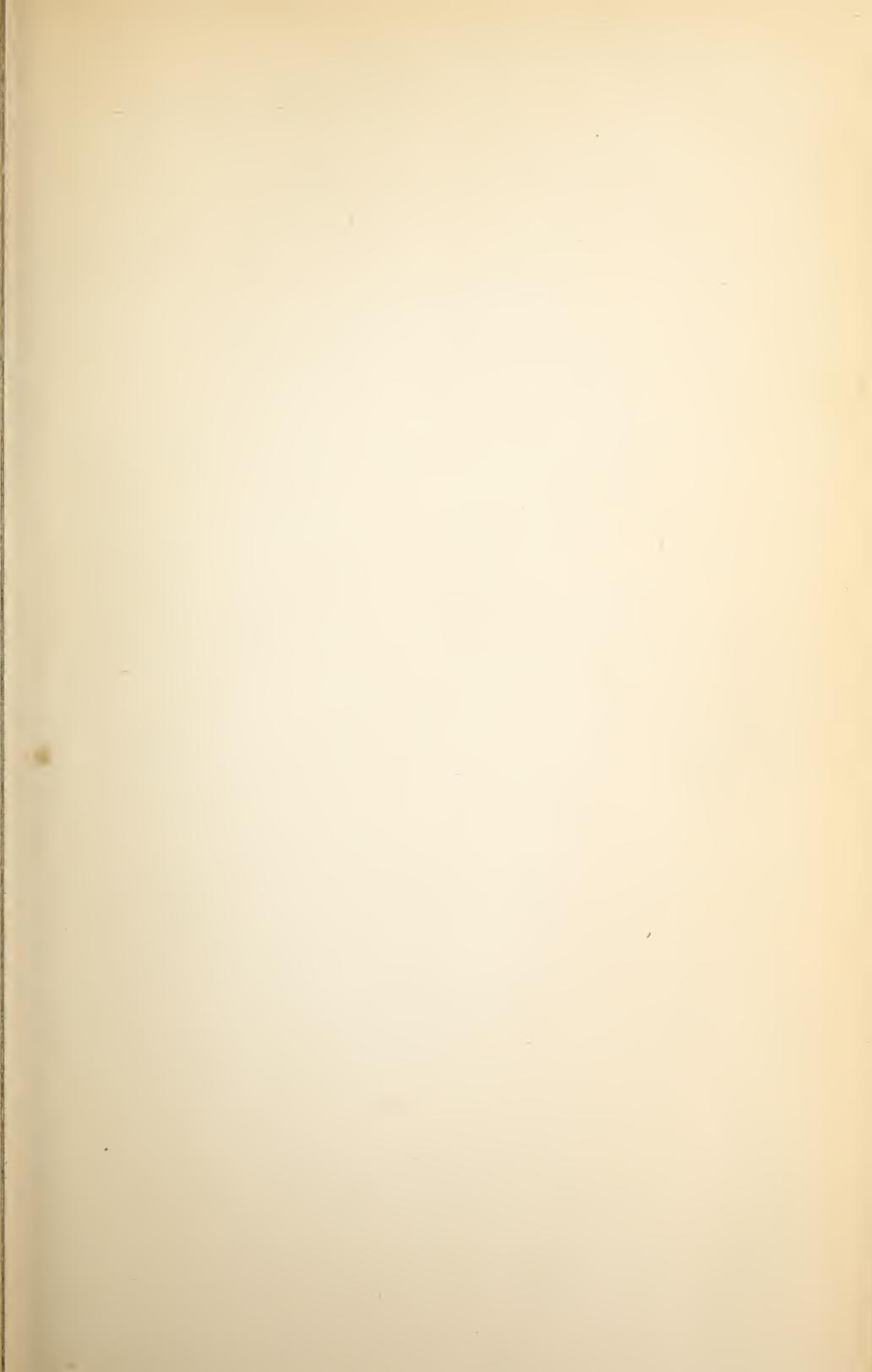
In 1831 the town voted to pay for digging graves and attending funerals.

An amendment of the constitution came before the town, May 11, changing the beginning of the political year from May to January: yes, 69; no, 42.

Firewards were chosen in 1832, April 2, as follows: Solon Whiting, Jacob Fisher, jr., Ephraim C. Fisher, N. Rand, Ezra Sawyer, John G. Thurston, Luke Bigelow, jr., Samuel Plant, Asahel Harris, Jonathan Locke, Horace Faulkner, Farnham Plummer, Ferdinand Andrews. The plan seems to have supplied a large number of men with an office.

At the presidential election in 1832, there were 173 votes for Henry Clay, and 16 for Martin Van Buren. The next April, John Davis received every vote cast for congressman. In November the vote was as follows: for governor, John Davis, 176; Marcus Morton, 26; John Quincy Adams, 26. Mr. Adams was the candidate of the Anti-Masonic party. At the congressional election in 1834, Levi Lincoln received 100 votes, and Isaac Davis 7.

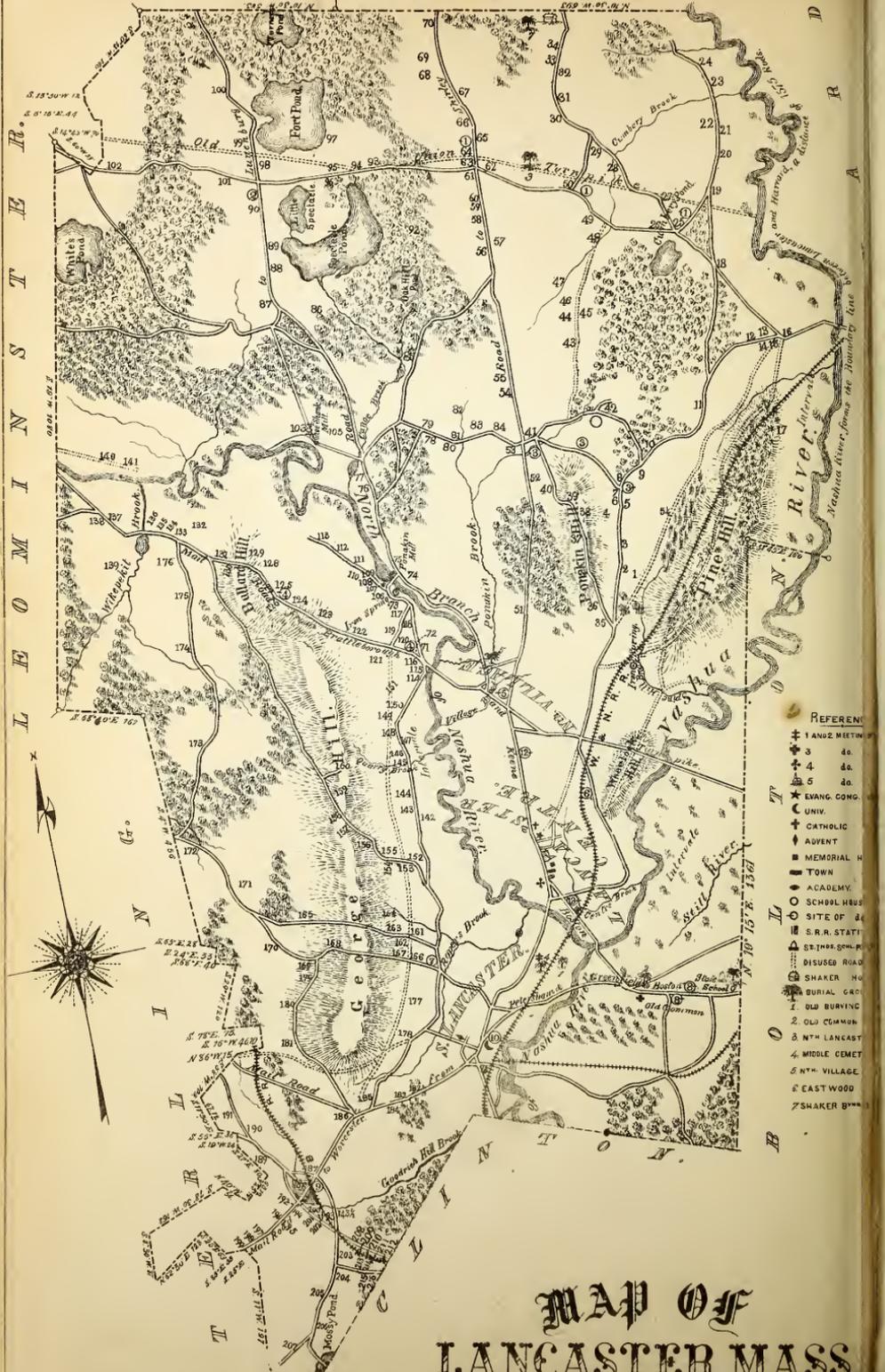
At a special meeting, February 4, 1838, Amos Wheeler and others asked for the use of the town hall to hold religious meetings. The article was passed over. The question was renewed at a subsequent meeting, when Davis Whitman, a member of the old society, strenuously supported the request, maintaining broad views of religious comity. The Orthodox, Universalists, and others who had no place of meeting, were specially interested in the measure, and the vote was carried in the affirmative.



LUNENBURG. S H I R L E Y .

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 - ★ EVANG. CONG.
 - ⊕ UNIV.
 - ⊕ CATHOLIC
 - ⊕ ADVENT
 - ⊕ MEMORIAL H.
 - ⊕ TOWN
 - ⊕ ACADEMY
 - ⊕ SCHOOL HOUSE
 - ⊕ SITE OF A.
 - ⊕ S. R. R. STATION
 - ⊕ CRIPPLES' SHELTER
 - ⊕ DISUSED ROAD
 - ⊕ SHAKER H.Q.
 - ⊕ BURIAL GARD.
 - ⊕ OLD BURYING
 - ⊕ OLD COMMON
 - ⊕ 4TH LANCAST.
 - ⊕ MIDDLE CEMET.
 - ⊕ 5TH VILLAGE
 - ⊕ EAST WOOD
 - ⊕ SHAKER B'Y

MAP OF
LANCASTER MASS.

[See page 428.]

- 1 Mr. Dupee, John James.
- 2 Dr. J. Hawkes, Samuel Damon, S. Damon, jr., Jon. M. Damon, Jos. Putney, C. K. Goodale.
- 3 Samuel Damon, A. J. Farnsworth, Warren Willard, G. W. & F. A. Willard.
- 4 Abel Beckwith, Mr. Locke, N. Whittemore, Master Curtiss.
- 5 Mr. Harris, Dr. J. C. Pease, H. Holmes.
- 5½ Simon Willard, Old brickyard.
- 6 Rev. B. Whittemore, D.D., J. S. Pinkham.
- 7 John Willard.
- 8 Jona. Kenny, Timothy Lewis, Dan'l Burbank, Nath. Burbank.
- 9 Simon Willard, Nath. Burbank, S. W. Burbank, Rev. A. Burbank, Levi Moore, Mr. Cross.
- 10 Simon Willard, Darby Willard, Otis Atherton, Peter Mahan.
- 11 Amasa Willard, Jonas Robbins, Lyman Carr.
- 12 S'l Richardson, Elisha Barrett.
- 13 Miss S. Dawson.
- 14 John White, John White, jr., John White, 3d.
- 15 John Parker.
- 16 Eben Francis, Jer. Dyer, P. Houghton, Chas. K. Barnes.
- 17 Pockhouse, Jotham Wood.
- 18 Elias Barrett.
- 19 A. Chambers, M. Chambers, A. Hodgman.
- 20 Wm. Willard, Jacob Willard, Wm. Floyd.
- 21 Reuben Barrett, M. Barrett, Samuel Barrett, F. H. Willard.
- 22 Luther Lyon, A. C. Willard, James F. Stone, Ebenezer Lakin.
- 23 Salmon Willard, W. H. Smith, Jas. L. Parker.
- 24 Moses Barrett, W. H. Sargent.
- 25 Isaac Cowdrey, Benj. Morse.
- 26 Jos. Farwell, L. L. Farwell, Jos. W. Farwell.
- 27 Benj. Butler, Benj. Butler, jr.
- 28 Slate quarry.
- 29 Benjamin W. Willard
- 30 Reuben Zweir.
- 31 Dea. N. Willard.
- 32 Shaker tenants, Moses Howard.
- 33 Shaker family, And'w Farwell, Mr. Warner.
- 34 Shaker house, Levi W. Damon.
- 35 J. Farnsworth, David Osgood, Peter Lynch.
- 36 Isaac Sanders, Wm. Damon, Mr. Howard, Mrs. Cogswell.
- 37 Jas. Farwell, G. L. Worcester, J. E. Farwell.
- 38 First Shaker Center, Aaron Lyon, N. Whittemore, sr., Peter Phelps, A. D. Farnsworth, O. J. Houghton.
- 39 Moses Howard, Mr. Bullard, Jos. Emerson, Elias Emerson, Oliver Emerson.
- 40 Moses Howard.
- 41 Misses R. & S. Whittemore, Consider Studley, Martin Burpee, Oren Holman, Jas. H. Holman.
- 42 C. Studley, Jos. Davis, Darwin Phelps, — Frank Davis, Ruth Johnson, Peggy Davis.
- 43 John Robbins, Mrs. Robbins.
- 44 T. J. Johnson.
- 45 Luther Johnson.
- 46 Aaron Johnson.
- 47 Calvin Johnson.
- 48 Leon'd Farwell, Levi Farwell, H. H. Sanborn.
- 49 Benj. Farwell, Zopher Jones.
- 50 B. W. Willard, B. W. Willard, jr., Old poorhouse, Jer. Barnard, Levi P. Wood, Levi P. Wood, jr.
- 51 Gardner Phelps, Widow Lawrence, Leon'd Coburn.
- 52 Mr. Melvin.
- 53 Sam'l Whitney, Ephraim Rugg, Geo. S. Colburn.
- 54 Joseph Rugg, Nath. Warner, O. W. Carter.
- 55 James Rugg, Calvin Sawyer, Tim. Warner, E. H. Sargent.
- 56 Calvin Phelps, Calvin Phelps, jr., Sydney Butler.
- 57 Jona. Farwell.
- 58 Luke Phelps, Sam. Worcester.
- 59 James Farwell, Jos. Farwell.
- 60 J. Winchester, Moses Thomas.
- 61 Widow Thomas, Widow Moses.
- 62 Jona. Farwell, Abel Butler, Toll house.
- 63 Brick tavern, Paul Willard, Mr. Morse,
- 63 A. Frost, Shaker tenants.
- 64 Site of old tavern, Col. H. Haskell, John Clark, Calvin Phelps.
- 65 Abel Butler, sr., Widow Butler, Abijah White.
- 66 Reub. Zweir, jr.
- 67 Widow Frothingham, Sam. Worcester.
- 68 E. Barrett, D. Parker.
- 69 Joseph Barrett
- 70 E. Sanderson, C. Sanderson, H. Sanderson.
- 71 G. K. Richards, Cyrus Merrick, S. R. Merrick, Oliver Wilder, Chas F. Tufts.
- 72 Jer. Hays.
- 73 C. L. Wilder, jr., C. B. Hemenway, Frank Sargent.
- 74 Mr. Phelps, Moses Jones, John Sullivan.
- 75 C. K. Knight, Wm. J. Knight.
- 76 N. Robinou.
- 77 Nath'l Warner, N'l Warner, jr., John Fuller, N. F. Sawtelle,
- 78 Wm. Blanchard, John Carr, Tim. Warner, E. H. Sargent, Alfred Wyman.
- 79 M. Knight, J. Williams, W. Matthews.
- 80 D. W. Matthews, Old Bolles place, Dea O. Studley.
- 81 E. W. Whitney, S. Bannister, Edgar Sargent, Geo. S. Colburn.
- 82 James Rugg.
- 83 Nath'l Gould, Miss Stone, D. W. Jackson, Mrs. Moeglin.
- 84 Wm Gould, Josiah N. Rugg.
- 85 Daniel Rugg, Samuel Rugg, House and saw mill.
- 86 P. Houghton.
- 87 John Robbins, S. Sanderson, P. McGovern.
- 88 John Goodwin.
- 89 Thos Divoll, E. W. Divoll.
- 90 Wm. Nichols, N. Alexander, A. Sargent.
- 92 Mr Cooledge.
- 93 Peter Atherton.
- 94 S. Cleverly.
- 95 Jos. Cleverly.
- 96 Tinker Robbins
- 97 R. Depeutron.
- 98 Ansel Tyler, jr., John Spinney.
- 99 M. Burnham, Ansel Tyler, sr., D. McCarthy.
- 100 Daniel Clark, B. Farmer
- 101 Mr. Phillips, John Haskell, S. Whitney, Samuel Jones, Joseph Morse, H. Murphy,
- 101 Sam. Tedford.
- 102 Elisha Davis,
- Franklin Davis.
- 103 Alfred Wyman, Albert Sawyer.
- 104 Barney Phelps, Calvin Holman, Fred. Johnson, Jonas M. Farnsworth, Geo. Andrews.
- 105 Old Emery house, Shoeshank tenants.
- 106 Aaron Jones, Tenants.
- 107 Factory tenements.
- 108 Factory tenements.
- 109 Factory tenements.
- 110 Factory tenements.
- 111 B. Houghton, Jas. A. Arnold.
- 112 E. Haven, A. F. Nutting, Morris Bolan.
- 113 Mrs. J. Haven, Miss J. Brown.
- 114 Oliver Brown, Arah Ellenrood, Patrick Powers.
- 115 M. Kinnecom.
- 116 Charles Eaton, C. Eaton, jr., S. Brahanny.
- 117 Comb shop, Thomas Phelps, Mr. Derby.
- 118 John Maynard, G. Maynard.
- 119 S. Lawton, Mrs. L. Lewis, H. Schumaker, C. Schumaker.
- 120 J. Carter, M. D., C. Carter, M. D., Geo. Robinson's tavern.
- B. W. Willard, Edward Phelps, Almshouse.
- 121 Mr. Heard, Old pauper house.
- 122 Miss S. Maynard.
- 123 Joseph Wilder, G. Wilder, Wm. Townsend, N. Worcester, F. O. Jackson.
- 124 Asahel Tower, Simon Thompson, Mrs. L. Thompson.
- 125 Site of school-house.
- 126 H. Lawton, Sewell Sargent, Ira Sawyer.
- 127 Old Ballard place, Jer. Ballard, H. Lawton, Thos. Lawton.
- 128 C. Baldwin, H. W. Willard.
- 129 J. Critchley.
- 130 Thos. Ballard, E. Ballard, H. Linenkemper, Formerly a tavern.
- 131 Wm. Ballard, C. Winter.
- 132 A. Sargent, Zopher Sargent.
- 133 Old Asahel Tower place, Snell Wade,

- 133 John Albec, B. S. Phelps.
 134 Tenants.
 135 Sam. Wilder.
 136 Jeremiah Fales, F. Houghton.
 137 S. Houghton, Jacob Willard, Samuel Rugg, James Vorse.
 138 Joel Osgood, John Rugg.
 139 Joel Osgood.
 140 Samuel Jones, Luther Jones, J. Goodell.
 141 Zopher Jones, S. Jones, jr., J. Fletcher.
 142 John Tracey, Peter Lynch.
 143 Mrs. Monroe.
 144 M. Divoll, Henry Thorn, Henry Moulter.
 145 E. Whitney.
 146 Samuel Adams, Elisha Fletcher.
 148 Daniel Stearns, Miss D. Stearns.
 149 Old Joslyn place, Peter Joslyn.
 150 Luke Stowe, J. Cunningham.
 151 Nathan Puffer.
 152 Old Fletcher place, John Fletcher, Josh. Fletcher, Wm. Fletcher, W. Fletcher, jr., Otis Fletcher, Patrick Burke.
 153 John Windett, Dan'l McCarty.
 — John Fletcher, [south of 153.]
 154 Mr. Lincoln, John Carter, D. Matthews.
 155 R. Fletcher.
 156 James Langin.
 157 Abel Rugg, Samuel Allen, Zephas Rugg, D. S. Matthews.
 158 William Puffer, David Osgood, Mrs. Lord.
 159 Mr. Rogers, Polly Conquerette, John Laughton, Wm. H. Blood.
 160 John Rugg, Joel Osgood, Dea. P. Osgood, F. W. Johnson.
 161 Alpheus Carter, Miss L. Carter, Eli Carter, James Swan.
 162 Isaac Rugg, Joel Rugg, Otis Hunt, Pat'k Murphy, Levi P. Wood.
 163 Old Tannery, Ephraim Carter, John Carter, Thomas Taylor, F. D. Taylor.
 164 Ephraim Carter, Levi Stow, Peter Lynch, Mr. Divoll, Mr. Flagg.
 166 Old Wilder place, David Wilder, Joel Wilder, 2d, L. W. Spaulding,
 166 A. W. Howe.
 167 D. Wilder, jr., Miss S. Prescott, Mr. Williams, Alfred Heald.
 168 Tim'y Fletcher, Miss Elizabeth Fletcher, Miss Mary A. Fletcher, Miss E. Bennett, Chas. E. Blood.
 169 Jacob Lincoln, Isaac N. Cutler.
 170 M. Stevenson, Miss L. Stevenson, J. H. Maynard.
 171 Chippereous Rugg, Jos. Maynard, John Maynard, A. P. Nickerson.
 172 Dr. Litte, Peter Joslyn, Wm. Matthews, Mr. Hennessey.
 173 Abel Rugg, Chas. Emerson, Geo. Greenway, N. Rand, J. Webb, C. Brockelmann.
 174 Hooker Osgood, Mrs. Webb, B. Gadey, Ernest Guede.
 175 Jona. Osgood, G. Speiser.
 176 Jer. Fales, William Divoll, L. Sawyer.
 177 Manasseh Wilder, Joseph Wilder, Wm. Toombs, Sam. M. Hines, Gen. T. Davis, Fred. Clark, Rev. Hubbard Winslow, Sewell Day, E. W. Smith.
 178 Philip Goss, John Houghton, Jonas Goss, jr.
 179 Wm. Wilder, Eben. Bragg, A. J. Bancroft.
 180 Luke Wilder, Jos. Maynard, B. Gould, Tilly Brockway, John S. Pope.
 181 John Wilder, Benj. Wilder, G. K. Tuttle.
 182 Hiram Hosmer, Wm. H. McNeil, Dr. Newton, Mrs. Libbey.
 183 Old house [removed].
 184 John Fuller, Rufus Maynard, H. F. Hosmer, Hiram Hosmer.
 185 Jona. Wilder, J. Thurston, jr., Joseph Parker, Geo. A. Parker.
 186 John Thurston, J. F. Thurston.
 187 Jona. Buttrick, Widow Buttrick, Jona. Buttrick, E. W. Buttrick.
 188 Amos Sawyer, Caleb Howard, John Fuller.
 189 M. Staples, Fr'klin Sawyer.
 190 Fairbank place,
 190 Jonas Fairbank, Eliphalet Ballard, George Howard.
 191 Burton Walker.
 192 William Rugg, John Sergeant, G. Green, John Walsh.
 193 Caleb Howard, Geo. Buttrick.
 193½ Jos. Maynard, Tim. Hastings, Mrs. Lois Barrett, Mrs. Cephas Rugg.
 194 Cyrus Fairbank, Mr. Peabody, Jona. Wilder, Joseph Wilder, O. A. Smith, Mrs. N. Goodrich, Ed. C. Swift.
 196 Joseph James, Patrick Coyle.
 197 Dea. J. Wilder, Chas. J. Wilder.
 198 Silas Thurston.
 199 S. Thurston, jr.
 200 Eber Goddard, Samuel Sibley, C. P. Handy.
 201 Lincoln Johnson, Mr. Bell, Mrs. Bell.
 202 Samuel Sibley.
 203 Capt. Grandy, Dollison place, Sidney Howard, C. Bingham.
 204 Eph. McRell.
 205 Wm. Trimble.
 206 Parley Hammond, Widow Hammond, John S. Monroe.
 207 O. Houghton, Capt. Jno. Whitney, Wm. H. Carr.
 208 Thomas Miller.
 209 Jos. Malanson.
 210 George Taylor.
 211 Joseph Lemire.
 212 N. H. Larkin.
 213 Ed. Kenny.
 214 Wm. McRell.
 215 John Cannon.
 216 D. Hoban.
 NORTH VILLAGE.
 [See page 765.]
 1 Major Jacob Fisher, Gen. J. Whiting, Miss Maria Whiting, Edward Tracey, Wm. A. Power.
 2 Solon Whiting, Mrs. Green, James Ordway.
 3 Jonas Johnson, John Lyon, Michael Head.
 5 Benj. Chandler, George Safford, Michael Dacey.
 6 James Newhall, Miss Eliza Newhall.
 7 Benj. Foster, Widow M. Wilder, Mich'l Mahoney.
 8 Asa Arnold, Mrs. M. Barnes, Mrs. Emily Leighton,
 8 Asher Jewett.
 9 Tenement.
 10 Levi Prescott, Benj. Farmer, Chas. Bigelow, Levi Damon, Tenants.
 [No. 10 was nearly opposite No. 11, south of the road.]
 11 Dr Calvin Carter, Sewell Carter, John M. Washburn, John E. Farnsworth.
 12 Sewell Carter's store.
 13 Caleb Lincoln, Isaac Childs, Thos. E. Blood.
 14 Old school-house.
 15 Elijah Parmenter.
 16 Mrtin Campbell, 17 Old Wrifford house, Michael Burke.
 18 L. Coburn, Jackson.
 19 Mrs. Roxy Freeman.
 20 Wm. H. Blood, Mrs. Laughton.
 21 John A. Haskell, Dr. Lyon and Bellows, Henry Jewell.
 22 J. Douglass, G. L. Hunting.
 23 L. Bruce, T. A. G. Hunting, W. A. Hunting.
 24 Benj. Morse.
 25 S. Wilder, Alex. Potter.
 26 Josiah Billings, Edward Phelps, Josiah Fay, Benj. B. Otis.
 27 John Townsend, James Mallard, Sylvester Phelps, Joel W. Phelps.
 28 Old store of L. Lewis.
 29 Levi Lewis, Warren Davis, E. Macomber.
 30 Hotel, Jacob Fisher, Mr. Bradley, Isaac Childs, Elbridge Houghton, Chas. Fairbank.
 31 Abra. Mallard, Warren Davis.
 32 C. Bridge, Pat'k Mitchell.
 33 Z. Priest, Miss M. Willard.
 34 Jacob Fisher, jr., Calvin Holman.
 35 E. Carter Fisher, C. N. Robbins.
 36 J. Goodwin, jr., Benj. Hawkes, Mrs. Houghton.
 37 Old tavern, George Bennett, J. D. Miles, Many landlords, Mrs. Harris.
 38 Stowe's wheelwright shop.
 39 Moses Stowe.
 40 Sewell T. Rugg.
 41 Blacksmith shop.
 42 Maj. Jac. Fisher, H. B. Stratton, Mr. Kimball, Dr. Barron, Dr. Newton.

Mr. Whitman declined a re-election as town treasurer at the spring election, when it was voted "that the thanks of the town be presented to Davis Whitman, Esq., for the prompt and faithful discharge of his duty as town treasurer during a period of fifteen years past, without any pecuniary reward. And while we would most fully appreciate such an example of fidelity and trust, alike honorable to the individual and the town, we cannot but hope that its influence will not be lost upon his successors in the office."

Expense for the militia, \$186. This was the last year that a minister's tax, as it was called, was raised by the town.

March 7, 1836, Josiah Flagg, Esq., who had been town clerk thirty-four years, declined a re-election; when it was voted unanimously, "that the thanks of the town be presented to him for his long, faithful, efficient, and highly acceptable services." The Records were kept with great care by Mr. Flagg, and his penmanship is almost as legible as good print. Joseph W. Huntington, Esq., was his successor.

At the election in November, Edward Everett had 245 votes for governor, and Marcus Morton 42. Levi Lincoln, the second of that name, received 223 votes for congress. The electors who voted for Gen. Harrison as president, had 227 votes, and the Van Buren electors 44. James G. Carter was elected to the general court unanimously.

The annual meeting, March 6, 1837, was presided over by Jacob Fisher, jr. Mr. Huntington was re-elected clerk, and James G. Carter was chosen treasurer, and also agent to receive the town's portion of the surplus revenue. The selectmen were to loan the money to any one who would refund in forty-eight hours on hand. This was a part of the surplus revenue of the United States which was nominally loaned, but really given to the several states, on condition that it might be reclaimed by the general government. It was then voted to pay the "town debt for the pauper farm," with this money. This vote was reconsidered, at the April meeting, and on the

sixteenth of May, it was voted to "receive the surplus revenue according to the terms of the law." It was deposited in the Lancaster bank, and loaned to the bank at five per cent.

Deer Reeves were chosen till the year 1838, when that office seems to have been dropped. But Fish Wardens were chosen: viz., Benjamin F. Tidd and Torrey Fitch. A vaccination committee consisting of Calvin Carter, Wright Cummings and Henry Lincoln, M. D.'s, was elected.

The election in 1838 drew out a full vote. Gov. Everett received 305 votes; Judge Morton, 60. There was quite a contest about the representative. The vote was as follows. Silas Thurston, 221; John G. Thurston, 215; Joseph W. Huntington, 122; Anthony Lane, 127. James G. Carter was state senator.

In 1839 a bounty on wheat, amounting to \$62 was paid. The town-house was repaired and painted. Davis Whitman had charge of the business.

The presidential election in 1840 showed a democratic gain, though the Whig party was largely in the ascendant. Gen. Harrison polled 287 votes to 94 for Mr. Van Buren. Gov. John Davis had 279, and Judge Morton 105.

Repairs on the Almshouse cost \$182.55.

The election in 1841 is marked by the first appearance, in this town, of the Liberty Party. Lucius Boltwood had nineteen votes for governor, out of three hundred and twenty-seven. A small beginning, but the party had in it the principle of life, and through its successors, the Free Soil and Republican parties, became dominant in the land, and abolished slavery. Dea. Charles Humphrey received twenty-three votes as a candidate for the state senate.

The meeting, March 2, 1842, deserves honor for the following. "Voted, that the town instruct the selectmen to decline approbating any person or persons, the ensuing municipal year, for the sale of intoxicating liquors, except for medical and mechanical purposes."

LIST OF PRINCIPAL TOWN OFFICERS.

As the above closes the record of miscellaneous business during the period under review, it will be convenient, in this place, to insert the names of the principal town officers, except those of the school committee.

Josiah Flagg continued in the office of town clerk, with the exception of the year 1828, when he declined a re-election, till 1836, a period of thirty-four years. The Records, accurately kept and legibly written, are his best monument.

Jacob Fisher, senior, or Major Fisher, was clerk in 1828.

Joseph W. Huntington, Esq., held the office in 1836 and 1837.

John G. Thurston was chosen in 1838, and was in office in 1842. All who consult the Records will esteem these several clerks for their works' sake.

The treasurers were as follows.

Daniel Stearns in 1802, and Eli Stearns from 1803 to 1820. Davis Whitman was elected in 1820 and served till 1837. He declined a re-election, and received the thanks of the town. James G. Carter was then chosen, and served two years. Nathaniel Rand was treasurer from 1839 to 1842. The treasurers, without exception, appear to have been honest and capable men.

The following gentlemen were representatives in the general court.

Samuel Ward, Esq., or Capt. Ward, in 1801. He had been delegate several years previously. This was his last term in the legislature.

William Stedman, Esq., in 1802. The next year he was elected to congress, where he continued till the year 1810.

Jonathan Wilder, 1803-6; Eli Stearns, 1806-10; Jonas Lane, 1808-12; Jacob Fisher, 1811-13, 1821, and 1823; William Cleveland, 1813-15; John Thurston, 1814-18, 1826, and 1840; Edward Goodwin, 1816; Benjamin Wyman, 1817-19; Solomon Carter, 1818; Joseph Willard, 1827-28; Davis Whitman, 1827, 31; Solon Whiting, Esq., 1829-30; Ferdinand Andrews, 1832; John G. Thurston, 1832, 1838; Levi Lewis, 1837; Dr. George Baker, 1833; James G. Carter, 1834-36; Joel Wilder, 1834, 1835; Silas Thurston, 1837, 1839; Jacob Fisher, jr., or Capt. Jacob Fisher, 1841, 1842.

For convenience the moderators, selectmen and assessors will be tabulated. In some years there was a different moderator at each meeting.

MODERATORS.	SELECTMEN.	ASSESSORS.
1801. John Whiting.	Josiah Flagg, Joseph White, T. Ballard.	Jonas Lane, Samuel Ward, J. Maynard.
1802. John Whiting, Jonas Lane.	Thomas Ballard, Jacob Fisher, Wm. Wilder.	Jonas Lane, John Maynard, Benj. Wyman.
1803. Samuel Ward.	Jacob Fisher, William Wilder, J. Prentiss.	Benjamin Wyman, John Thurston, J. Whiting.
1804. John Whiting.	Jacob Fisher, J. Prentiss, Wm. Wilder.	Messrs. Wyman, Thurston and Whiting.
1805. John Whiting, Jonas Lane, S. Ward.	John Prentiss, Jonas Lane, Ed. Goodwin.	Assessors re-elected.
1806. Samuel Ward, John Prentiss.	Jonas Lane, Ed. Goodwin, Thos. Safford.	John Whiting, Benj. Wyman, Wm. Gould.
1807. John Whiting, Timothy Whiting.	Selectmen re-elected.	Benj. Wyman, William Gould, Jacob Fisher.
1808. J. Whiting, Wm. Stedman, J. Lane.	Jonas Lane, Moses Smith, jr., C. Lincoln.	Benj. Wyman, Jacob Fisher, Ed. Goodwin.
1809. John Maynard.	M. Smith, jr., C. Lincoln, Jere. Ballard.	Assessors re-elected.
1810. John Maynard.	Selectmen re-elected.	“
1811. Merrick Rice.	Moses Smith, jr., Moses Emerson, J. Ballard.	“
1812. John Maynard, Joseph Hiller.	Ed. Goodwin, Joel Wilder, Calvin Wilder.	B. Wyman, Jacob Fisher, Solomon Carter.
1813. John Maynard, Moses Smith.	Moses Emerson, John Thurston, Samuel Manning.	Assessors re-elected.
1814. John Maynard, Joseph Wales.	Selectmen re-elected.	“
1815. Eli Stearns, Jonathan Wilder.	Sam'l Manning, Calvin Wilder, Joel Wilder.	Re-elected.
1816. Jacob Fisher.	Re-elected.	B. Wyman, Solomon Carter, Moses Smith.
1817. Jacob Fisher.	S. Manning, Joel Wilder, E. Sanderson.	Re-elected.
1818. Jacob Fisher.	Elisha Sanderson, Jacob Fisher, J. Whitney.	B. Wyman, Moses Smith, Isaac Childs.
1819. Jacob Fisher.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1820. Jacob Fisher, Jonas Whitney.	Jonas Whitney, Jonas Locke, Josiah Bridge.	B. Wyman, Isaac Childs, Ebenezer Wilder.
1821. Jacob Fisher.	Re-elected.	B. Wyman, Jacob Fisher, Jonas Lane.
1822. Jacob Fisher.	Jonas Whitney, Jonathan Locke, John G. Thurston.	Re-elected.
1823. Jacob Fisher.	Re-elected.	“
1824. Jacob Fisher.	John G. Thurston, Calvin Wilder, B. Farnsworth, 2d.	“

MODERATORS.	SELECTMEN.	ASSESSORS.
1825. Jacob Fisher.	J. G. Thurston, C. Wilder B. Farnsworth, 2d.	Jacob Fisher, B. Wy- man, S. Thurston, jr.
1826. Jacob Fisher.	B. Farnsworth, 2d, John Thurston, jr., Jacob Fisher, jr.	Silas Thurston, jr., John G. Thurston, Solon Whiting.
1827. Jacob Fisher.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1828. Solon Whiting	Jacob Fisher, jr., John Thurston, jr., An- thony Lane.	S. Thurston, jr., John Thurston, jr., An- thony Lane.
1829. Solon Whiting	John Thurston, jr., Ja- cob Fisher, jr., An- thony Lane.	S. Thurston, jr., Solon Whiting, Martin Lin- coln.
1830. Solon Whiting.	John Thurston, jr., An- thony Lane, Nathan- iel Rand.	Re-elected.
1831. Solon Whiting.	John Thurston, jr., An- thony Lane, S. Carter.	Jonas Lane, Jacob Fish- er, Samuel Carter.
1832. Solon Whiting,	Anthony Lane, Samuel Carter, N. Rand.	Solon Whiting, John G. Thurston, M. Lin- coln.
1833. Solon Whiting.	Samuel Carter, Ezra Sawyer, Silas Thurs- ton, jr.	Solon Whiting, John Thurston, jr., Jacob Fisher, jr.
1834. Solon Whiting.	J. G. Thurston, N. War- ner, Wm. Townshend.	Solon Whiting, Martin Lincoln, Anth. Lane.
1835. Solon Whiting.	John G. Thurston, Levi Lewis, J. Wilder, jr.	Re-elected.
1836. J. G. Thurston.	Joel Wilder, jr., Levi Lewis, Chas. Sawyer.	Silas Thurston, jr., Mar- tin Lincoln, A. Lane.
1837. J. Fisher, jr.	Re-elected.	S. Thurston, jr., Anth. Lane, C. Atherton.
1838. J. Fisher, jr.	Anthony Lane, Eph- raim Fuller, Sidney Harris.	Re-elected.
1839. J. G. Thurston.	Solon Whiting, Joel Wilder, 2d, Charles Sawyer.	S. Thurston, jr., Nath. Warner, Warren Da- vis.
1840. Solon Whiting.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1841. Solon Whiting.	Joel Wilder, 2d, War- ren Davis, Sidney Howard.	Silas Thurston, Sted- man Nourse, Fordyce Nourse.
1842. Solon Whiting.	Warren Davis, Anthony Lane, Nathan Bur- ditt.	Stedman Nourse, For- dyce Nourse, Levi Farwell.

DELEGATES. — Capt. John Maynard, Jonathan Wilder and William Cleveland, Esq., were delegates to a County Convention at Worcester, August, 1812.

Major Jacob Fisher and Davis Whitman, Esq., were delegates to the Constitutional Convention, in Boston, November, 1820, for revising the State Constitution after the separation of Maine.

SENATORS.—Moses Smith, from 1814 to 1818. James G. Carter, from 1837 to 1839.

CLERK OF THE COURTS.—William Stedman, 1810–11, and 1812–1816.

ASSISTANT JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF SESSIONS.—John Whiting, from 1808, March 1, to April 20, 1809. Timothy Whiting, 1811.

CONGRESSMAN.—William Stedman, eight years from 1803.

EDUCATION.

For convenience, the action of the town in relation to education during the period included in this chapter, will be stated in a brief but connected narrative.

Previous to 1803, the town had been divided into eleven districts. No. 6 embraced nearly all the Neck, on both roads, and the cross road by C. L. Wilder. The school-house was near the crossing of the railroad on the east Neck road. The families living on the west road—between the Center and the North Village—wanted a school by themselves. The subject was referred to a committee, and when they reported in May, the old sixth district was divided. The east part extended from the south end of the east Neck road as far north as the fork of the road on the south side of Ponakin hill. The new district, No. 12, reached from the house of Deacon Wales, round by the meeting-house, and north to Mr. Hosley's, who lived a little west of the brick yard, on a discontinued road.

The appropriation for schools in 1804 was \$1,000. Of this sum, the Latin grammar school was to draw \$400, and the school was kept in one place. The school money was divided among the districts in proportion to the taxes; but a deduction was made from the five central districts in favor of those more remote. No. 5 yielded seventeen per cent.; Nos. 6, 7 and 12, thirty per cent.; and No. 8, twenty-five per cent.

The question of repairing the Latin grammar school-house was before the town at different times, but on March 3, 1806, the whole subject of the Latin school was put into the hands of a committee of eleven, representing all parts of the town.

The committee were Leonard Farwell, John Robbins, William Gould, John Maynard, Jacob Fisher, Eli Stearns, Jonas Flagg, Timothy Whiting, Jonas Fairbank, Nathaniel Lowe, John Wilder, 2d. The committee decided that the school should be stationary eight months, from September 1 to the end of April; two months in No. 7, and two months in No. 4 districts.

For the first time the school committee were directed to visit the schools at the beginning and the end of the term. The singing-school was held every year, costing from fifty to eighty dollars. The money was divided between the districts according to the following table.

No. 1 district, . . . \$87	No. 7 district, . . . \$90
“ 2 “ . . . 45	“ 8 “ . . . 36
“ 3 “ . . . 62	“ 9 “ . . . 72
“ 4 “ . . . 95	“ 10 “ . . . 52
“ 5 “ . . . 39	“ 11 “ . . . 49
“ 6 “ . . . 66	“ 12 “ . . . 29

The record does not state the basis of this division, whether of population, number of children, or taxation. It may be noted that the expense of the schools uniformly overran the appropriation. The repairs of the Latin school-house, cost \$94. The Neck scholars were better accommodated than the other by the Latin grammar school, and probably this was considered when the money was apportioned.

In 1810, the Shakers applied for a portion of the school money, as they occupied one establishment in Lancaster, at that time. The matter was referred to a committee, — Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher and Solomon Carter, — who made inquiries, and reported that the Shakers had a good school, and that as long as they had as many as five scholars, they ought to draw nine dollars. This arrangement was made.

The following vote, passed November 2, 1812, indicates that the terms of admission to the Latin school were not very high. “No child shall attend the Latin grammar school, (except by permission of the selectmen,) unless he or she can read in

the plain, easy lessons, by spelling the same." It is supposed that some young children, living near the Latin school, and at some distance from the other schools, were permitted to attend the former. But there must be *some* limit.

In 1815, the school money amounted to about \$1,100. The next year that sum was voted, besides fifty dollars for a singing-school. The committee to hire the Latin grammar school-master in 1817, were Dr. Manning, Mr. Eli Stearns and Col. Jonas Lane. The expense of the school in 1813 was \$328. The following year the expense was \$229.54, including board, wood and smaller items. In 1815, \$307.20; in 1816, \$157.73. This decrease in the expense of the Latin grammar school was followed by an increase the next year, when the appropriation was \$300, but the actual cost was \$375.91.

But the days of the school were numbered, though it had a lingering death. In 1818, at a meeting, November 2, it was voted that the school should be kept five months instead of twelve, commencing on the first of December. At the same time, there was a re-distribution of the school money between the districts, in the following proportion.

District No. 1, . . . \$80	District No. 7 . . . \$100
“ “ 2, . . . 50	“ “ 8, . . . 48
“ “ 3, . . . 70	“ “ 9, . . . 80
“ “ 4, . . . 95	“ “ 10, . . . 70
“ “ 5, . . . 60	“ “ 11, . . . 60
“ “ 6, . . . 85	“ “ 12, . . . 40

In this arrangement No. 7 included George hill and New Boston, and the school-house was at the foot of George hill. No. 12 was on the south or west side of the Neck, or Center. The above table indicates a great change in the location of the population. South Lancaster and George hill united, drew only five dollars more than No. 4, or Ballard hill; and the majority in No. 7 lived on George hill as compared with South Lancaster. No. 6 drew eighty-five dollars, while No. 12, or the west of the Neck drew only forty dollars. Nos. 1

and 9, which were numbered then as now, drew each eighty dollars. Both the schools in the Clinton territory received but one hundred and thirty dollars, leaving seven hundred and eight dollars for the schools within the present limits of the town.

A further examination shows that a very large proportion of this amount was expended in the north part of the town. The six northern districts, including no part of the Center except the east road of the Neck, drew four hundred and forty dollars, leaving but two hundred and sixty-eight dollars for the Center, the Old Common, South Lancaster, George hill and Deers Horns. At the present time more than three-fifths of the population live in the latter section of the town; and a far greater proportion of the valuation.

The Shaker family were allowed ten dollars of school money, in the above arrangement.

The committee spent \$280.75 on the Latin school, in 1818. There appears to be nothing in the accounts for 1819, in relation to the school except a few dollars for repairs. In 1820 the town raised \$160; but the committee spent \$256.46 in support of the school. The next year the question of selling the house was referred to a committee, but a committee to hire a Latin grammar master was chosen as usual: Davis Whitman, Jonas Lane, Solon Whiting. The school was in session in 1821 long enough to run up a bill of \$142. At the March meeting, 1822, the question of abandoning the school was raised, and was referred to a committee. The treasurer's report shows that fifty dollars were expended for the school. There was no appropriation for the school in 1823, and the next year a committee was directed to dispose of the Latin grammar school-house to the "best advantage of the town." Thus ended a school which had been in existence at least sixty-five years, and which had been a blessing of incalculable value to the youth of Lancaster. It was established in 1757 as a grammar school, while the other schools were called reading and writing schools. It seems to have had a

classical teacher from the first; certainly very early in its history, and after some years took the name of the Latin grammar school. Before the set-off of Sterling, it was sometimes kept part of the year in each precinct. After the separation, it was generally kept in the Center, near the house of Daniel Stowell; but at times it held sessions on Ballard hill and George hill about two months each, and the rest of the year in the Center. It is believed that some of the classical, and perhaps other scholars, followed the school in all its migrations.

The necessity for the school ceased before it was discontinued, since the Lancaster Academy was started in the year 1815. Some interesting facts in the history of this institution will be found on a subsequent page.

Continuing the history of the town schools, we find that a new distribution of the money was made in 1822, the boundaries of the districts remaining nearly the same. The amount divided was increased about one hundred and fifty dollars, or eighteen per cent., and the sum which each district received, except Ballard hill, was also increased, but the relative increase was not uniform. Thus No. 6 increased about thirty per cent., and No. 7 just fifty per cent., and No. 12 eighty-five per cent., while the other districts held nearly their relative position. The population was evidently gaining in the Center and New Boston. The Shakers were allowed fifteen dollars of school money. By joining all the children in their three families, they had quite a school.

In April a vote was passed to join No. 6 with the part of No. 5 east of the river, while the remainder of No. 5 was united with Ballard hill district. The town also voted to comply with the new law which required that teachers should be qualified to give instruction in Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography and good behavior. Perhaps no citizen of the state had more influence in raising the standard of education, at this time, than

the Hon. James G. Carter. He was eminent as a teacher; at different times he was a member of both branches of the general court; he was an able and persuasive speaker, and in many ways awakened a deeper interest in the subject of general education. It was thought by many that the place of Secretary of the Board of Education, when that office was created, belonged to him rather than to the Hon. Horace Mann, since he was more intimately identified with the cause of education at that time.

In April, 1826, district No. 7 was divided, Roper's brook being the boundary line. The school-house fell to the George hill section. New Boston was allowed \$90, and George hill \$60 of the school money.

It was voted, April 2, 1827, that school districts might choose prudential committees. The law permitting this action was found on trial, to be unfavorable to the selection and location of the best teachers, and finally was superseded by the law abolishing districts. This year the town paid a bill of \$23.49 for school books. The singing-school was kept up by the town, costing between fifty and seventy-five dollars. The committee were Solon Whiting, Ezra Sawyer, George Carter. During several years from 1822 the schools were supported at an annual expense of about \$1,005.

The year 1831 witnessed an advance in the appropriation for schools, the town having raised the sum from \$1,005 to \$1,400. A new distribution of the money was made according to the table below. The boundaries of the districts are not given. There were twelve districts before the division of No. 7, and but twelve are numbered after that event.

District No. 1, . . \$131.00	District No. 7, . . \$92.00
“ 2, . . 82.00	“ 8, . . 90.00
“ 3, . . 92.00	“ 9, . . 97.00
“ 4, . . 106.00	“ 10, . . 157.00
“ 5, . . 184.00	“ 11, . . 92.00
“ 6, . . 120.00	“ 12, . . 157.00

This arrangement was changed in 1835, but the difference in the apportionment was scarcely worth the trouble of making it.

The money raised by the town for schools was divided nearly according to the number of school children in the several districts ; but the money received from the state, for this purpose, was, in 1837, and thereafter, divided equally between the districts. In 1838 the expense of the schools was \$1,522.04 ; the appropriation was \$1,400. Probably the committee overran the sum voted ; they also used the money from the state school fund.

In 1839 it was voted that prudential committees should select and contract with teachers, in the districts where they resided. The plan was popular for many years, but within ten or a dozen years past, the authority to select and employ teachers has been restored to the superintending committees.

An effort was made in 1841 to divide district No. 5, but it failed for the time being. This finishes the educational record of the town to the close of the second century after Prescott and his comrades struck their first blows in the forests of the Nashua valley. The names of the members of the school committee from 1801 to 1843 are here in place. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was chairman of the committee during all these years till 1840, when Rev. Edmund H. Sears, who was his immediate successor, was chosen to the same position. Some of the names here given were found on the committee several years, others but a year or two. Perhaps some have escaped notice. It is well to bear in mind, that the chief care of the schools was assigned to Mr. Thayer, and that the duties of the other members were mainly prudential. The committee in 1803 were Mr. Thayer, Samuel Ward, Josiah Flagg, Thomas Ballard, Ebenezer Torrey, Jonathan Wilder, John Whiting, Israel Atherton, Jonas Lane, John Maynard, John Thurston, William Gould. In subsequent years, besides Mr. Thayer and some of the above, were the following gentlemen.

James Carter,	Farnham Plummer,	Amos Wheeler,
Jacob Sweetser,	Davis Whitman,	Henry Wilder,
Moses Smith, jr.,	Josiah Flagg,	James G. Carter,
Consider Studley,	Elisha Sanderson,	Alanson Chase,
Reuben Wheeler,	Solon Whiting,	Henry Lincoln,
Richard Haven,	R. J. Cleveland,	Artemas Barnes,
Thaddeus Chennery,	Joseph Willard,	Fordyce Nourse,
Jonas Fairbank,	Ezra Sawyer,	Charles Mason,
Benjamin Lee,	Anthony Lane,	Josiah Bridge,
Timothy Whiting,	David Goodrich,	John Davis,
Samuel J. Sprague,	Ferdinand Andrews,	Benjamin Houghton, 2d,
Joseph Wales,	Stedman Nourse,	C. G. Pickman,
Eli Stearns,	Luke Bigelow,	Paul Willard,
Joseph Hiller,	Aaron Burbank,	Charles Thurston,
William Cleveland,	William H. Brooks,	Levi Farwell,
William Blanchard,	Rev. Charles Packard,	Samuel Plant,
Merrick Rice,	Jeremiah Dyer,	John G. Thurston,
Jacob Fisher,	Moses Emerson,	Moses Pearley,
John Prentiss,	Calvin Wilder,	Horatio G. Carter,
Thomas Safford.	Edward Goodwin,	Martin Lincoln,
Titus Wilder, jr.,	Isaac Childs,	Dr. Goodrich,
Calvin Briggs,	Wm. Townshend,	Edward P. Whitman,
Solomon Carter,	Silas Thurston, jr.,	J. W. Huntington,
Samuel Manning,	Rev. Asa Packard,	Wright Cummings,
John McGaw,	Nathaniel Peabody,	John M. Washburn,
Joel Wilder,	Levi Lewis,	Rev. E. H. Sears,
Joseph Leach,	George Baker,	John Harriman.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

The routes of travel about and through the town, with few exceptions, had been fixed nearly as they remain, previous to the close of the last century. Between that time and the year 1842, one or two important roads had been opened, and others had been altered more or less, as private or public interest required. The bridges, however, were a continual cause of expense. Almost every unusual rise of water washed away causeways, and sluiceways, while every great flood bore off one or more of the large bridges. The narrative of these constant casualties and rebuildings cannot fail to be interesting to all those who have the care of such public works.

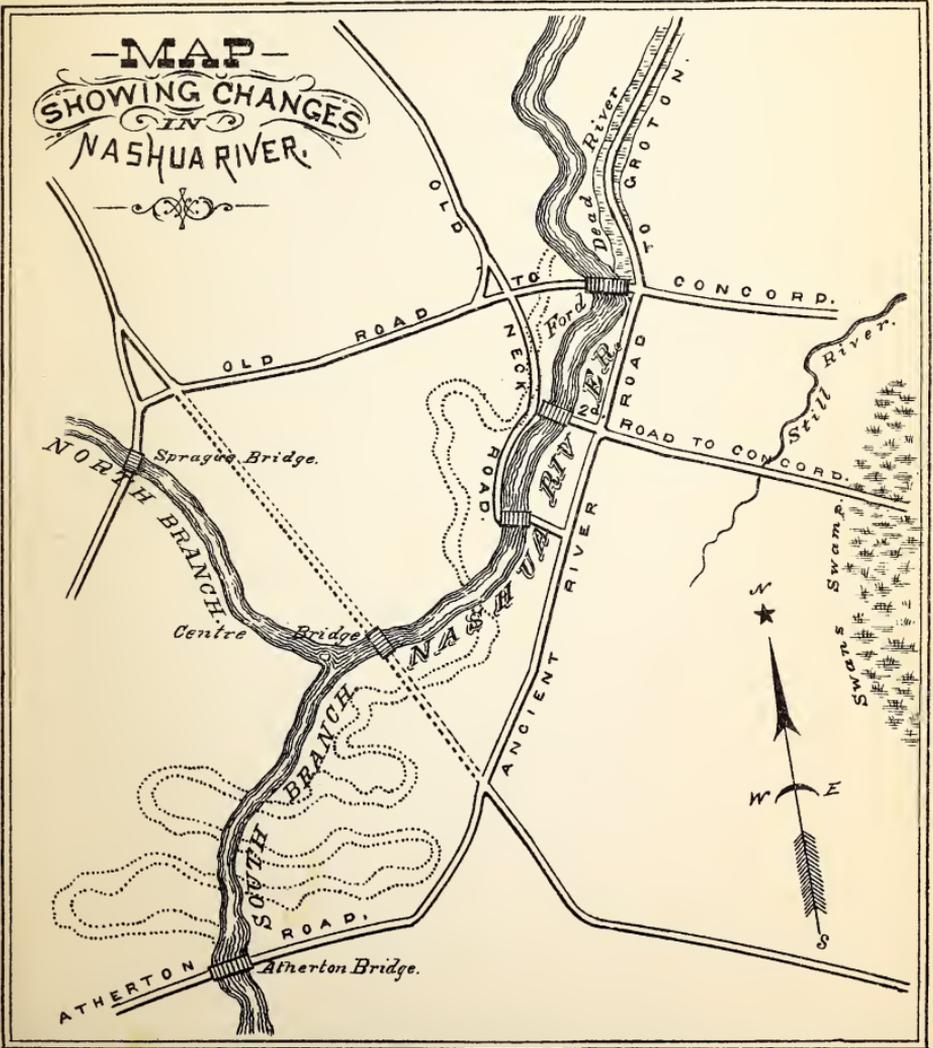
After the Center road and bridge were opened for travel, there was an effort made in 1802, to continue the east Neck road along the west side of the river from the old Neck bridge to the Center bridge, a distance of about sixty rods. This would have been a great convenience to all living on the east side of the Neck, and also to all coming down the Harvard road while on the way to the Old Common. Nor would it have been a difficult road to make. Why then did not the town comply with the wishes of the petitioners? And why, when they persisted, did the town appoint a committee to oppose the project? The reason is not on record, but probably the shifting channel of the river below the Center bridge was the prevailing motive with the town. Roads and bridges between the site of the Center bridge and Charles L. Wilder's corner had made a large bill of expense to every generation from the first settlement, and it is not strange if the town was willing to abandon the work of keeping them in repair, and rebuilding them when borne away by floods. The committee chosen to oppose the project before the county authorities, were Samuel Ward, Josiah Flagg, John Thurston, Jonas Fairbank and John Maynard. The road was not granted.

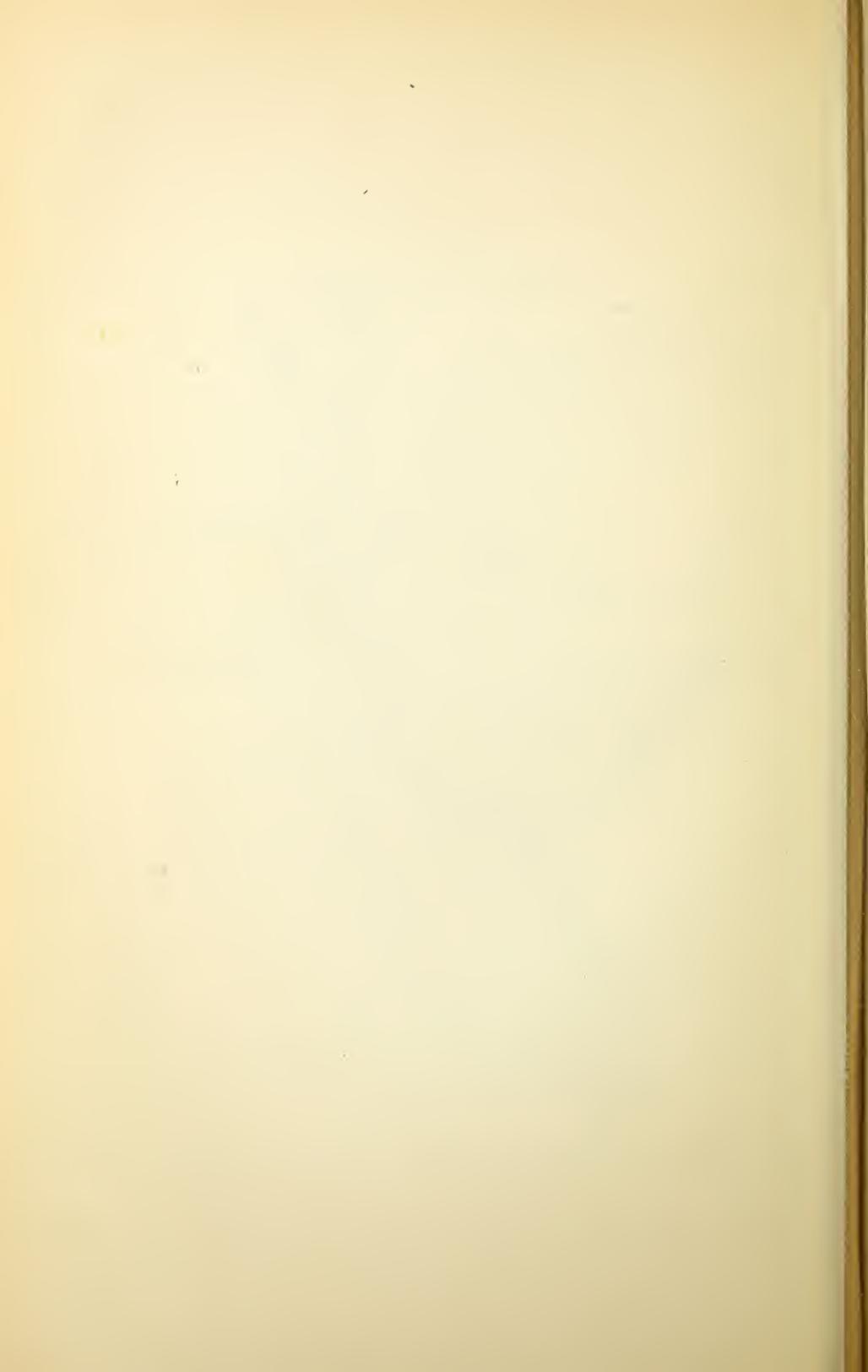
The old bridge, however, still remained, and the road from Wilder's corner; and they continued a charge for several years. The same year a plan of a road from Sterling to Lancaster was brought before the town, and a committee was chosen to oppose it, viz., William Stedman and Merrick Rice, esquires. Formerly a road went from South Lancaster by the house of Jonas Goss, and over the south end of George hill, across the land of George A. Parker, and westward on the south side of the house of George K. Tuttle. Nothing was effected at this time.

In the spring of 1803 inspectors of the river bridges were appointed as follows.

Sprague, Samuel John Sprague; Center, Thomas Safford; Atherton, Jonathan Wilder; Whiting, Samuel Rugg; White, William Haskell; Ponakin, John Maynard.

-MAP-
SHOWING CHANGES
IN
NASHUA RIVER.





The road over Ballard hill was formerly called Walnut swamp road, and as its name indicates it was difficult to keep in repair. The sum of \$300 was laid out upon it this year.

A committee was raised to consider the best method of repairing and building bridges in future. It was an important matter. The following strong committee were chosen, and reported at the April meeting. Samuel Ward, Eli Stearns, Ebenezer Torrey, Merrick Rice, John Prentiss, Jacob Fisher and John Maynard. They recommended that the town should have materials ready for building stone bridges when the wooden ones should need to be rebuilt. One experiment could be tried, and then the town could judge. The probable expense of a stone bridge would not exceed two thousand dollars. A new committee, Messrs. Rice, Stearns, Fisher, Maynard and John Whiting, was directed to examine the bridges, and decide where to begin on the proposed plan.

New Boston and George hill were united as a highway district. Provision was made for necessary sluiceways on the Center road east of the bridge.

At the November meeting a road was granted over the pond of Jonas Fairbank at Deers Horns corner. At this time a turnpike company contemplated building a road through the north part of the town, from Leominster to Harvard. A motion was made in town meeting to take measures to oppose the building of the turnpike, but the town decided to make no opposition. It was feared that travel would be diverted from the North Village and the Center, but probably there was a conviction that opposition would be useless. The turnpike was made, and was nearly in the line of the present road from the northwest part of the town by the brick tavern, as far as the old Poor Farm, now the property of Levi P. Wood, jr. From the school-house the turnpike ran nearly straight across the meadow, through the woods to the river, which it reached two or three hundred rods below Still river bridge. The road is still visible in the woods, well rounded towards the middle, but covered with a growth of bushes and

small trees. The bridge was carried off not far from the year 1816, and was never rebuilt. The course of travel took the old road to Still river, and has continued to this day.

In May, 1805, the selectmen were authorized to furnish the several highway districts with scrapers. At the same time the question was raised whether the town would oppose the passage of the Union turnpike across the intervale. That is, the road from Lane's corner or crossing, by the brick-yards, and over the intervale and river towards Bolton. The town voted against making opposition; but in November instructed their representative in the general court, Jonathan Wilder, to use all his influence with the legislature to secure a provision in the charter that the turnpike across the intervale should cause no expense to the town. This pike was a benefit to the North Village, but diverted teams from the Center. The stages however came through the Center as aforetime.

An attempt was made to get a road allowed from Bennett's bridge to the house of Capt. Sweetzer. In other words, from the bridge, in North Village, down the river some distance, and thence across the intervale eastward to the present residence of Frederick Johnson. No public road was made, but there are still traces of roadways between the two points. Probably the owners of the land used these for their special convenience.

The road and bridge expenses for 1806 were considerable. For repair of the Center road and sluiceways a sum "not exceeding \$200" was voted. The Center bridge needed \$144.16 for repairs, and \$750 were spent on the new road from Sterling. This came by the corner between Messrs. Thurston and Parker, and on to the south end of New Boston.

In 1807 attempts were made to open more convenient ways to the north part of the town, by the middle route, through Greenbush and Gotham, but the town was not ready to build, and appointed Moses Smith, Esq., to oppose the measure. It had to wait a few years. There were two roads to

Shirley, in old times. One was by the Harvard road about three miles from the Center, and then by the road that goes to the Shakers. The other was by Ponakin, Rugg's mill, and diagonally to the northeast, up Babel hill; thence by the brick tavern to Shirley.

The town in May, refused to build Prescott's bridge, so called, east of Clinton Village, over the Nashua, but agreed to help those interested in the work to the amount of \$150. At a meeting, July 6, a vote was passed to lay out \$150 on Sawyer's bridge, and to allow half the school money belonging to residents on the Neck road to be spent in repairing the old Neck bridge. The bridge was again repaired the next spring.

The pressure became stronger for a road to and from Shirley, and the selectmen, November 7, 1808, were directed to "make such accommodations with the petitioners for laying out a road from Shirley line to Lancaster meeting-house as will best promote the interests of the town."

At the May meeting in 1809 the town voted "that after making the necessary repairs of the road on the east side of the Neck, the surveyor should work out the residue of the highway tax belonging to that section, in rebuilding the old Neck bridge." The inference is that the bridge had followed several previous ones down the stream. The town however was determined not to make a road from its site to the Center bridge, nor to pay money out of the treasury to build bridges. If the people on the Neck chose to put a part of *their* highway money into a bridge, they might do it.

In like manner, the Messrs. Hildreth were permitted to work out their highway tax on their road and bridge. This is now known as Hawkins' bridge.

The Center and Bennett's bridges were carried away in August, and a meeting was held near the last of the month, when it was voted to rebuild them. Eli Stearns, John Wheeler and A. Pollard were to build the Center, and Bennett's was committed to Richard Haven, Jacob Fisher and John Maynard. The selectmen were directed to make a sluiceway between the Dyer place and White's bridge.

The bridges which the town appointed agents to have in charge in 1810, were Ponakin, Bennett, or North Village, Sprague, Atherton, Center and White. The Neck was omitted, and that in the intervale was a part of the turnpike. The Shaker bridge over the Nashua, east of the Shaker farm, was more a private than a public work. One-fourth of the highway tax, for the Neck, was allowed for repair of the Neck bridge.

Every year the bridges caused expense. This year, repairs on Ponakin were \$8.15; Atherton, \$16.41; Sprague, \$79.40; Bennett, \$96.99; Center, \$94.82. Guide posts cost \$7.25. The Center and Atherton bridges were swept away, and a meeting was held, September 10, when it was concluded not to rebuild that season, but a committee was chosen to report a new plan. This new plan was reported on the seventeenth, and Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher and Merrick Rice were chosen a building committee.

Repairing the Neck bridge was paid for as usual, in 1811, and \$345.79 were paid for the work on the Center bridge. The road to Shirley was authorized, and a committee chosen to build it. The new part was from Capt. Lincoln's, (where Thomas Blood now lives,) through Greenbush and the woods to Goatham, so called. The remainder of the route was a readjustment and repair of an old road. The expense was \$821.91.

April, 1813. The Messrs. Locke, successors to Hildreth, had leave to work out and expend a sum not exceeding the taxes set to them in the surveyors' list, on their road and bridge, so called, under the direction of the surveyor of highways in the district whereof they are inhabitants. Twenty dollars of the taxes in the surveyor's list were allowed for repairing the Neck bridge. Repairs on the Sprague bridge cost \$87.36. December 20, Messrs. Stearns, Fisher and John Thurston were chosen to rebuild the Atherton bridge similar to the Center.

The old Neck bridge never staid long in good repair. In 1814 Ebenezer Torrey's highway tax was allowed for "necessary repairs." The Lockes had liberty to apply their highway tax to their road and bridge. The Joneses were permitted to do the same by their bridge, over the Nashua and northeast of the Wikapeket mill. The neighbors living near Deers Horns asked and received the same privilege for the bridge and roads in that vicinity. People in the northeastern section were similarly favored. Benjamin Houghton and E. Haven, on the road from Ponakin, north, had leave to work out their tax on that road. November 7, it was determined to build a dry bridge south of the Sprague bridge, and a similar bridge near the works of Poignand & Plant. The expense for bridges, this year, was \$567.09, as follows: Ather-ton, rebuilt, \$329.76; Bennett's mills, South Lancaster, repaired, \$85.32; Bennett, North Village, \$35.87; Wikapeket, or Jones, \$116.14.

At the May meeting, 1815, the town voted to stop diverting highway taxes from public to private roads. The experience of the years just preceding justified this action.

Not much was done for roads or bridges in 1816, the year when the meeting-house was built. That is still remembered also as a season when frosts and storms almost ruined the crops, as the preceding year is memorable for the "September gale," when thousands of trees were thrown down. Perhaps the next vote was the result of those distressful events. July 2, the town voted that cows should be allowed to run in the highways on conditions. The selectmen must give a license; the cows were to be labelled; the owners' names posted in all public places; no man to have more than one cow in the highway, and none to have the privilege except the necessitous.

A road was granted from Buttrick's Fulling mill east; that is from New Boston eastward by Carter's mills bridge. But as there had been a road in that direction nearly a hundred and seventy years, it was probable that the old road was straightened and repaired.

Nothing was done in 1817 to incur expense except some repairs on Bennett's bridge. The care of all the bridges was assigned to the persons named below. Ponakin, Benjamin Houghton; Bennett, Abraham Mallard; Sprague, Peter T. Vose; Harris, (east of Clinton,) Gardner Pollard; Bennett's mills, (New Boston,) Elias Bennett; Atherton, Jonathan Wilder; Center, Abner Pollard; White, Jeremiah Dyer.

March 2, 1818, the town resolved to oppose the opening of a new road from Shirley to the Union turnpike. The plan is not recorded, and it is not possible to conjecture what route was contemplated. A great freshet was the occasion of calling a special meeting on the fourth of March. Three bridges (Bennett, Atherton and Center) were gone, and the Harris bridge was damaged. It was voted that the three must be "re-built as soon as may be," and that the latter must be repaired. The Bennett bridge was to be laid on the old abutment. Committees were chosen for the work on each bridge. Bennett,—Jacob Fisher, Caleb Lincoln; Atherton,—John Thurston, Farnham Plummer, Elijah Wilder; Center,—Jonas Whitney, Solomon Carter, Timothy Whiting; Harris,—Gardner Pollard, David Harris, John Goss. Sprague bridge stood firm, but the road on the south side was piled high with cakes of ice three feet thick. A passage was made through the ice-cakes for travel.

Another special meeting was held, April 6, when it was voted to rebuild the bridge at Bennett's mills. Committee, Farnham Plummer, Elijah Wilder, Calvin Wilder.

May 4, the town passed a well deserved vote of thanks to the selectmen for unremitted services. The state of the roads and bridges necessarily imposed severe duty upon them. The same day a short road from the Village school-house to Jonas Joslyn's was granted. The school-house was just below the North Village bridge, at its former site, and on the west side, and the road extended a little beyond the house of John Cunningham. Formerly the road ran southwest, up the hill, where was a house within memory, and then went southwards on the west side of the Cunningham place.

No matter how many men were needed for important service, the town seems always to have had enough and to spare, and they worked with energy and despatch. The bills reported at the November meeting were: Ponakin, \$67.51; Bennett, \$324.32; Sluices of the same, \$167.82; Harris, \$139.00; Bennett's mills, \$487.99; Atherton, \$128.90; Center, \$287.-60. The total was \$1,639.71, besides expenses for minor repairs.

The next year was one of exemption from damage, but in 1820 Ponakin and Sprague bridges needed repairing, the expense on the latter being \$263.82.

The Ponakin bridge went on its travels again, and in November, 1821, Jacob Fisher, Benjamin Houghton and Isaac Childs were chosen a committee to build anew. The Harris bridge was rebuilt in 1822, by a committee, elected, April 1, as follows: John Buttrick, Daniel Harris, Jonas Whitney. The selectmen were instructed in November, to cover the Center bridge.

But this bridge followed many a predecessor, and had to be replaced in 1823. On the twenty-third of April the selectmen were instructed to "build an arched bridge, sixteen feet wide, on the old abutment." The frame was to be of white pine of first growth, or of chestnut. The planks, white pine, three and a half inches thick. This year the town began to buy gravel of William Townsend for the Walnut Swamp road. It swallowed up a great quantity, first and last. The bridges cost—Ponakin, \$395.87; Harris, \$146.87; Bennett's mills, \$43.18; Center, \$528.62.

There was a respite three or four years, from heavy damages on roads and bridges, the annual charge for ordinary work on highways being not far from \$800. Atherton bridge needed repairing in 1823. In 1826 it was rebuilt at a cost of \$690.64. At a meeting held, February 10, a committee was chosen to oppose the laying out of a new road from Westminster, through part of Princeton, Sterling and Leominster.

May 7, 1827, the following arrangement in relation to White's or Still river bridge was made. Lancaster was to "support" forty-five feet and two and one-half inches, and Harvard do the same for the length of thirty-nine feet and six inches.

The original bridges were sustained by trestles, several of these standing in the river, the ends of the bridges resting on log-abutments, which lay upon mudsills. Every unusual rise of the water caused the destruction of one or more of these frail structures. Soon after the opening of this century, stone abutments were laid for the ends, but trestles were used to sustain the center. When the Center bridge was built in 1823, and the Atherton bridge in 1826, a new plan was adopted. An arched bridge, so called, was constructed on a plan furnished by Farnham Plummer, who then resided in the town. He was an ingenious mechanic, and had a reputation in that line of business. Each bridge was a single arch, spanning the stream from side to side. The material was wood. This was considered a "better and by far more secure style of building," says Willard.* The bridges "are entirely out of the reach of the spring tide fury, and though more expensive at first, their durability proves their true economy." Doubtless the new bridges were superior to any that had preceded them, on our streams; but some of these in time, yielded to the resistless pressure of a great flood.

The bridge at Ponakin was carried off in 1829, and at a meeting, September 4, a committee,—John Thurston, jr., Jacob Fisher and Anthony Lane,—were chosen to rebuild it. For repairing the road from Dr. Carter's to the Leominster line, (Ballard hill road,) \$500 were appropriated.

Repairs on the old bridge at Knight's mill (Ponakin) cost \$40; and the new bridge cost \$489.58. Probably the old bridge was kept in passable order while the new one was in process of building.

In 1830 a road was wanted from North Village to William Townsend's, on the Harvard road, north of the house of Ben-

* Sketches of Lancaster in Worcester Mag., 1826.

jamin Farnsworth. Not granted. Another road was proposed from the Fitch tavern, (now Hotel Lancaster,) to the corner near the house of Jonas Lane. This project had to wait till next year, when it was adopted by the town on condition that it should not cost the town anything. Probably nothing was done, since there is a vote recorded under date, November 12, 1832, stating that a road was accepted from Capt. Lane's to Samuel Hastings's. Hastings lived in the house south of the brick store. There was difficulty in adjusting the southern terminus of the road. It was fixed at last on the present route. It seems almost incredible that the town existed nearly two hundred years without the convenience of this piece of road.

In the year 1831, the sum of \$859.92 was paid for a new bridge at North Village. Sewall Carter, who lived at Shoeshank, was allowed to work out his highway tax from his mill to Canoe brook. Work on the North Village bridge cost \$268.17; on Sprague bridge, \$240.18. The expense incurred for the Still river bridge in 1832 was \$555.82.

April 1, 1833. The following committee were chosen to rebuild Center bridge. Jacob Fisher, jr., Davis Whitman, Joel Wilder, Jonas Lane, Levi Lewis. They were to advise with the selectmen, who had been previously directed to prepare timber for the purpose if necessary. The total expense was \$1,188.58. A new road to Bolton cost \$625.85.

An anecdote in relation to a worthy and highly respected citizen, probably belongs to this period. Jonathan Wilder, father of the late Henry Wilder, Esq., was noted for his firmness and inflexible resolution. When the matter of discussion in town meeting, on one occasion, related to the difficulty of laying a firm foundation for Center bridge, a foundation which no flood could upheave or force from its position, it was suggested by one of the speakers that it might be well to plant Mr. Wilder under one end of the bridge, because he was the most immovable thing in town.

Nothing of general importance was done in road building

in 1834. Local convenience was secured by a short road in New Boston, and another at Deers Horns.

Bennett's or North Village bridge was down again, and Calvin Heywood was appointed to superintend the building of a new one, after consultation with the selectmen. This action was taken at a special meeting held February 4, 1835. In May the old road through Ponakin intervale from the mills to Josiah Billing's, (the residence of the late Benjamin B. Otis,) was discontinued as a public highway, and a short road was opened for the convenience of the Shakers.

The bills for bridge-building were quite heavy. North Village, \$1,508.13; Sprague, \$323.16; Carter's mills, \$307.

An effort was made several years in succession, to open a new road from the North Village towards Leominster, by a route which would avoid the ascent and descent of Ballard hill. At this period many large teams from the upper towns, and even from Vermont and western New Hampshire, went through Lancaster to Boston. These teams sometimes numbered as many as six, eight, and even nine horses. They drew enormous loads, and often were unable to ascend the long rise east of Phelps' mill. The same difficulty was experienced in ascending the eastern side of the hill, and it was necessary to hire extra horses or oxen to draw the loads up at either side. To obviate this trouble, delay and expense, it was proposed to go round the hill, on the north side, from the Village bridge to Wikapeket bridge. But as several families lived on the old road, and the proposed road would be of little local benefit, the plan was defeated. The through travel was secure because the road through the Village was more eligible than that by the brick tavern, across the upper end of the town.

In April, 1836, Atherton bridge was in a bad condition, but instead of rebuilding, the town repaired it at a cost of \$203.88.

The expense in accommodating travel in 1837 was very onerous. For the Harris bridge was paid \$489.15; for repairing

Carter bridge, \$128.93 ; for Ballard hill road, \$3,550. Perhaps the repairing of this road cost enough to pay for a new one, but this accommodated many families living on the line, and was made more available for through travel.

In 1838, April 2, a road was accepted from the factory school-house, (near the Clinton station,) to Pitts' mills, where the Lancaster Gingham mills now stand.

Ponakin bridge could find no certain abiding place. It could not stand before a freshet. In June, 1839, a vote was passed to rebuild, and the bill for bridge and road on either side, amounted to \$568.19. Work on the New Boston bridge cost \$58.

The next year Ponakin bridge again went on a voyage to the sea, and the town was obliged to put another in its place. April 6, 1840, a vote was passed to rebuild the bridge, and \$1,200 were appropriated to make the structure permanent. When the bill came in at the November meeting, it was found to exceed the appropriation. The abutments cost \$657.33, and the bridge, \$749.98, a total of \$1,407.31. The repairs of New Boston bridge cost \$165.

When the building committee reported to the town, March, 1841, in regard to the building of Ponakin bridge, they stated a fact which was probably entirely new in regard to such works in this town from its first settlement. These are the words : "And they further report that the said bridge was erected without the use of ardent spirits." The names of the committee are subjoined. Capt. Jacob Fisher, who had charge of the masonry ; Nathaniel Rand, Stedman Nourse and Levi Green, who superintended the wood-work.

At this meeting the town took the following action. "Voted, that a committee of one from each end of the town be chosen to take charge of the bridges during the year, who are authorized to do all that may be necessary to keep the bridges in repair during the year ; and chose Capt. Austin Davis for the south part of the town, who is to have charge of Sprague, Center, Carter and Harris bridges ; and chose Capt. Anthony

Lane for the north part of the town, who is to have charge of the Village, Ponakin and Harvard bridges." Atherton bridge is not mentioned in the vote. The bridge on the Intervale was kept in repair by the turnpike company.

A claim for damages came before the town, from Charles Knight, on account of the building of Ponakin bridge. The subject was referred to a committee, who reported, April 4, 1842, that the bridge was not a damage to Mr. Knight, but that the "cutting away of a part of his dam to turn the channel of the river, was a damage, and they recommended the payment of one hundred dollars." The town adopted the report. The dam, at that time, was just below the present bridge. In earlier times the bridge was thirty or forty rods down stream, and at the foot of the road which extends from the almshouse by Mr. Schumaker's and the Capt. Maynard place to the river.

The main lines of road in the town have not been much altered since 1840. Minor changes will be noted in their place. There have been several periods of bridge-making. At first, bridges were hastily built, and as hastily swept away. The abutments were not on solid foundations, and the trestles,—from three to five,—in the bed of the stream, were floated off by every freshet, or broken down by every rush of ice. By degrees the mudsills were set deeper and anchored more firmly, but the thick ice which formed around them in the winter, when lifted by the spring floods, raised the timbers also, and the whole bridge was borne along. The broken timbers struck the next bridge below, and it was started for the sea.

The third stage was reached when near the opening of this century, the town voted to build solid abutments on solid foundations. Where a ledge existed on either side of the river, the abutment was placed upon it. Where the stone basis could not be found, spiles were driven down to hard pan. These formed a secure base for the abutment. But the bridges were not secure because the floods forced out the trestles in mid-

stream, and dropped one or more lengths of timbers and planks into the river.

Next came the arch-bridge, so called, invented and built by Avery Plummer, an ingenious man of the last generation, who then resided in the town. These bridges extended from side to side by a single span, and were comparatively safe. The money laid out on them was a good investment. But wooden bridges decay, and must be rebuilt.

In consequence the town has recently adopted the plan of building iron bridges. The first bridge put up on this plan was the Atherton. This was built in 1870. Since then the town has replaced all the old wooden bridges over the Nashua with handsome iron structures, which bid fair to be durable, though he would be a rash prophet who should predict that they are above the reach of any possible flood.

During the period now reviewed — 1801 to 1842 — there were many business changes in the town, but these may be more compactly noted in a separate chapter. It will be enough in this place to state that the *Lancaster Gazette* was established in 1828, and was continued about two years. It was a small but well printed paper, and was filled with interesting and instructive matter. The editorials and correspondence evinced ability and culture. In connection with the *Gazette* was an extensive printing and publishing establishment, which gave employment to many persons, and made the Center quite a lively mart of business.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PASTORATE OF DR. THAYER.

THE Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was the sixth pastor of the first church in Lancaster, and the sixth and last minister and religious teacher of the town. The first, Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, after a continuous service of twenty-two years, from 1654 to 1676, saw his ministry terminated by the total destruction of the settlement, and the dispersion of the church. There is no record to tell us whether he ever received a formal dismissal, or even a release from his engagement, but it is supposable, that previous to his settlement in Wethersfield, he had consulted with some of his leading parishioners, wherever he might meet them in their scattered homes. During the broken and stormy period between Philip's war, and the year 1708, two excellent men, besides several temporary supplies, fulfilled the duties of a pastor. The Rev. John Whiting, invited as a candidate in 1688, and settled in 1690, probably, continued till his ministry was closed by his tragic death in 1697. The Rev. Andrew Gardner served the church and town in the capacity of a minister, though not ordained, from 1701 to 1704, when a mistaken but fatal shot filled the town with sorrow.

In May, 1705, Mr. John Prentice began to preach, and on the twenty-ninth of March, 1708, he was ordained. As his death occurred in the first month of 1748, his ministry lasted nearly forty-three years. His successor, Rev. Timothy Harrington, closed a long pastorate of forty-seven years in 1795, having been aided or superseded during the last two years by a colleague.

That colleague was Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. Before he was invited to the pastorate, several gentlemen had been heard. These were Rev. Thomas Gray, D.D., of Roxbury, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D.D., of Wiscasset, Me., Rev. Aaron Green, of Malden, Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, of Rutland, and Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher. Mr. Thayer began preaching here in the early part of 1792, and in June it was voted "that the town will hear Mr. Thayer a further time." But not till nearly a year had elapsed was the town ready to concur with the church; but on the third of June, 1793, a vote was unanimously passed to invite him to settle, with a salary of £90 during the lifetime of Mr. Harrington, and of £120, or about \$400 after his decease. Besides he was to have a "settlement" of £200, or \$666.67.

The farther action of the town in relation to Mr. Thayer's pastorate has already been recited. We turn now to the history of the church. The first meeting of the church, according to the Records, to take action in reference to a new minister, was held on the eighth of April, 1793, at the house of Mr. Harrington. The aged minister was infirm, and probably the church met with him in consideration of the state of his health. The Rev. Phinehas Wright was requested to preside as moderator.

The business was to "confer together relative to settling a colleague;" but not being ready to act, the meeting was adjourned to the last Tuesday of April; and that meeting was adjourned to May 28, when the following votes were passed. "Voted 2, unanimously to invite Mr. Nathaniel Thayer to settle as a colleague with the Rev. Timothy Harrington. 3, That Mr. Ebenezer Allen, Dea. Cyrus Fairbank, Dea. Benjamin Houghton, Dea. Josiah Ballard and Mr. Moses Sawyer be a committee to request the selectmen to call a town meeting for the purpose of the town's concurring with the church in the choice of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer to settle as a colleague with the Rev. Timothy Harrington." Then the meeting was "adjourned to the place when and where the town

should meet pursuant to the request of the committee aforesaid."

June 3, a meeting was held, when Mr. Ebenezer Allen was chosen moderator, *pro tem.*, and Timothy Whiting, jr., clerk.

The town having concurred, the church chose the following committee,—Mr. Allen, and Deacons Ballard, Fairbank and Houghton,—to "join with the town's committee to present Mr. Nathaniel Thayer the doings of the church relative to his settling in the work of the gospel ministry in this place, and to request his consideration thereof and answer thereto."

The doings of the church and the town, in extending a "Call" having been presented to Mr. Thayer, he wrote the following letter of acceptance, dated Cambridge, July 11, 1793, addressed to the "Church and Congregation" in Lancaster.

"BRETHREN: The votes entrusted by you, to the committees, have to me been duly communicated. The unanimity which prevailed in your meetings has engaged my most deliberate attention to your request. Although the duties attendant on the office, to which you have called me, are by all acknowledged to be arduous, yet after intreating direction of Heaven, and asking the advice of friends, a sense of duty urges me to an acceptance of your invitation. Permit me now earnestly to solicit an union of your prayers with mine, that all needed assistance may be afforded, that the health of your present Pastor may be restored, and the evening of his days rendered serene and happy; that, by harmony of affection, and the exercise of our best abilities, the interest of religion may here flourish, and that after a constant and laudable conformity to its principles, we may receive the *approbation of our Judge*, and *enjoy each other's society for ever*. This is the wish, and shall ever be the prayer, of your affectionate friend and humble servant. NATHANIEL THAYER."

The church held a meeting by adjournment, August 26, and voted that the "following churches be invited to ordain Mr. Nathaniel Thayer as a colleague Pastor," viz. The church in Leominster, Rev. Francis Gardner, pastor; Lunenburg,

Rev. Zabdiel Adams ; Shirley, Rev. Phinehas Whitney ; Harvard, Rev. William Emerson ; Bolton, Rev. Phinehas Wright ; Berlin, Rev. Reuben Puffer, D. D. ; Sterling, Rev. Reuben Holcomb ; Hampton ; Brooklyn, now Brookline, Rev. Joseph Jackson ; Newburyport, Rev. Thomas Carey and Rev. John Andrews ; Medford, Rev. David Osgood, D. D. ; Worcester, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D. ; Cambridge, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. ; Boston, First Church, Rev. John Clarke, D. D. ; Federal Street, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. ; New North, Rev. John Eliot, D. D.

Mr. Ebenezer Allen and Dea. Houghton were chosen a committee in behalf of the church, to join with Mr. Harrington in writing Letters Missive to the foregoing churches. The committee were directed to write to the "President of the University at Cambridge," Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D., a descendant of the famous Major Simon Willard, and invite him to be present at the ordination, "and to partake, with the venerable Council, in the entertainments of the day."

At a meeting of the church, September 29, Capt. Ephraim Carter, jr., Mr. Ebenezer Allen, and Brig. Gen. John Whiting were "appointed a committee to present the venerable Council with the doings of the church and town relative to settling Mr. Thayer, * * and in behalf of the church to do and transact any matters and things which should be deemed expedient and necessary on the day of his ordination." The meeting was then adjourned to the ninth day of October, the time fixed for the ordination.

The meeting held on the day of ordination passed a vote which has an interest still, because it shows the intelligent purpose of the fathers in maintaining Congregational rights and usages. The question has been raised, at different times, whether a church may send a delegate to a council called by itself. Churches have taken such action, but it is believed that councils universally decline to allow such delegates to act. The question before the church in Lancaster was whether a member of the parish in this town, though belonging

to another church, might sit in the council. The following action was taken, and doubtless the council approved of it, though the minutes are not recorded.

"Voted, that on account of Mr. Samuel Thurston, being an inhabitant of this town and a legal member of the Congregational society in this place, it is improper, and against the unanimous opinion of this church that he be allowed to sit as a member of the ordaining council now convened for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Nathaniel Thayer to the work of the gospel ministry, * * * notwithstanding his being delegated with the Rev. Reuben Holcomb, by the church in Sterling."

The proceedings of the Council will be stated in the words of the Church Records. "Pursuant to the unanimous invitation of the Church and Congregation in this place, and agreeably to the unanimous vote of the Council, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer was solemnly separated to the work of the Gospel Ministry, and ordained as a Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Timothy Harrington, October Ninth, Anno Domini, 1793.

"The solemnity was introduced by an anthem. A prayer followed, by the Rev. Dr. Belknap of Boston. To this succeeded a Discourse by the Rev. David Osgood, of Medford, from Acts 20:27. ["For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God."] The Rev. Phinehas Whitney, of Shirley, made the Ordaining Prayer, and the Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brooklyn, gave the Charge. The Concluding Prayer was made by the Rev. John Clark of Boston, and the Rev. William Emerson, of Harvard, expressed the Fellowship of the churches. A Hymn closed the solemnity. The auditory, though large, observed the strictest decorum."

The new minister, thus happily settled, was twenty-four years of age, having been born in Hampton, N. H., July 11, 1769. His father, the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, was for many years the respected minister of the place, and was widely known as a man of learning, and was remarkable for the dignity and sauvity of his manners, and the placidity of his tem-

per and disposition. His mother, daughter of Rev. John Cotton, of Newton, was a descendant, through a long line of clergymen, of the celebrated Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, England, and Boston, Massachusetts. Under the wisely religious training of such parents, the boy became "uncommonly thoughtful and sedate," and in the language of the discourse preached at his funeral, by Rev. Dr. Hill, of Worcester, "probably could not remember the time when the great truths of religion did not exert a hallowing influence over his thoughts, motives and conduct." He was prepared for College at Phillips Academy, Exeter, in the first class sent to Harvard from that institution. Leaving the academy without a stain upon his reputation, he entered college with high hopes. There he maintained a high rank as a scholar, won the esteem of his classmates, and the approbation of the faculty. He was "graduated with distinguished reputation, and filled for one year the office of tutor." He was nineteen years old at the time of his graduation, and commenced the study of divinity, when he was twenty, with Rev. David Osgood, D. D., of Medford, at the same time taking charge of the grammar school in that town.

It is probable that he received approbation to preach in the year 1791, and he immediately began to attract attention as one well qualified to fill an important position as a minister of the gospel. He was heard with favor by two churches in Boston, and efforts were made to settle him in the pastoral office. Appealing to the reason of his hearers, possessing a large share of common sense, "never offending the most fastidious taste, possessed of a voice of rich, deep and varied tones, and a manner peculiarly impressive," it was a matter of course that he would win favor, and acquire reputation.

His first year of settled ministerial life, 1792-3, was at Wilkesbarre, Pa., where he resided nearly a year in the family of Col. Timothy Pickering, a Massachusetts man, who had removed to the Keystone state, and was secretary of war. Coming to the east in the spring of 1793, he was heard

anew by the people of Lancaster, then in search of a colleague for Mr. Harrington, and he seems to have made a deep impression, and to have won that place in the hearts of his hearers, which secured him an invitation to settle, in preference to several able and afterwards distinguished men. With such an origin, such training, and such a character, he began his ministry with the most favorable prospects. A long, respected and useful pastorate was the natural sequence of such an auspicious beginning.

An impressive incident on the day of ordination, long had a hallowing influence, and is fondly cherished by tradition. The aged minister was too feeble to be in the sanctuary, and while his youthful colleague was being inducted into the sacred office, he was confined to his house and his bed. But though his enfeebled frame was at home, his thoughts were in the house of God. It was a beautiful day, just in the season when, in this valley, all nature is richest and loveliest with the lingering glories of summer, and the ripened fruits of autumn. The public services being finished, the youthful pastor and his friends were passing from the meeting-house by the home of his venerable colleague, who lived between the house of Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, and the road, under the spreading elms, when Mr. Harrington rose from his bed, and was carried to the gate in front of his dwelling. Standing thus, upheld by friendly aid, with eyes dim by reason of age and with tears, his white locks streaming in the breeze, he placed his hand on the head of his young brother, and with his own benediction, invoked upon him the blessing of God. Having done this graceful and gracious act, he said: "I now die in peace. I can now go and bear witness to my brother, [Mr. Prentice,] from whom I received this people, that I leave them united, prosperous and happy."

There had been a great change in the public mind, silently affected, on religious questions, between the death of Mr. Harrington's predecessor, and the settlement of his colleague. He was settled as a strictly Orthodox believer, and there is

no public avowal of a radical change in his doctrinal views, though it was known, that in his advanced years, some points were not presented so distinctly as in the earlier days of his ministry. It is supposed, that consciously or unconsciously, he had drifted into a variety of what goes by the name of Arianism. But there was no break between him and the most high-toned Calvinist in ministerial intercourse.

On the other hand, in the words of Dr. Hill, "Mr. Thayer was from the first a Liberal Christian." He was in full sympathy with the movement led by Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Buckminster and Dr. Channing; and though there was no visible split in the denomination for twenty years after his settlement, yet there was a gradual drawing together of those who held to the ancient faith, on the one hand, and of those who followed the new departure on the other, into hostile ranks. When the separation was completed, nearly every Congregational church in the valley of the Nashua, on both branches and the main river, from Leominster to West Boylston, and from Berlin to Pepperell, was found on the Liberal or Unitarian side, and Dr. Thayer was their most conspicuous leader. His theological views will be stated hereafter; it is sufficient to state here, that, avoiding the extreme length to which some have gone, he continued till the close of his life, a conservative Unitarian. But when the reaction came on, towards the end of his ministry, he ever bore himself towards the friends of the new movement, with the kindness and urbanity of a Christian gentleman.

At the first meeting of the church after the ordination of Mr. Thayer, it was voted to have the Lord's Supper once in two months, beginning with the first Sabbath in December.

At the same meeting, Brothers Ebenezer Allen, Joshua Fletcher, William Phelps, Moses Sawyer, Cyrus Fairbank, Jonathan Whitney, Ephraim Carter, Timothy Whiting, jr., and John Whiting, were "chosen to assist the Pastor in devising a method for the introduction of members into the church."

The committee reported, December 16, when the following "method" was adopted.

"1. Any person desirous of being a member of the church, shall signify his wish to the pastor, who shall propound him to the church in presence of the congregation, three weeks previous to his making a profession of religion; or if it shall be deemed expedient by the pastor, two weeks only. The profession shall be the following.

"In the presence of God and of this assembly, you declare your faith in the only living and true God.

"You believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, that he was sanctified of the Father, and sent into the world, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

"You believe in that gospel which was ratified by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and solemnly promise to make it the only rule of your faith and practice.

"You do now yield yourself to God, through Jesus Christ, penitently confessing to Him all your sins, and intreating the assistance of his Holy Spirit, that you may be enabled acceptably to perform your whole duty.

"To this you consent.

"I do then, in the name of Jesus Christ, declare you a member of the same body with ourselves. In behalf of this branch of the church, I promise that being united by the ties of one Lord, and one common faith, we will live with you in Christian love, that we will watch over you for your good; and this with a spirit of meekness, love and tenderness; that we will counsel and assist you whenever there shall be occasion; that we will be faithful to our Master, and faithful to each other, waiting in joyful hope of an eternal and happy intercourse in the heavenly world.

"2. Provided persons, at the time of making the above profession, shall object against partaking of the sacrament, they shall at any future period be admitted, after standing propounded to the church for one week.

"3. That this church will commune with persons in regular standing of all Protestant churches."

This was the new "Method," or Covenant, which may be compared with that which was renewed at the settlement of Mr. Prentice. It was recommended by the whole committee, and for aught that appears, was unanimously adopted by the church.

It was made a rule, at the same time, that persons making a profession, need not make a public confession of a certain scandalous sin. And also "that the names of persons recorded for having been guilty of any sin be erased."

The following action is quoted, as revealing a custom more prevalent in former times than now, though there are cases which are believed to warrant it at the present day. "July 20, 1794, voted that Brothers Josiah Ballard, James Carter and Joshua Fletcher attend, with the Pastor, at the house of Joseph Osgood, (being sick,) and receive him to the communion of the church."

September 30, 1797. The following rule was adopted as a "suitable mode of censuring a guilty member of the church."

"That when a brother or sister is chargeable with any misdemeanor, liable to censure, it shall be the duty of such person to repair to such place as the Pastor shall appoint, where, in presence of a committee of the church, he shall admonish the faulty member, that by serious reproof, he or she may be induced to walk conformably to the rules of the gospel, and be restored to the communion of the church." Brothers Joshua Fletcher, Benjamin Houghton, Thomas Gates, John Whiting, Joseph Wales, Ephraim Carter and Moses Sawyer were chosen a committee to aid the Pastor on such occasions.

At a meeting held on Fast Day, April 7, 1802, the church voted "unanimously to accept the following as a substitute for Article Second, and that this should regulate the admission to the Lord's Supper of those who have owned the Christian covenant.—Provided persons, when they make a profession of religion, had scruples of conscience against partaking of

the sacrament, or any who make the above profession, have similar difficulties which shall hereafter be removed, having signified their desire to the Pastor, they may attend on this ordinance."

The Society adopted Belknap's Collection of Psalms and Hymns for use in public worship, instead of the old book of Tate and Brady, with one dissenting vote.

Br. Joel Wilder was chosen deacon, on the third of October, 1806.

The following communication from Dea. John Whiting, who had received a military commission in the army of the United States, was read to the church, October 23, 1808. "To the church of Christ in Lancaster: Brethren; At an early stage of life I was elected an officer in this church, the duties of which I have endeavored to discharge with fidelity. The recollection of the harmony so constantly prevalent among the brethren, will cheer me through the vale of life. Engaged in a military profession, and called to go forth from among you, I cannot be found at my post as in times past. Therefore I ask leave to resign the office of Deacon. Under the divine protection of the Great Head of the church, I anticipate the period when I shall again participate in those holy rites with my Christian brethren. Wherever I may be destined the remainder of my days, my prayer shall be for the peace and prosperity of the church of Christ in Lancaster."

Dea. Whiting held the rank of brigadier-general in the Massachusetts militia, and had received the commission of colonel under the United States. In view of his letter of resignation, the church voted:

"That for the reasons assigned in the above communication, the resignation of Dea. John Whiting be accepted." Also voted unanimously that the "church of Christ in Lancaster cordially approve the circumspection and fidelity of their brother, John Whiting, in sustaining the office of Deacon. They regret the necessity for his resignation, and wish him the divine protection and blessing, and the comforts of religion on the future scenes and pursuits of his life."

Under the head of "Deaths," at the date of September 3, 1810, are these words. "Col. John Whiting, 51, apoplexy, at city of Washington."

August 31, 1809, the deacons reported that it was expedient to exchange the church furniture, and that the probable expense would be two hundred dollars. Deacons Wales, Lane, Wilder and Wyman, with Brs. Jeremiah Ballard and Jacob Fisher were chosen a committee to collect subscriptions, who reported, September 28, that the requisite sum could be collected. Brothers Joseph Hiller and Jacob Fisher were directed to sell the present furniture with the "exception of a silver cup, and to procure a sett of plated furniture for the Lord's table, and a baptismal bason." Thanks were voted to a "Friend who had presented a silver spoon."

A similar vote was adopted, April 8, 1810, to present the sincere thanks of the church to "Mr. William Cleveland for the baptismal bason he has given them. They ask as a favor that he will allow them to place his name under the present inscription." Mr. Cleveland could not consent that his name should be engraved on the bason. The church also gratefully acknowledged the kindness of Major Joseph Hiller in providing a frame for the accommodation of the bason; and of Mrs. Dorcas Cleveland in furnishing a cloth and napkins for the communion table.

Many churches have had applications like the following, but their action has not been uniform. "The Pastor, April 21, informed the brethren that Bro. Edward Fuller had applied to the Baptist church in Harvard for admission to their communion, and that by their direction, he requested of us a dismissal and recommendation." Having considered the matter, the church voted that we "have no desire to lay restraint upon the conscience of a fellow Christian, but as a dismissal under present circumstances would be a virtual exclusion from the Christian brotherhood, and as a recommendation from us would not secure for our brother in the church to which he has applied, the privileges he has here enjoyed, we do not

consider it expedient or a duty to give him a dismissal or recommendation ; but should the Baptist church in Harvard see fit to take our brother E. Fuller to their communion, we shall be ready, upon being regularly notified of this, to withdraw our watch over him."

In May, 1811, Mr. Fuller's wife made a similar request, and in the absence of the Pastor, Dea. Wales proposed to grant her a regular dismissal and recommendation ; but the church voted, "as the application is similar to that of her husband, that the same principle be adopted in this case."

The cost of eight new silver cups was \$130.14, and the repairing of the old vessels cost \$2.00.

In 1812, September 12, the subject of collecting money for church uses was considered, the object being to avoid frequent collections. The result is given in the following regulation : "That the contribution for each year be made after the public exercise on the annual Fast."

Under date of July 9, 1816, it is recorded that the Pastor and Deacons assisted in laying the corner stone of the new meeting-house ; and a similar entry relates to the dedication of the sanctuary. The particulars of both these services have been already given.

Mrs. Catharine Prescott, wife of the Hon. William Prescott, of Boston, [son of the famous colonel, and father of the celebrated historian,] sent a Silver Cup to the church, with the following letter to the Pastor, dated January 1, 1817. "My Dear Sir: Will you permit me, through you, to offer the Silver cup which accompanies this, to your church as a trifling memorial of the respect and affection I bear it, and to congratulate you on the erection of so noble a temple for the worship of Him, who, I trust, will long continue to bless you and your people in the society of each other." The present was gratefully received, and the Pastor was requested to express their thanks in a "suitable mode" to Mrs. Prescott, for this "valuable memorial of her respect and affection."

A gift which has precious associations is doubly valuable. June 20, 1824, the Pastor informed the brethren, that their brother, Joseph Wales, in conformity to the bequest of his late wife, had procured for them a Silver Cup, made of a Porringer which descended to her as a relative, from the late Rev. John Prentice, former Pastor of this church. The gift was "accepted with gratitude" and by vote, "added to the furniture for the communion table."

In November a request came from Catharine Eaton to be dismissed and recommended to the Calvinistic church in Leominster. The church having been informed that their certificate would not secure for her admission into that body, voted the following certificate. "This certifies that Catharine Eaton is a member of regular standing in the church of Christ in Lancaster."

At a meeting held April 6, 1826, a plan was adopted by which baptised persons, but not communicants, could have their children baptised. It was in these words: "That any parent or guardian who have been baptised, and who, in the judgment of charity, are conscientious in requesting that the ordinance of baptism may be administered to their children, shall, upon making a regular application to the Pastor, without any other ceremony or profession, be indulged with this privilege."

Dea. Wyman died on the thirtieth of December, of consumption, aged sixty-one years. Mr. Tarbell Bancroft was chosen to fill the vacancy, on the ensuing Fast day, April 5, 1827.

Votes passed in 1830 and following years, indicate a change of opinion which was going forward in the community. For example, Dea. Horatio Carter, January 12, 1830, resigned the office of deacon "because he had embraced the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church." In February, 1832, it was voted, "in compliance with the request of David Osgood, that he be furnished by the Pastor with a certificate of his regular standing as a member of the church of Christ in

Lancaster." At the same time, Rev. Asa Packard, Ruth Marsh Packard and Sophia Stearns received similar certificates. The Hillside church, in Bolton, was formed about this time, and the persons above named were interested in that enterprise.

December 15, 1833, it was moved to exchange Belknap's Psalm Book for Greenwood's Collection of Psalms and Hymns. The new book came into use on the fifth of January following. In the course of the year, three more members of the church received certificates as heretofore.

Dea. Jonas Lane, March 25, 1838, communicated his desire, on account of "bodily infirmities and age," to resign his office as an "officiating deacon of the church." The resignation was accepted, with the assurance of the brethren, that they entertained "a respectful and grateful sense of his long, exemplary and faithful service in the office of deacon." They fervently prayed that he might have "divine support and consolation under the infirmities of age, and the present and final reward of a faithful servant of Christ."

The last action of the church, previous to the decease of Dr. Thayer, was taken at a meeting held April 19, 1840, in reference to the mode of admitting members to the communion. The following rule was adopted. "Candidates for admission to the church shall be propounded as usual. Having stood propounded one or two weeks, the Covenant shall be read to them after the congregation is dismissed, before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and they shall be admitted to the communion of the church."

During the pastorate of Dr. Thayer, three hundred and eighty-eight were admitted to the church, about one-fourth of whom were males. The number of baptisms, nearly all of children or youth, was one thousand and seventeen. The very last communion which he attended, June 7, 1840, just before he started on the journey from which he never returned, three persons were received into the church, and eight received the rite of baptism. It was to him an occasion of peculiar enjoyment.

The Records show how many Ecclesiastical Councils the church was invited to attend during the long pastorate which we have been reviewing. The whole number was about eighty, or an average of two a year. Unless sickness or distance prevented, he was sure to attend. The Councils almost invariably were called to settle ministers; rarely if ever to compose difficulties.

During his term of service the following persons were chosen deacons. 1794, July 31, Joseph Wales was chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dea. Josiah Ballard, who laid down the office on account of bodily infirmities.

In 1801, November 2, Jonas Lane was chosen to supply the vacancy made by the decease of Dea. Cyrus Fairbank.

1802, December 1, Joseph White was elected in place of Dea. Benjamin Houghton. He was reluctant, but finally consented.

October 3, 1806, Joel Wilder was chosen.

Benjamin Wyman was elected, July 23, 1809.

Josiah Bridge was elected in consequence of the resignation of Dea. Wales, in 1817. Dea. Bridge removed from the town in 1824, and on the first of April, Horatio Carter was chosen to supply his place.

Dea. Wyman died, December 30, 1826, and on the first of April following Tarbell Bancroft was chosen his successor.

April 18, 1830, James G. Carter succeeded Horatio Carter, who had become a disciple of Swedenborg.

Peter Osgood was elected in 1835; and Silas Sawyer in 1838. The latter expressed his thanks, but declined the office.

Samuel H. White came into the office in 1839, thus retaining it in the family through every generation for more than a hundred and fifty years.

The above is an outline of the history of the First church during the forty-seven years of Dr. Thayer's labors. His personal history is bound up with it, to a great extent; yet his work and influence were felt in other spheres. Probably few New England ministers ever had greater influence over

town affairs. Without holding any political or municipal office, aside from his connection with the schools, and without seeking to intermeddle with the duties of other men, it is yet certain, from the testimony of those who lived in his time, that he was consulted in regard to every measure of importance which came before the town; and by officers in relation to the matters with which they were charged. The extent of his influence has been playfully, yet truthfully stated, in the oft-repeated remark, that "the selectmen did not mend a piece of road without first consulting Dr. Thayer."

From the first he had the principal care of all the schools in the town, from the Shirley to the Boylston line, and the evidence is abundant, that he exercised a faithful supervision over the whole eleven or twelve districts into which the town was then divided, and the Latin grammar school besides. It was his duty to examine all the teachers, though sometimes aided by others. While the schools were in session, his afternoons were very much devoted to their welfare. Frequent visits, kindly suggestions to teachers, and instructive, but pleasant remarks to the children, consumed much time, but carried a wholesome influence to every child, and youth, and family in all the extended town. Indeed, it might be said that his benignant presence filled the schools.

But he was a minister more than an educator, or a townsman, and he was laborious and faithful in performing the duties of his high and sacred office. By birth, by training, and by aptitude of mind and disposition, he was formed for the pulpit, and for the pastoral office. He was a student and a thinker, and therefore brought forth things new and old. He was laborious, and in his old age, after his congregation had almost entirely changed, he preferred to prepare new sermons, and would not, unless necessary, repeat an old discourse. His pulpit labors were held in high esteem by his own people, and by other congregations far and near. In prayer he was devout, earnest, humble, grateful. He entered into the wants and feelings of his parishioners with true and heartfelt sym-

pathy. His discourses were scriptural according to his understanding of the Bible, and were replete with sense and thought. Rarely rising to eloquence, he avoided commonplace, and held the attention of his hearers. As a pastor he was indefatigable. If any were sick, or in affliction, his sympathy was prompt and sincere. No matter how distant the family might live, if they were in trouble, their minister was with them, in rain or shine. His pleasant countenance and cheery voice brought solace and encouragement. He earned the blessing pronounced by the Prince of Peace upon the peacemaker, for it was a peculiar feature of his ministry, to preserve good neighborhood and brotherly kindness; and when differences or quarrels arose, none knew better how to remove and heal them. This is a field in which few can intermeddle without more embroiling the fray; but Dr. Thayer had the tact, the fairness, the kindliness and the authority which gave him success.

He was a man of consummate prudence. During his ministry, there were fierce political disputes. He and a majority of his charge, belonged to the school of Washington and Adams; but there were friends of Jefferson and Gerry, in his congregation and church, and even in the ranks of his deacons. He opposed and preached against the war of 1812. In his later ministry, there were strong divisions of sentiment and feeling in relation to temperance, to masonry and to slavery. His own course was clear and decided; and yet he maintained his hold upon his people, so that there was no thought of change. In building the new meeting-house, a troublesome debt was incurred, and many "signed off" from the parish, but the position of the minister was unshaken. At length new societies were formed, on either side, and drew respectable congregations; yet he ministered to a large, wealthy and intelligent people, till a serene old age; yet he was no temporizer, concealing his opinions, and trimming to catch the popular breeze. He knew how to maintain his opinions, and at the same time, keep his place. In this he was aided by the

stable habits of his parish, which knew the value of a permanent ministry; yet much was due to his own especial prudence.

Dr. Thayer was a fine public speaker. He was large in person, and had an imposing presence. Though pleasant in speech, he was grave, dignified and impressive. He had a voice of great power and compass, which filled the largest hall or church with ease. He was thus fitted to speak on special occasions, as well as in his stated ministry. When Lafayette was passing through the country, on his triumphal tour, in 1826, he tarried for a night at the hospitable mansion of Mr. Sampson V. S. Wilder, in Bolton, and in the morning gratified the citizens of Lancaster with a reception. It was assigned to Dr. Thayer to address him on that occasion. Standing on the Common, near the Brick church, and surrounded by an immense multitude from this and neighboring towns, he spoke as follows:

"GENERAL LAFAYETTE.—In behalf of the inhabitants of Lancaster, I offer you their cordial congratulations on your arrival in a country whose wrongs you felt and resented; whose liberties you valiantly defended; and whose interests and prospects have been dear to your soul.

"We all unite with the few surviving veterans which were with, loved and respected you on the high places of the field, in giving you a welcome to this village, once the chosen residence of savages, and the scene of their boasted triumph; and rejoice that you visit it under the improvements of civilized life, in prosperity and peace.

"It gladdens us that we and our children may behold the man, whom we have believed, and whom we have taught our children to believe, was second only to his and our friend, the immortal WASHINGTON. We participate in your joy, on beholding our institutions in vigor, our population extended, so that since you left us, from a little one we have become millions, and from a small band a strong nation; that you see our glory rising, our Republic placed on an immovable basis,

all of which are in part, under Providence, to be ascribed to your sacrifices, dangers and toils.

“ We wish you health and prosperity. We assure you that wherever you shall go, you will be greeted by our fellow-countrymen as one of the chief deliverers of America, and the friend of rational liberty and of man. It is especially our prayer, that in that day in which the acclamations and applauses of dying men shall cease to reach or affect you, you may receive from the Judge of character and Dispenser of imperishable honors, as the reward of philanthropy and incorruptible integrity, a crown of glory which shall never fade.”

It is said that when these closing words were uttered, “ the veteran Lafayette trembled with emotion,” and that he was often afterwards “ accustomed to refer with pleasure to the beautiful scenery of the banks of the Nashua, and the heart-thrilling address of the venerable minister of Lancaster.” Aged men, now living, who were present, tell us that the words of the speaker were heard distinctly by all in the great throng, and that the tones of his voice were audible across the intervale, and half way up the side of George hill.

The funeral discourse already drawn from, speaks in warm terms of the hospitality of Dr. Thayer, and extols his character in all his domestic relations. Living among his children as a companion as well as a father, he approached the close of life with scarcely any abatement of his natural force. Unusual labors in the winter and spring of 1840, led him to seek recreation in extended travel. His last public service, as already stated, was on the seventh of June, a day which he declared to be one of the happiest of his life, when he communed with his people at the Lord's table, received some into the church, and laid his hand, in baptism, on the heads of some of the lambs of his flock.

The next day, accompanied by a daughter, he started for Saratoga Springs. After spending a week there, he went on his way towards Niagara Falls, enjoying the scenery and the climate, in the most genial season of the year. Monday, June

22, was spent in traveling, and it is said that "large portions of it had been occupied in most interesting conversations on religious subjects with fellow travelers." Having reached Rochester that evening, he retired to rest at the usual hour, and in wonted health. Nothing led his daughter or himself to apprehend the solemn event which was near. But the voice from Heaven came to him, at two o'clock in the morning, and he was ready to hear and to obey. "Without a murmur or a sigh of discontent, he yielded to the decisions of an unerring Providence, and serene and cheerful, awaited the final issue. His heart was with his family and his people. He said: 'Give them my dying love. Tell them I cheerfully submit. I die in the faith I have preached.—I die in peace, and in the hopes of the gospel.'"

The good people of Rochester, without regard to denominational sympathies, showed the greatest respect to his remains, and the most delicate kindness to his bereaved daughter. The lifeless form was brought to Lancaster, and by a singular felicity was placed under the same elms, where the venerable Harrington, nearly forty-five years before, had invoked upon him the blessing of God. Here prayers were offered, and on Monday, June 29, the funeral solemnities were observed in the church where he had preached the word during a long and happy pastorate. A great multitude filled the house, below and in the galleries. After appropriate services of song, discourse and prayer, the remains of the venerable and lamented minister were borne from the house of God to the house appointed for all the living. They buried him, but his memory and influence remain. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

The chapter will be closed with an extract from a sermon delivered by Dr. Thayer, at an installation in 1828, when in the ripe maturity of his powers. It will serve as a favorable specimen of his style, and at the same time, express his views in relation to an important doctrine of the gospel. Speak-

ing of Christ, he asks : " What did the world more need than an Instructor to enlighten them in all the will of God ; a Model of undeviating and spotless virtue and holiness ; a Saviour from the present and distant evils of moral corruption ; a Redeemer from the power of the grave ; and a Guide to direct their upward course to Heaven and to God ? Give me a Saviour who shall by his gospel impart light to my mind, purity to my heart, and tenderness to my conscience. Give me a Saviour who shall lead me by his instructions and perfect example in obtaining a victory over my sinful propensities, appetites and passions. Give me a Saviour who shall secure me in the possession of a sure and unfailing promise of the mercy of God, if I am penitent and obedient. Give me a Saviour who shall lead me in triumph, by faith in him, through the dark valley of the shadow of death. Give me a Saviour who by his resurrection from the grave has set before me a proof of my own resurrection. Give me a Saviour in whom I can confide when he tells me that in his Father's house are many mansions, and that if I am faithful, where he is I shall be also. Give me a Saviour who can teach, practice, promise all this, and whose authority to reveal the promise is unquestionably established ; and I need nothing more to constrain me to acknowledge that I believe him to be all-sufficient, able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him."

CHAPTER XX.

TOWN AFFAIRS FROM 1842 TO 1878.

IN this chapter the continuous narrative of events, will be brought down to the present time, with the exception of the story of Lancaster in the war of the rebellion. The Academy and other private schools, the Library, the Cemeteries, the Churches, and miscellaneous matters not easily classified, will need separate treatment, but the town history, as gathered from the Records, is drawing to its close.

It is a curious and singular fact, that at the point of time when the town was two hundred years old from its first settlement, its history took, as it were, a new departure. Near that time Rev. Dr. Thayer died, by which event some of the cohesive power of the first church and society was removed. About this time the Evangelical church was formed, and the society connected with it erected a house of worship. The Universalist society, whose meeting-house was in South Lancaster, or as then styled, New Boston, came into existence at the same period. In consequence, public sentiment was much divided, and the new societies were obliged to contend for recognition.

Then came a new element of discord, which caused the political waters to ferment like a maelstrom. The Liberty party was formed in 1840, and soon began to have adherents in this town. The town was overwhelmingly whig, the democrats being few and helpless in all political contests. The Liberty men came from the whig party, and as they increased in numbers, they incurred the most determined opposition. This went on for sixteen years, till 1856, when Lancaster fell into

line as a republican town. In 1848, when the county went for the Free Soil party, this town adhered to the whig organization. This was a stronghold of the whigs, and the Liberty men, under different names, had to wage a strenuous warfare. But in time the hostile elements were quieted. The several religious bodies learned to respect each other's rights and convictions, and the whole mass of citizens, with inconsiderable exceptions, were banded together in abolishing slavery, and putting down rebellion.

Returning to our narrative, we have first to string together various isolated matters, which interested the town during the period under review ; and then to continue the history of education, and of roads and bridges from year to year.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

The first effective action of the town in relation to the temperance reform, was taken in 1843. Indeed, this phase of the temperance revival might have been noted as one of the divisive elements when the town reached its two hundredth birthday. But since the movement began, as a moral reformation, ten or fifteen years before, it could not be referred to the time when this chapter opens. At the April meeting, 1843, the selectmen were instructed to prosecute all persons who should "sell spirituous liquors without license during the ensuing year." So far the record is good, but under the various changes of the laws in relation to liquor-selling, the town has not uniformly voted in favor of prohibition. In 1848 it was voted not to prosecute ; and later in the year, in favor of prosecuting the violation of the law. Whether the question has been in regard to prohibiting or limiting the sale of spirituous liquors, or the milder beverages which contain alcohol, as cider, ale, porter and lager beer, the vote has generally been in the negative. And when the matter has been left with the selectmen, the action has frequently been in favor of license. More recently, licenses have been withheld, with partial approbation, and general acquiescence.

In April, 1844, the town voted to purchase a "salamander safe" to keep the town Records and other books. The safe cost \$139.99. At the same time measures were taken to obtain the Proprietors' Record Books, and place them in safe keeping. By this time the Proprietors had sold nearly all their property, and rarely met; but as their records are a part of the history of the town, it was desirable to obtain them.

A memorial from Joseph Willard, Esq., whose writings have done so much to illustrate the early history of Lancaster, was presented to the town, in November, 1846, in relation to the town records, and specially in regard to the records of births, marriages and deaths. He represented that some of the books were very ancient, and by frequent examination, were liable to be defaced and worn out; and as they were becoming more valuable by the lapse of time, it was important that copies should be taken, and the originals be preserved from wear and tear. In consequence, a committee of three was chosen "to superintend the copying of such of the town records that are ancient, as they may think expedient." The committee were John G. Thurston, (town clerk,) Solon Whiting and Ezra Sawyer. In 1860 Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, (town clerk,) Joel Wilder and Silas Thurston were chosen a committee "to superintend the copying of the old tax books."

Previous to this, in June, 1853, when Francis Hussey was chosen clerk, a committee was appointed, — Henry Wilder and S. J. S. Vose, — "to receive the books and papers from former clerks, and pass them to the present." The committee understood the vote to mean that they should inspect the records, and report for correction any errors that might be found. Several clerical mistakes were noted, and the town voted to have them rectified. No intentional errors were charged upon former clerks, but the town showed a commendable purpose to have the records correct.

The enrolled militia numbered two hundred and fifty-eight in 1844. The number increased very fast until Clinton was set off as a new town, but the glories of the muster field were already among the things of the past.

None but those who know the fact would imagine that there ever was a mill on Cumberly brook, though at one time there were two small mills. In 1847, Levi Farwell obtained leave from the town to raise the road which runs east by the No. 1 school-house, and make it a dam, where the brook crosses. The mill was near the road, and in certain seasons of the year, did its quantum of work. The other mill was farther up stream.

The question in relation to building a new town-house came up in 1847, and was referred to Wilder S. Thurston, Charles Humphrey, H. N. Bigelow, Josiah Fay and Levi Farwell. This was at the March meeting. A month later the committee made an able and elaborate report, and recommended: "1, That the town proceed to the erection of a town-house the present year; 2, that it be built of brick; and 3, that it be placed upon the open space between the academy and the brick meeting-house, provided they (the town) have or can obtain a title to the land."

The town accepted the report, and voted to "build in accordance with plans drawn by Mr. J. C. Headley." The borrowing of \$7,000 was authorized. The building committee were John G. Thurston, John C. Headley and Anthony Lane. In September, 1848, the committee were instructed to buy necessary furniture for the new hall. The committee were thanked for the "faithful and efficient manner" in which they had performed their duties.

On the seventh of November the meeting for the choice of presidential electors was warned to assemble in the old town-house. The meeting adjourned to the new town hall, when the citizens cast two hundred and eighty-six votes for the whig candidate, Gen. Zachary Taylor; one hundred and eighty-nine votes for Hon. Martin Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate, and sixty-five votes for the candidate of the democracy, Hon. Lewis Cass.

The total outlay for the new hall was \$7,023; and the old town-house was still the property of the town. It was

occasionally used for town meetings and other gatherings, when a full meeting was not expected. Finally it was sold and removed to its present location near the station of the Worcester and Nashua railroad. It will be remembered that this was the old meeting-house, built in 1743; and that it was reduced in size, and made into a town-house in 1816. The timbers of the original house, cut down, are still the main-stay of the building. It may be a matter of interest to some to know that the three porches of the meeting-house were sold separate from the main building. Two of them joined together, now make the house of Benjamin Morse, in the North Village, and the third was for a long time, the L part of the present L part of the house of Wright S. Keyes, before the new house was built in front, a few years since.

At the November meeting, 1848, a movement was begun, looking to a division of the town, by the separation of Clintonville. The subject was referred to the following gentlemen, living in both sections, as a committee. Elias M. Stillwell, James G. Carter, John H. Shaw, H. N. Bigelow, Ezra Sawyer, Sidney Harris, Charles G. Stevens, J. T. Otterson and Jacob Fisher. The committee, as might have been expected, were divided in opinion, and at a meeting held in November of the next year, presented majority and minority reports. Both reports were laid on the table.

At the same time another committee made a report in regard to the land under and near the old town-house. It seems that a Mr. Danforth had built where Mr. Royce now resides, in 1832, and Capt. Shaw was then living in the house. By some means the town had six hundred and fifty-two feet of Capt. Shaw's land, and he had two thousand five hundred and seventy-two feet of the town's land. How the matter was settled, the records do not inform us; but probably all that belonged to the town is now in the highway between the houses of Mrs. Abby Lane and Mr. Royce.

The dividing of the town was a matter that could not rest, as Clintonville was rapidly increasing in population and busi-

ness. Therefore a special meeting was held on the fifteenth of February, 1850, with Solon Whiting, Esq., in the chair. Charles G. Stevens, Esq., then a young lawyer, recently settled in Clintonville, submitted a preamble and resolve to the meeting in favor of a new town.

The subject was discussed, but before any action was taken, a committee was appointed to confer with a like committee, chosen by the people of Clintonville, and "report as soon as may be, what terms, in their opinion, ought to satisfy the town of Lancaster to consent not to oppose a division of the town." The committee chosen by the town were John G. Thurston, Jacob Fisher, Silas Thurston, Henry Lincoln and Nathaniel Warner. The meeting then adjourned, forty minutes. On reassembling, the committees unanimously reported as follows.

"1. That all the property, both real and personal, owned by the town of Lancaster, at the present time, shall belong to, and be owned by the town of Lancaster, after the division shall take place.

"2. That the inhabitants of Clintonville shall support and forever maintain those persons who now receive relief and support from the town of Lancaster as paupers, who originated from the territory proposed to be set off; and also forever support all persons who may hereafter become paupers, who derive their settlement from this territory.

"3. That Clintonville, or the town of Clinton, if so incorporated, shall pay to the town of Lancaster, the sum of ten thousand dollars in consideration of the large number of river bridges and paupers that will remain within the limits of the old town. The same to be paid in ten equal annual payments of one thousand dollars, with interest semi-annually on the sum due, the first payment of one thousand dollars to be made in one year after the separation shall take place. And the amount shall be in full for all the town debt which Lancaster owes."

The fourth article fixed the bounds as they now stand.

Henry Wilder, Benjamin Whittmore and John G. Thurston were chosen a committee to see the substance of the foregoing articles put into the act of incorporation.

The report was adopted by the town; Clinton was incorporated by the legislature at its next session, and in due time, paid for its freedom, according to agreement, and went on its way prospering, with the good-will of its venerable, but still growing and comely mother. Comparing the two, and reversing the words of Horace, we may write—

O filia pulchra mater pulchrior.

The number of families in the town previous to the division, was six hundred and ninety-two. Supposing the families averaged five persons, the population was three thousand four hundred and sixty. Now the population of Clinton is probably double the latter number, while that of Lancaster is less than two thousand. But the old town has time and room for growing.

At this time, and during subsequent years the town took special pains to have the accounts of the selectmen and other officers carefully audited. Samuel J. S. Vose was chosen auditing committee in 1850; and with others at different dates, did much to effect a careful keeping and rendering of accounts. It has now become a settled thing to have an auditing committee annually chosen.

A division of the county of Worcester has been agitated, every few years, for nearly a century. The attempt always comes from the same source, but has hitherto failed. From the first Lancaster has been solid in her allegiance to the old county. The question was brought before the town in 1851, March 19, when the vote was unanimous against division. Again and again the measure has been pressed down to the present time, but always with the same result. At one time, a single citizen was in favor of the new county. At another time four voted for it. The highest number of votes on that side was seven. The feelings of the town in favor of pre-

servicing old county lines and associations have been emphatically expressed. Whether a direct line of railway between Lancaster and Fitchburg, would effect a change in public opinion, is a matter of conjecture.

The home or asylum for the poor was, at the first, on the road not far from the Slate Mine. In a few years, the house of B. W. Willard, where Levi P. Wood, jr., now lives, was bought. A large addition was made, when needed, by erecting what is now the main building, of two stories. In 1851 the selectmen were authorized to sell a small part of the poor farm to neighbors. Other inconsiderable changes were made, but nothing which demands notice, until the new farm was purchased, at a later date.

April 7, 1851, the town accepted the Act incorporating the "Lancaster Charitable Fund." Sometimes this is called the "Poor Widow's Fund." The minister of the First Congregational Church and his successors, is one of the trustees. Rev. George M. Bartol has held that position since the Fund was established. The first board of trustees elected by the town was composed of the following citizens, viz., John M. Washburn, Charles Humphrey, Henry Lincoln, Levi Farwell, John Bennett.

The origin of the Fund dates farther back. The late Samuel Ward, Esq., who died August 14, 1826, gave and bequeathed to the "settled Congregational minister and selectmen of the town of Lancaster for the time being, and their respective successors in said office, five hundred dollars, in trust, to be placed at interest by them, and the interest annually arising therefrom to be by them distributed to those who are unfortunate and in indigent circumstances, in said Lancaster, but not to the poor actually maintained by said town."

According to the terms of the will, the minister and the selectmen administered the Fund until 1851.

Capt. Josiah Bowers, who lived on the summit of George hill, made a bequest to the Fund, as appears by the follow-

ing extract from his will, proved November 15, 1836, in these words: "As to the residue and remainder of my estate, it is my will and order that one hundred dollars be put out on interest under the care and trust of the selectmen of the town of Lancaster, for the benefit of poor widows belonging to said town, of good moral character, and who are not supported by the town."

A much larger addition was made to the Fund by the will of Joel Wilder, dated August 2, 1847. This Mr. Wilder was Joel Wilder, 2d, as Dea. Joel Wilder was first, and the latter's son was Joel Wilder, jr. Joel Wilder lived near the George hill school-house, where A. D. Howe recently resided. He left one-third of his estate to one of his sons, but it was to remain in the hands of his executor, for the benefit of his son, and the residue, after his son's decease, was to go to the "poor widow's fund of said Lancaster." Mr. Wilder's gift, with \$28.51 interest, amounted to \$1,701.51.

A clause of the will of Mr. John Laughton, proved June 4, 1850, provides that after his wife's decease, all the remainder of his property "be paid to the widow's fund, so called, a fund established for the benefit of the poor widows in said Lancaster." This has not yet come into the custody of the trustees.

The Act of incorporation above referred to authorizes the town to "elect five persons, who, with their successors, and the minister for the time being, of the First Congregational Society in said town, duly settled over the same, and his successors in office shall thereafter be constituted a body corporate by the name of the Trustees of the Charitable Fund in the town of Lancaster." In case of a vacancy by death, resignation, removal or otherwise, the town was to fill the vacancy. The trustees are required to elect a clerk and treasurer, to keep a record of their doings, and to administer the fund, "regard being had to the wishes of the donors when known."

The Assets of the Charitable Fund, in 1871, June 2, amounted to \$2,301.51.

February 5, 1872, "At a meeting of the Trustees of the Charitable Fund in the town of Lancaster, holden this day, it was voted to accept of the trust or donation from the subscribers of the Soldier's Relief Fund, amounting to eight hundred dollars." The Fund on the second of March, 1878, amounted to \$3,083.67.

The annual donations have been made to about twenty persons, in sums varying from two to twelve dollars. In 1851 the amount paid out was \$112. In 1860, it was \$118. In 1870, twenty-one persons received \$124. In 1877, the sum of \$160 was divided among twenty-six beneficiaries.

The trustees, in addition to those first chosen, have been Dea. Charles Wyman, Col. Francis B. Fay, Messrs. George W. Howe, Caleb T. Symmes, Spencer R. Merrick and Levi P. Wood, jr.

In 1851 a proposition came from the general court to hold a convention for the revision and amendment of the Constitution. At the November meeting for the election of state officers, this town gave fifty-seven votes in favor and one hundred and ninety-three against the measure. But as the people of the commonwealth in 1853, decided in favor of the convention, the town, March 7, on the third ballot, chose Joel Wilder delegate. When the result of the convention was presented to the people for approval or rejection, every amendment or alteration was voted against by Lancaster. The average vote was seventy in favor, and one hundred and seventy in opposition. However, at different times, when presented to the people by the legislature, most of the amendments which the convention had recommended, were adopted by large majorities.

Action in relation to enlarging the town hall was taken, May 5, 1852, when it was voted to proceed according to a plan made by W. J. Whitaker. The expense was not to exceed \$2,000. Dr. Thompson, Capt. Fisher, Dea. Humphrey, Henry Wilder and Rev. B. Whittemore were the committee. The upper story was added to the hall, and other improvements made, the cost of which was \$2,539.67.

March 7, 1853, the fire wards were directed to put the fire hooks and ladders in order. Probably their duties were not very onerous.

This year the town began to make a discount on taxes when promptly paid. The discount for those who paid by September 1, was five per cent., and one per cent. less each month to the first of January.

The question of a new pauper establishment came before the town, from time to time, chiefly because the poor farm was in a remote section, but no action was taken.

As the time drew near when the town had been incorporated two hundred years, measures were taken to commemorate the event. November 29, 1852, a vote was passed to have a celebration in the coming year. A committee of seven, in addition to the "clergymen of the town to head the committee." The following were the general committee: Rev. Charles Packard, Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, Rev. George M. Bartol, Messrs. William Townsend, Ephraim C. Fisher, John G. Thurston. Jacob Fisher, John M. Washburn, George Cummings and Charles Humphrey. The day fixed upon for the celebration was the fifteenth of June, and the committee were directed to invite all the towns which had sprung from Lancaster, to be present as guests. These were Harvard, Bolton, Leominster, Sterling, Berlin, Boylston, West Boylston and Clinton. Money was appropriated to carry out the design, but as funds were raised by subscription, the vote was rescinded. As the proceedings were printed in a handsome volume, including the very able oration of Joseph Willard, Esq., the orator of the day, it is not necessary to give the particulars in this place. It is sufficient to say, that the day was celebrated in a manner highly honorable to the town. The people gave up the day to the occasion, and a great number came from the towns invited. The church was thronged, and the tables spread on the lawn, since owned by Col. Fay, were loaded with viands, and surrounded by an immense multitude. Speeches and letters gave a zest to the occasion. The whole

of a long June day was too short for the crowded and interesting services.

In July, 1855, action was taken in reference to the location of the State Industrial School for girls. It was voted to straighten the road from Capt. Orice King's to the Emerson place; and also to discontinue the road from the Stillwell house to the Emerson place. The Stillwell house is now in ruins in consequence of a fire. The Emerson place is now occupied by Frederick Whitney. This arrangement improved the broad and pleasant avenue across the Old Common, and left the land on the north of it in the yard of the school.

John G. Thurston and Wright Cummings, M. D., a committee on the almshouse, presented an elaborate report, in which, among other things, they insisted upon kind treatment of the insane, and recommended that they should be sent to asylums for insane persons.

The Act of the legislature respecting shade trees was accepted by the town, April 5, 1858.

The town has always been liberal in letting the town hall for the convenience or advantage of the citizens. In 1858 the use of the lower hall was given to Charles Safford, Jeremiah Moore and Dr. Thompson, a committee, for instruction in music. The next year the town warmed and lighted the hall for the use of singers. In 1860 the Brass Band and the Sons of Temperance were allowed the free use of the hall, warmed and lighted, "but not more than twice a week." This has been the uniform practice until recently.

The cattle disease spread consternation among the farmers of the state in the spring of 1860, and strenuous measures were everywhere taken to arrest the distemper, or prevent its outbreak. The legislature authorized certain commissioners to slaughter animals liable to communicate the contagion, at their discretion. This town gave the selectmen authority to deal with the matter as circumstances might require.

It appears that certain persons had subscribed, to raise money for enlarging the town hall, to the amount of \$463.52.

The town having paid for the enlargement, these subscribers were allowed seventy-five per cent. on that sum, "whenever an appropriation shall be made." Perhaps there was an appropriation, but there is no record of it. This was in 1861. In the same year, April 1, lamps for the town hall, the cost not to "exceed fifteen dollars," were obtained.

April 3, 1865, the selectmen were empowered to open a door on the south side of the basement of the town hall, near the west end, and a year later, were directed to prepare a room for the convenience of the ladies, with a cooking stove, closets for crockery, etc. The town voted to accept a present of crockery, and a stove.

The old road on the west side of the river to the Neck bridge, so called, had been out of use for many years, but it seems that the town had some rights pertaining thereto, because the selectmen, April 3, 1865, were instructed to "vindicate the rights of the town to hold a certain tract of land near the barn of C. L. Wilder."

The Freedman's Aid Society was allowed the use of the town hall, in 1866, to give entertainments, the proceeds of which were to be given for the benefit of the newly enfranchised colored people of the South. This was one of the beautiful manifestations of a spirit which then animated the public heart, and filled the freedmen with hope and gratitude.

The town voted, March 2, 1867, that the selectmen should close their books on the twentieth of February, each year, in time to print their annual report, and circulate it through the town previous to the March meeting. Subsequently a similar vote included other officers or committees, but the school committee have not been able to comply with it strictly, because the schools do not close in season to be reported before the last week in February.

In 1869 there was considerable interest in relation to the Massachusetts Central railroad, and efforts were made to have the line run through the town. A committee was raised in January to have the matter in charge, consisting of George

A. Parker, Charles L. Wilder, Caleb T. Symmes, Calvin Holman and Lucius L. Farwell. At a meeting held in March the committee were directed to do all in their power to perfect surveys and get a charter for a road from Gardner to Boston. This was in pursuance of a plan to bring the Vermont and Massachusetts road from Gardner to Boston, avoiding Ashburnham and Fitchburg. All these efforts failed.

In 1871 the town undertook to abate the nuisance of bills, notices and signs on the shade trees and bridges in the town, but the perseverance of those interested in these has proved worthy of a better cause.

Previous to this year there were patches of sidewalk in the villages, but at the spring meeting the town voted to "accept and maintain sidewalks built by citizens." At present there is a tolerable walk on the west side, from the North Village to the south end of South Lancaster street, between two and three miles. In the villages there is a walk on both sides of the main street.

There being no fire-engine in the town, resort has been had to the fire companies of Clinton, in case of emergency, and they have always been prompt to respond to any call in case of fire. In April, of this year, the town presented the fire department of Clinton with \$200, and thanks for efficient aid. Similar action has been taken on several occasions.

At the same meeting the town treasurer was directed to deposit the town's money in the Lancaster National Bank, and also to give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties. In old times the treasurer received no pay, but made use of any surplus money in his hands.

About ten years since measures began to be taken for stocking our ponds and streams with fish. April 5, 1869, Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, William H. McNeil and George A. Parker were chosen a committee to consider the practicability of restocking Nashua river with salmon. The sum of \$200 was put to this use. In March, 1871, encouragement was given to the plan of introducing certain kinds of fish into several

ponds. In March, 1873, \$300 were voted for the use of the town commissioners on fresh water fish, and they employed it in stocking one or more ponds. This has been followed up from year to year, Rufus Eager having been added to the committee. Spectacle pond has been stocked with black bass. In 1854, the commissioners were authorized to petition the commissioners of inland fisheries to open Nashua river for the passage of salmon.

At the March meeting, 1873, the question of selling the old "pauper establishment," and purchasing a new house and farm, was referred to a committee, consisting of John Bennett, Jeremiah Moore, Henry Wilder, Dr. Thompson, and the selectmen for the year, Messrs. Holman, Farwell and Day. Without going into particulars it may be stated briefly, that the old establishment was sold, and the farm and house of Edward Phelps, (formerly the property of Calvin Carter, M.D.) was obtained at the cost of \$6,500. The farm contained about sixty acres of very excellent land, and the house of three stories, was ample for all the purposes needed in an almshouse. In 1874 a new barn was erected, which cost \$3,876.21.

At the April meeting the selectmen were directed to provide the "best system of drainage for the main street in South Lancaster."

The Hon. Charles Sumner died on the eleventh day of March, 1874. The following extract from the Records, dated April 6, give the action of the town in view of that event. "Voted, by a unanimous rising vote to adopt the following resolution, relating to the death of the Hon. Charles Sumner. Whereas, in the unerring Providence of God, the Hon. Charles Sumner has recently been removed from earthly scenes and labors, the inhabitants of Lancaster in town meeting assembled, desire to put on record some testimonial of their appreciation of his character and services, therefore

"Resolved, That in the decease of Mr. Sumner our commonwealth and the world has lost one who was a model as a scholar, a statesman, a philanthropist and a man. As a scholar,

he was diligent, patient of labor, various in culture, studious in every worthy branch of human knowledge, enriched with all that science, art and literature could add to his nature, while holding his vast acquisitions in readiness for instant use; as a statesman, sound in judgment, acquainted with the varied wants, interests and achievements of his countrymen, ruled by great principles yet familiar with details, above partisan, or personal, or sectional aims; proud of his native state, yet embracing his whole country in his heart, while seeking to bind his own country in amity with all other peoples on the true ethical basis of international law; as a philanthropist, guided by the precepts of the Christian religion, above prejudice, pitying the prisoner, breaking the fetters of the slave, and protecting the rights of the alien and the stranger; and as a man, pure in life, rigid in integrity, a fast friend and placable enemy, enduring slander, violence and wrong without revenge, brave, resolute, aggressive, but courteous and regardful of others. As such a man, philanthropist, statesman and scholar, we hold him up as an example for our youth, and for such a gift we render devout thanks to the great God who made him, gave him to us and to all humanity, and who has now taken him in the fulness of his undying fame to himself."

An unusual and perhaps unprecedented vote was passed, April 5, 1875, under an article in the warrant "to see if the town will pay Joel Wilder the sum of two hundred dollars for services rendered the town in years past." No special services were mentioned, but probably the fact that Mr. Wilder had served the town in many offices and on various committees, during a period of nearly fifty years, was effective in procuring a unanimous vote in favor of the grant.

At the same meeting a permanent rule was made in relation to overdrawing orders. The selectmen were instructed "in no case to draw orders in excess of appropriations, beyond the sum of one hundred dollars." At the ensuing March meeting, 1876, the following orders bearing on the same subject, were adopted. Ordered

"1. That no committee appointed by the town for the expenditure of any specific appropriation, be allowed under any circumstances, to exceed such sum appropriated, unless the written approval and consent of the board of selectmen to such proposed excess of expenditure, shall first be obtained." The second order forbade the selectmen to pay all "drafts drawn on them by any committee, in excess of the specific sum voted by the town," unless they had given their consent or approval, in writing, to such expenditure. The subject was presented to the town in this shape, by Messrs. E. Warren Smith, S. J. S. Vose and Henry Jewell.

At the April meeting the town voted to accept the "Betterment Act," so called, passed by the general court in the year 1871.

The town, at the same time, took action in favor of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, on the ensuing fourth day of July. One hundred and fifty dollars were appropriated for the purpose, and the following were chosen a committee to superintend the celebration. Rev. George M. Bartol, Rev. A. P. Marvin, and Messrs. Charles T. Fletcher, G. F. Chandler and Henry S. Nourse. In accordance with the vote of the town, the celebration was held. The committee "besides procuring a Centennial Address, an Original Hymn, and an Original Ode suited to the occasion, further secured the services of a Band of Music, and for the evening a display of Fireworks." The whole expense, including the printing of the address, the band of music and the fireworks, was \$468.42. In payment the town voted \$150; subscriptions covered \$131.85, and the balance, \$186.42, was paid by Nathaniel Thayer, Esq. The order of exercises was as follows. Opening remarks by the chairman, Rev. George M. Bartol; prayer by the venerable Rev. Benjamin Whittemore; hymn by Mr. Benjamin Whittemore, of Boston; address by John D. Washburn, Esq., of Worcester; ode by Mrs. Julia A. [Fletcher] Carney, of

Illinois ; benediction by Rev. A. P. Marvin. The services were held in the Brick Church, and the choir rendered acceptable aid in the service of song. All the school children of the town were present by invitation, and seated in the galleries. No public entertainment was provided, except an ample supply of lemonade. The day and evening were pleasant, and all the exercises of the day, and the display in the evening, from the grounds east of the street in front of the residence of Mr. Thayer, passed off without accident, and to the general satisfaction.

March 5, 1877. Dr. Thompson, Calvin Holman and Horatio D. Humphrey were chosen a committee to make inquiries in regard to the cost of a fire-engine and necessary appendages. At the April meeting the committee reported and recommended the purchase of a small engine after trial. And at a meeting, May 15, S. R. Damon and Sewall Day were authorized to build a reservoir on some part of the Center Common.

The committee attended to the duty of their appointment, and built a capacious subterranean reservoir by the roadside in front of the town hall. The first thought was to gather water from the roofs of public buildings in the vicinity, but it was found that an ample supply could be collected from the surface drainage of the Common.

A fire company was formed consisting of about twenty members. The following are the names of the officers. Foreman, John E. Farnsworth ; first assistant foreman, William H. Blood ; second do., Nathan Turner ; secretary and treasurer, Nicholas Frost ; steward and section hoseman, Henry H. Stowe.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

There have been but few important changes in the roads of the town during the last thirty or forty years ; but there has been a complete revolution in the construction of bridges. The roads will first receive our attention.

In 1843 a road was authorized by the town, on condition that it should be made at private expense, reaching from the house of Gen. Thomas Davis, (now occupied by E. Warren Smith,) to the town road leading by the house of Jonas Goss. As this place had been occupied a long time, it is probable that a private way had accommodated the families residing upon it.

The road from Clintonville to Boylston, by the west side of Sandy pond, was projected in 1845. In the same year it was shown to the town that the usual way of repairing roads was a plan by which men shirked the business, and prevented all system. It was recommended that the selectmen should have the care of roads, instead of highway surveyors in the districts. The plan was adopted.

In 1846 an effort was made to close the road to Pine hill, from the Harvard road, but failed. That way should ever be kept open, since it leads to one of the pleasantest resorts in all the region, to the lover of nature.

The road and bridge at Fuller's mills was widened, gravel was taken from Guttridge or Goodrich hill. The owners agreed to keep a watering trough in running order. Fuller & Conant were paid \$75 for the alterations near the mills.

Dea. Humphrey, as chairman, reported that of the hundred miles, more or less, of road in the town, not ten miles were properly bounded. The selectmen were then ordered to survey ten miles of road, as laid down in the Records, and erect suitable monuments. After careful perambulation, they reported that it was impossible to reconcile the present location with the original survey.

The crossing of the railroad, just north of Fuller's mill, has always been a source of annoyance. The first plan was for the railway to cross at grade. Then the hill was cut away, and the highway was built under the railroad bridge. Since then repeated efforts have been made to induce the Worcester and Nashua railroad company to widen the bridge and give room for making the traveled way safer and more direct. Appeals have been made to the county commissioners,

the courts, and the legislature, but nothing has been effected.

An alteration was made in the road above Ponakin mill, in 1847, and Wilder S. Thurston, who improved the power at what is now called Shoeshank, was allowed \$25 for the improvement.

In 1848 a road was proposed from the Lancaster to the Sidney Harris mill, down the valley. This failed, but in a short time, a road was opened from the Lancaster mills, north, over the Harris hill to the road that goes from the railroad station to the Harris mill.

This year the Hon. James G. Carter, chairman of a committee, presented a long and able report on the subject of roads and bridges, and closed with the following resolve: "That the selectmen be authorized and instructed to employ a suitable person to take charge, under their general direction, of the construction and repair of all the highways and bridges of the town, and also purchase teams and tools." The plan was adopted and adhered to several years.

The Rigny road was altered and improved, and several streets in Clintonville were accepted. The road from the Lancaster mills south to Franklin Wilder's was altered and improved. Twenty-one guide boards were set up in 1849. The old road from New Boston to Clintonville was discontinued in 1850.

About this time a road was made from Clinton to Sterling, through the Deers Horns section, and another from Pratt's junction to Clinton. These roads were of no advantage to the town, but on the contrary served to take business away from the stores. The people of Lancaster rightly considered it unjust to be compelled to spend money on such highways, and appealed to the county commissioners to make them a county charge.

In 1851 the town voted to join Bolton in getting the old turnpike from Lancaster toll-house to Bolton line discontinued.

Not until August 18, of this year, was the road from the Evangelical church to the Neck road authorized. To be strictly accurate the road extended from the Neck road to William Nowell's corner. It was laid out one hundred and twenty-five rods. It would seem as if public convenience would have demanded such a road a hundred years before. The road was built in the following year.

The greatest flood but one in the memory or tradition of the people, occurred in 1851, and did much damage. It was necessary to construct a dry bridge, road and causeway at Still River. The bridges over the main river stood firm, owing to the improved method of building on stone abutments instead of mudsills.

June 13, 1853, the road from Fuller's to Carter's mills was proposed. In due time it was built. At the same time the project of making a road from a point near the house of Nathaniel Burbank to a point near the old school-house in the third district, not far from the house of James H. Holman, was mooted. The plan was carried into effect in a year or two, and the school-house was placed where it now stands. This road was a great convenience.

In November, 1859, the old Neck road, west of the river, was finally discontinued. The bridge, about sixty rods below the present Center bridge, had long since disappeared. Thus one of the old highways of the town, which thousands had traveled over, was closed.

Charles L. Wilder altered the road extending from the railroad to the corner east of his house, and the town, after a protracted difference, in which the intervention of the county commissioners was invoked, finally, in June, 1860, accepted it. It is the earliest county road, altered, and is a beautiful avenue.

At the March meeting, 1862, it was voted that thereafter, the roads should be entrusted to a superintendent or the selectmen, and that they should expend the highway tax. In these years the appropriation for highways was about \$800.

April 14, 1864, the town accepted the road laid out by the selectmen in front and near the house of George A. Parker, provided it could be done to their acceptance, and without expense to the public. This was a splendid piece of work, and the town subsequently voted the sum of two hundred dollars to Mr. Parker simply as a testimonial to his public spirit.

In 1867, June 23, the old road from Peter Osgood's, on the top of George hill, to the road passing over Ballard hill, was discontinued. This was probably the earliest way to Leominster. It was a section of the road from South Lancaster to Phelps' mill. The rights of the town in the soil were reserved. Eastwood cemetery was accepted in 1870.

The road on the west side of Eastwood cemetery was accepted in 1870, in place of the old road from the Emerson place, northeast to the old county road.

The town in 1871 accepted the road from the Shoeshank mill to the Lunenburg road, eighteen hundred feet in length, and appropriated \$1,000. The road at Babel hill was greatly improved.

In March, 1877, the lane extending from South Lancaster street, westward to the road leading by the house of Jonas Goss, was widened into a road, and accepted by the town. At the April meeting a road was authorized from the road near the house of Levi P. Wood, jr., across his farm to the road that goes by the Shaker families to Shirley village.

The last action of the town in the matter of road making, was at a special meeting in September, 1878, when it was voted to open a way from the Lunenburg road to Little Spectacle pond. This road is on the Shakers' land, and is bounded on the south by the fence of E. W. Divoll. The design of the road is to give easy approach to the beautiful little lake. If now a public or private way could be opened to the larger and more beautiful lake,—Spectacle pond— one of the loveliest spots in the whole region, would be made accessible to the public.

This closes the history of the opening, altering and repairing of roads in the town during the term of two hundred and thirty-five years. The condition of the roads, at the present time, which, as a whole, are unsurpassed if not unequalled by those of any town in the county, is mainly due to two facts. The first is a full treasury, augmented by the residence of Nathaniel Thayer, whose legal domicile and paternal home are here; and the second is the industry, fidelity and skill of Calvin Holman, who for many years has had the care of the highways.

BRIDGES.

It has already been noted that a change in the building of bridges was effected not long after the opening of the century. In the course of time, as the bridges needed replacing, they were laid on stone abutments, and thus were rendered permanent, except as the wood-work decayed. The next, and perhaps most important change, was brought about by the substitution of iron for wooden bridges. Before coming to this point in our history, it is in order to note the various repairs or reconstruction of bridges between 1842 and the new "age of iron."

The expense for bridges in 1843, was \$1,082.23, including \$663.45 for the Lancaster mills bridge.

No great expense was incurred in repairing bridges for ten or twelve years; but in 1855 the sum of \$409.56 was laid out in improving the Sprague bridge. It was also voted to repair the bridge at Carter's mills.

In 1867 John Bennett, J. W. Barnes and Joel W. Phelps were chosen a committee to repair bridges. The amount expended by them has not been found. From this time until 1870 there were small sums spent from year to year on the large and small bridges, but no great charge was incurred.

The new policy in relation to bridges was inaugurated in 1870, when, at the March meeting, the sum of \$4,000 was

raised for building the Atherton bridge. In the autumn of 1869 a great flood was sent whirling down the river, (caused by the heavy rains of that season, which broke away the dam of the Ashburnham reservoir,) and then swept away many of the dams and mills upon the stream. There was also a great flood in the early spring of the year 1870 which made the intervale a broad and rapid river. However, the old bridges in Lancaster stood firm, though the approaches to them were partly washed away.

March 6, 1871, a vote was passed to rebuild the Center and Ponakin bridges, using iron instead of wood, with heavy planking of Southern pine. The committee were George A. Parker, Calvin Holman and John Cunningham. The money raised at the meeting amounted to \$27,000, besides state and county tax. The appropriation for the bridges was \$12,000. The two bridges cost \$12,386.60. Of this sum, the Center bridge took \$6,405.39, and Ponakin bridge \$5,981.21. The location of Center bridge was changed by moving the western abutment up stream. The distance between the abutments was also increased so that a larger volume of water can flow through than formerly.

At a meeting on the first of April, action was had in reference to the rebuilding of the Sprague bridge. It was to be an iron bridge. The span was to be increased, and the dry bridge filled. The work was done in the next year. Increasing the span made it necessary to relay the abutments. The road on the south side was raised several feet, and all passage of water stopped except under the bridgeway. The span is so large that no flood of which there is any remembrance would exceed its capacity. The next year, June 17, 1872, the selectmen were directed to rebuild the bridge at North Lancaster. It was to be of iron, and constructed in the course of the year. This made two bridges in 1872 as in the year previous. By this time five of the eight bridges over the Nashua, including both branches, were finished. The cost of the last two was as follows. For the Sprague bridge, \$6,968.39. For the

North Lancaster bridge, \$3,989.22. The iron railing near Sprague bridge cost \$670.88, in 1873.

The railing of the approaches to the Center bridge was moved to correspond to the new location. The selectmen were authorized to put up iron railing on both sides of the Sprague bridge.

The bridge at Carter's mills, and the turnpike bridge, so called, needed repair, whereupon the town voted, March 2, 1874, to replace them both with iron structures. The selectmen were charged with the work, which was done vigorously, at an expense of \$2,430.20 for the former, and \$3,538.50 for the latter.

This completed the work of rebuilding all the large bridges which wholly belong to the town. The bridge at Still River is partly in the town of Harvard. By an arrangement between the towns, an iron bridge was erected there, in 1875, at the joint expense of the towns. Lancaster paid \$1,808.04 as its proportion.

TOWN OFFICERS.

The chief officers of the town during the last period were as follows. The town clerks were John G. Thurston, from 1843 to 1853; William F. Woods, 1853, died in office; Francis F. Hussey, from 1853 to 1856, with the exception that L. S. Burbank was clerk *pro tem.*, at a single meeting in 1855; J. L. S. Thompson, from 1856 to the present time, with the exception of William A. Kilbourn, clerk in the year 1874. Without disparagement to former incumbents of the office, it may be said that the Records for the last twenty years are a model in respect to arrangement, orthography, legibility and accuracy.

The treasurers of the town have been Nathaniel Rand, 1843; Anthony Lane from 1844 to 1858; except in 1855 when John Bennett held the office; John M. Washburn from 1858 to 1862; C. A. Pollard from 1862 to 1865; George W. Howe from 1866 to 1871; Solon Wilder in 1871; Henry C. Ken-

drick in 1872, 1873 and 1874; and Solon Wilder from 1874 to the present year.

The following have served the town in the office of representative in the general court. Jacob Fisher in 1844; Joel Wilder, 2d, in 1845; Joel Wilder in 1846; Ezra Sawyer in 1847, 1848. In 1849, after repeated trials, no choice was made. Anthony Lane in 1850, 1851; John G. Thurston in 1852, 1853 and 1855. Francis F. Hussey in 1854; James Childs in 1856. Since 1856 Lancaster has been joined with other towns in the election of representative, and has supplied the district with a successful candidate occasionally. Dr. J. L. S. Thompson was chosen in 1859, 1860 and 1862; George W. Howe in 1864; Jacob Fisher in 1868; George A. Parker in 1869, 1870 and 1871. Since the last date the town had only a fractional part of a representative furnished by other towns, till 1878, when Samuel R. Damon was elected.

MODERATORS.	SELECTMEN.	ASSESSORS.
1843, Solon Whiting.	Warren Davis, N. Burditt, Geo. Howard.	S. Nourse, Fordyce Nourse, Levi Farwell.
1844, Jacob Fisher.	Nathan Burditt, Chas. Humphrey, J. Bennett	Anthony Lane, H. Wilder, Ezra Sawyer.
1845, Jacob Fisher.	C. Humphrey, N. Burditt, John Bennett.	Same Assessors.
1846, Jacob Fisher, James G. Carter.	Charles Humphrey, J. Bennett, E. Sawyer.	Anthony Lane, Henry Wilder, Levi Greene.
1847, Jas. G. Carter, Luke Bigelow.	Same Selectmen.	Levi Greene, S. Whiting, John Bennett.
1848, Solon Whiting.	John M. Washburn, L. Greene, S. Carter.	Luke Bigelow, Thomas B. Warren, A. Knight.
1849, Solon Whiting.	John M. Washburn, T. Wellington, S. Carter	Re-elected.
1850, Rev. B. Whittemore.	John M. Washburn, J. Wilder, L. Farwell.	Thomas B. Warren, S. Thurston, J. Bennett.
1851, B. Whittemore, G. R. M. Withington.	Joel Wilder, Levi Farwell, Solon Whiting.	Silas Thurston, George Howard, W. Davis.
1852, B. Whittemore.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1853, W. S. Thurston.	Joel Wilder, J. Thurston, James Childs.	"
1854, J. M. Washburn.	Re-elected.	"
1855, W. S. Thurston.	Wilder S. Thurston, J Moore, L. L. Farwell	Stedman Nourse, E. Fuller, C. Wyman.

MODERATORS.	SELECTMEN.	ASSESSORS.
1856, G. R. M. Withington.	Joel Wilder, J Childs, George W. Howe.	W. Davis, Joel W. Wilder. C. J. Wilder.
1857, Solon Whiting, Wright Cummings.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1858, J. M. Washburn.	J. M. Washburn, G. W. Howe, B. S. Phelps.	Joel W. Phelps. C. J. Wilder, L. L. Farwell.
1859, Solon Whiting.	G. W. Howe, Barney S. Phelps, J. M. Washburn.	Re-elected.
1860, Solon Whiting.	G. W. Howe, Barney S. Phelps, S. H. Turner.	S. Whiting, C. J. Wilder, L. L. Farwell.
1861, Solon Whiting.	James Childs, J. Moore, Warren Davis.	W. Davis. Solon Whiting, Silas Thurston.
1862, Geo. W. Howe.	J. Moore. J. Buttrick, G. W. Howe.	Re-elected.
1863, Solon Whiting.	G. W. Howe, J. Buttrick, S. R. Merrick.	W. Davis, S. Nourse, Charles Safford.
1864, Solon Whiting.	Re-elected.	W. Davis, Sewall Day, Jeremiah Moore.
1865, Solon Whiting	J. Buttrick, S. R. Merrick, L. L. Farwell.	S. Day, C. J. Wilder, Stedman Nourse.
1866, Q. Whitney.	Re-elected.	Re-elected.
1867, Quincy Whitney.	S. R. Merrick, C. Holman, C. W. Burbank.	S. Day, W. Davis, Benjamin B. Otis.
1868, Q. Whitney.	C. Holman, L. L. Farwell, S. H. Turner.	W. Davis, S. Nourse, Charles J. Wilder.
1869, L. L. Farwell.	C. Holman, L. L. Farwell, S. H. Turner.	Sewall Day, S. Nourse, Charles T. Fletcher.
1870, G. W. Howe.	Calvin Holman, G. W. Howe, J. Buttrick.	S. Day, John Bennett, J. Moore.
1871, L. L. Farwell.	C. Holman, L. L. Farwell, S. Day.	Re-elected.
1872, W. H. McNeil.	Re-elected.	“
1873, G. W. Howe.	“	“
1874, W. H. McNeil.	C. Holman, J. Bennett, S. R. Damon.	John Bennett, J. Moore, Andrew J. Bancroft.
1875, G. W. Howe.	Re-elected.	J. Bennett, A. J. Bancroft, F. A. Willard.
1876, W. A. Kilbourn, Caleb T. Symmes.	*S. R. Damon, Sewall Day, A. J. Bancroft.	A. J. Bancroft, F. H. Willard, H. D. Humphrey.
1877, W. H. McNeil.	E. Houghton, C. Holman, A. J. Bancroft.	A. J. Bancroft, Francis H. Willard, J. Moore.
1878, W. H. McNeil.	E. Houghton, A. J. Bancroft, F. H. Willard.	A. J. Bancroft, F. H. Willard, J. Bennett.

*Messrs. Damon and Day resigned, and Edward Houghton and Frederick A. Willard were chosen.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In the year 1843 there were thirteen school districts in the town. The tenth and eleventh were in the part now belonging to Clinton. South Lancaster having been separated from George hill was numbered twelve. The old sixth district, whose school-house was some rods north of the house of S. R. Damon was divided, and all living on the road from the old Gen. John Whiting place to Sprague bridge and around to the house of Charles L. Wilder, were constituted the thirteenth district. The school money was divided as follows.

No. 1,	\$100	No. 5,*	\$	No. 9,	\$103
“ 2,	39	“ 6,	103	“ 10,	163
“ 3,	100	“ 7,	103	“ 11,	100
“ 4,	105	“ 8,	100	“ 12,	163
	No. 13, or Center,		\$115.		

The school committee were directed to print five hundred copies of their annual report.

This was the era of school libraries, when each district was expected to have its little library of interesting and useful books. Many can still remember how the choice collection of books—the family library, and works of that sort—went from house to house through all the families of the district. Sometimes the districts exchanged libraries so far as the books differed, and thus extended the circulation of a wholesome literature. In 1844, the town directed that each district should receive fifteen dollars to be expended in the purchase of books. There was a district librarian, and a regular time for receiving and returning the volumes. The sum of \$1,400 was raised for schooling. The town passed a vote of thanks to Rev. E. H. Sears for the “very able” report of the school committee, and ordered the printing of five hundred copies. The next year the appropriation was raised to \$1,600, and the money from the state fund was divided equally among the districts.

* Amount not given.

Nothing occurred in relation to the schools worthy of special note for several years. In 1847 there were some who favored the selection of teachers by the superintending committee, but the town voted that the selection should be left with the prudential committee, subject to the approval of the former, after examination. The appropriation was raised to \$2,000.

The next year witnessed a great advance in the appropriation, when the sum of \$3,200 was devoted to schooling. An unsuccessful effort was made to abolish the second and eighth districts. Each district was to have one school. In districts where there were more than fifty scholars, as the average attendance, there was to be a "separate school, or part of a school." The money was to be "divided as there were schools or parts of a school" in a district.

It was in this year that the first move was made, so far as appears in the Records, to set up what is now definitely called a *high school* in this town. It was connected with the effort to abolish one or two of the smaller districts. It seems from a communication published in the *Boston Courier*, that great excitement prevailed in the town because the school committee had in their report "recommended the abolishing of two district schools, and in place thereof, a high tax to support *high schools*, which were to be placed at a very inconvenient distance from the *doomed districts*." The subject was freely discussed in town meeting, April 10, 1848, when the following remarks were made by Samuel Rugg, a man of great sense and ingenuity. The reporter states that he differed from Mr. Rugg on the main question, but "took particular pains to note correctly the words which flowed from the venerable gentleman's mouth." He sent the report of the speech "on account of the originality of its ideas, and the rich expressions contained therein." The report is inserted here as a fine illustration of what has often been seen and heard in town meetings in every generation of New England history.

“What can be more important for us, when we meet together, than to devise ways and means for the training up of our children in the way they should go? It is for our individual, social and national prosperity. We ought to keep the fountain of sovereignty as pure as possible, and teach the young idea how to shoot. On this question I claim a privilege to speak and act, being the oldest man in the house, and not only born in this town, but my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, I believe,—for the town clerk has told me (from the access he has had to the old records) that my name was among the first settlers of the town. Were my living descendants here present, I should have the pleasure of voting with my grandchildren on this important question.

“Elderly people are apt to be tenacious of their ancient landmarks, rights and privileges, habits and customs, and they do not like to give up their old school districts. How were our fathers and their children qualified to do much of anything? They gained their independence, rights and liberties. We have had self-taught men. Gen. Joseph B. Varnum, I believe, never went through college, but went to congress, and was speaker of the house. I will mention a man of this town, who, when living, was about my age. When young he had little or no chance of schooling, but he improved daylight, candle-light and torch-light in his studies, to acquire an education, and after he came to this town, he received a justice's commission, and went to general court repeatedly. He told me that when on committees, they would put it on him to cast up accounts, as he was expert in figures; he was a ready and good penman, correct speller, and used good language; he was qualified for business, and did a good deal of it. That man's name was Jacob Fisher, senior. He was a self-taught man, and I would give more for *one* self-taught man, than I would for *twenty* educated things.

“The convention that framed our federal constitution were not all college-learnt men. Yet they were as wise and patriotic an assembly of sages as ever adorned a convention hall.

I would raise money enough to qualify every male child for business men, and even *functionaries*, and also for governing the plough handles with as much skill and pleasure as did Cincinnatus, the Roman general. But there appears to be a high fever at the present day for building Babels, and we are called upon to establish high schools to learn the *confounded languages*. I have heard it predicted that the high schools would take place in this town in five years! If any should say that there would be a tall educating ladder erected, and our children sent up to the moon, and there kiss the old man, I would not gainsay him. *If* such a tour could be effected, and return made with intelligence *how to prevent the potato-rot*, it would be a valuable acquisition.

"The wise man has told us that man is grass; we find by observation that one species of vegetation will take the place of another, and we hope that there will be *wheat* enough brought into Lancaster to root out all the *tares*.

"It has been a question in my mind whether I invented a blessing or a curse to the country, when I set up the power *loom*, and wove thirty yards of good shirting cloth from yarn spun in Clintonville. It was done by turning a crank, as it was calculated to go by water. This was done about thirty-nine years ago. That loom has become the mother of villages, and one *entire city*; [Lowell] and is in exercise for giving laws to Lancaster and the country.

"If I had the money which I might have made by that invention, I would give money to every town in the state to educate their children in the outside districts. I will stop, for I do not expect to gain our point by a multitude of words, nor to lose it by long speeches."

The high school plan was defeated, for the time, but was renewed successfully the next year. Mr. Rugg was right in one main point, which was that the children living in remote parts of the town, had rights equal to those whose homes were nearer the center. And it is now the well-established policy to educate all the children without regard to district

limits, and ability to pay taxes, and to enable them to have schools of equal length and value throughout the town.

At the March meeting, 1849, John H. Shaw, Esq., moved that it was "expedient, proper, and highly desirable that there should be one or more schools of a higher order" than those then existing. He also moved that "two such public schools should be established." The prudential committee men of the town were to locate the two schools. The cause of this movement was the growth of Clintonville, where the population was fast increasing. Capt. Shaw lived in the Center, (in the house now occupied by Mr. Royce,) and his plan contemplated a school in Clintonville and another in the Center, to accommodate, as far as possible, the youth of the whole town.

The whole subject was referred to a committee, who reported on the seventh of May. The majority were in favor of two high schools. They were opposed to building two school-houses, but advised hiring a room in the academy for the school in the Center, and in the chapel for that in Clintonville. The minority reported in opposition to the whole project, as both schools would be south of the center of the town. The subject was discussed throughout the town, and on the eleventh of June, it was voted to have two high schools. The first was to be kept in Clintonville, ten months in the year, and the second in the Center for the same length of time. The sum of \$1,500 was raised for these schools. At the same time \$2,700 was devoted to the district schools. This amount — \$4,200, — exceeded all former appropriations. It was fixed that thirty-five scholars should make a school. To No. 2, the sum of \$75 was accorded. From the whole amount raised for district schools, districts 1, 3, 4 and 7 were each to receive \$50, in addition to their quota.

The town of Clinton having been incorporated in the winter of 1850, two districts, Nos. 10 and 11, were taken out of our list. In consequence, No. 12 [New Boston] was changed to No. 10, and No. 13 [Center] was changed to No. 11, which numbers they still retain. The high school in the Center was discontinued.

In 1851 an important change was effected. On motion of Charles Humphrey, it was voted to abolish the school districts; appraise the school-houses, and pay the avails to the inhabitants of each district in proportion to their tax. The school committee were authorized to select as well as examine school teachers. The sum of \$1,500 was raised, with the provision that the superintending committee should divide the money according to their discretion. This action was authorized by recent legislation, and was one of the most beneficent and equalizing changes ever made in relation to public education. Before this time the children in the larger districts had enjoyed the advantage of longer terms, and sometimes of better teachers than those in districts less populous. By degrees it has come to pass that all the schools are in session an equal length of time, and the teachers are distributed more judiciously than they could be possibly, under the old system. At the same time the school numbered six was abolished, and the children sent to Nos. 5 and 11.

The brick school-house for No. 7, [George hill] was built in 1852, costing about \$800. The sum of \$1,600 was raised for schools, and \$200 for a public singing-school, free to all inhabitants of the town. At the April meeting measures were taken for building the house for No. 9 school. Stedman Nourse, John Bennett and Thomas B. Warren were the building committee. The school committee were joined to the building committee for the purpose of locating the house. Half an acre of land was allotted to the school. With rare sagacity the town chose Rev. Messrs. Packard, Bartol and Whittemore a committee to design a plan. The house was not to cost more than \$1,000. That house is still by far the best specimen of school architecture in the town. It was well built, and makes a very pleasant appearance.

This year the town voted that the prudential committees should engage the teachers, subject to the approval of the superintending committee, and that the former should make repairs under the superintendence of the latter.

At the fall meeting, November 2, a vote was passed that the building committee for No. 9, should erect a school-house for No. 2. This house was also well built, of sound lumber, and is still in good repair. However, the work was not done till next year, when, April 4, the town voted that No. 2 should be provided with a school-house "as soon as may be."

At the same meeting, 1853, John M. Washburn, Charles L. Wilder and Matthew F. Woods were chosen a committee to build a school-house for No. 10, [South Lancaster;] \$2,000 were appropriated, and the committee were directed to obtain forty rods of land in addition to that already belonging to the school. The land cost \$200, but the owner would not give a deed, and it will revert to the heirs whenever the town ceases to occupy it for school purposes. The land in Nos. 2 and 7 belongs to the town.

Matters of considerable interest came before the town in 1854. There was some talk of enlarging and repairing No. 6 school-house; of building a new house for No. 8, and of moving the house of school No. 3 to a spot on the new cross road, where the brick school-house now stands in the beautiful and fragrant pine grove. The last two plans were effected in due time.

September 9, a committee was chosen to see if the academy could be purchased for a school-house for No. 11. September 23, the report came that the academy could not be bought. On the tenth of October the committee were directed to inquire if the academy could be hired by the town for the term of ten years. The committee reported, the same day, that the proprietors would "lease the lower room of the academy to the town for five, seven or ten years, for sixty dollars per annum, and make such repairs as the town shall direct, with twelve and a half per cent. on additional repairs." The town was to provide stoves and seats.

The subject came up again, November 13, when it was voted to "buy the the academy on terms offered." This was a new phase of the business. The price demanded for the acad-

emy lot and building was \$1,250. The conditions were that "the town shall ever support and keep the building in good repair in every part, except the part reserved by the proprietors. The upper rooms, together with the wood room below, or rooms of equal convenience and accommodation in the immediate vicinity, shall be reserved, rent free, for a high school or academy, to be under the control of the trustees or their successors." This arrangement or something like it, was effected.

Silas Thurston, Stedman Nourse and John Bennett were a committee chosen in 1855 to build the No. 8 school-house. The old house for No. 4, was repaired next year. The brick school-house, No. 3, was ordered in 1857, and \$1,000 raised for the purpose. A year later it was voted to, "prosecute all who injure school-houses." The money raised for schooling was \$1,800. In 1860 the appropriation was \$2,000.

In 1862 the duty of employing teachers was again given to the superintending committee. Owing to the great expense of the war, probably, the appropriation for schools was cut down to \$1,600.

Again the town, in 1863, entrusted the hiring of teachers to the prudential committee men. So hard was it for the sections to yield this point. The law finally settled the matter.

The school money for 1863 was \$1,600. This was raised at the March meeting. In April it was determined to have a high school, and \$400 were raised to support it. The upper town hall was given for the accommodation of a "free high school."

The town directed the selectmen to put the school-houses and out-buildings in repair.

At the same time it was voted that the "superintending school committee shall have all charge of the school-houses, and make all incidental repairs of the same," and they were empowered to enforce certain regulations recommended in their last report. This rule is still in force.

The number of the superintending committee was increased to six in 1863, and reduced to three again the next year. For schools, \$2,000. In 1865, the sum was raised to \$2,200.

The reason why the appropriation was reduced to \$1,400 in 1866, is to be found probably in the fact that the town raised \$5,000 as a town, and the same sum by subscription, for a Memorial Hall.

The next year the appropriation exceeded all that had preceded it, except just before the separation of Clinton. It was \$2,800. From this year, 1867, the practice of drawing orders by the school committee has been in vogue. The vote reads: "the school committee are instructed to keep an accurate account of all monies expended, and the town treasurer is authorized to pay money on their order to an amount not exceeding the appropriation for school purposes."

The appropriation in 1868 was \$2,400, and in the year following, \$2,400, besides \$400 for repairs, and \$200 for a singing-school. In 1870, the first appropriation was \$2,700 for schooling; \$300 for repairs; \$100 for apparatus, and \$200 for singing, amounting to \$3,300. Later the sum of \$1,500 was added, either to pay for scholars sent to the Lancaster academy, or to establish a free high school. The town was divided in opinion. It was voted to send scholars to the academy when advanced enough to enter a high school. It was also voted to establish a high school in the autumn. But at a meeting held June 18, a vote was passed to "postpone the high school for one year from September 1, 1870." At the same time the town voted to "pay for all scholars qualified to enter a high school, at Lancaster academy, said scholars to be recommended by the school committee, and to be under their control," as in the case of other scholars in the schools of the town.

In the winter of 1871 the project of a Normal school in the interior of the state was before the legislature. On the supposition that the location was still undecided, and therefore open for competition, the citizens of Lancaster made suitable

efforts to secure its establishment here. A special town meeting was held February 13, when a vote was passed "that the town, in its corporate capacity, by its selectmen, should petition the legislature to establish the projected Normal school in Lancaster." A committee of five, Charles L. Wilder, Marcus Ames, Jacob Fisher, J. L. S. Thompson, and A. P. Marvin, were chosen to present the claims of the town to the general court. The committee appeared before the educational committee, and stated that the town, by a unanimous vote, had offered to give a site for the school, but very soon found that the effort was fruitless. Several towns were present on the same quest, but it appeared to be a foregone conclusion that the school should be located in Worcester.

At the annual meeting, Henry Wilder offered the following motion, which was adopted: "that the school committee be requested to require that reading, spelling and English grammar be made distinct and primary studies in the high school; and that no pupil of the high school shall, in school hours, study any language but English, until the school committee shall, after full examination, certify that in their judgment, the time required for such study could not be otherwise better spent." At the April meeting the committee were directed to "prescribe a course of study for the high school." The sum of \$4,000 was raised for school purposes. At another meeting, July 5, a vote was passed that the town would pay the tuition, at the Lancaster academy, of such scholars as were fitted to enter a high school. A committee was chosen whose duty would be to "frequently visit the Lancaster academy, examine and ascertain the branches taught to town scholars, and what progress was made, and report to the town." The committee were A. P. Marvin, F. H. Thompson and Mary G. Ware. These appointees never acted, as the duties assigned belonged to the school committee, who alone had power to examine schools. Vocal music was successfully taught in the Center, for all scholars who could attend from all parts of the town, on Saturday afternoons, by George C. Gardner.

At a meeting in 1872, September 7, two propositions were before the town. First, to authorize the school committee to send scholars to the academy, if fitted to attend a high school, and pay their tuition. Second, to establish a high school. Both were laid on the table. In consequence the school committee decided that they were not authorized to draw orders to pay for the tuition of scholars in the academy. The town, March, 1873, voted to pay the tuition of such scholars, for the fall term of the preceding year. The connection between the town and the academy now terminated. The trustees of the academy gave up their organization, and presented certain articles of school furniture to the town.

Strenuous efforts were made in 1873 to secure the erection of a school-house in the Center, large enough to accommodate the primary, grammar and high schools. Caleb T. Symmes, Jacob Fisher, John Bennett and Henry Wilder were joined to the school committee, with directions to examine lots, draw up a plan, and report to the town. The committee gave much time and thought to the subject; but the town declined to adopt their recommendation. Repeated attempts have met the same fate.

The school committee started a free high school in the spring of 1873, the town having at the annual meeting raised \$1,200 for the purpose. The teacher for the first term was Charles E. Batchelder, a member of the senior class in Harvard University. Miss Anna H. Whitney was assistant, and has continued in the situation to the present time. Alfred F. Washburn, a classmate of Mr. Batchelder, commenced the fall term. Both these gentlemen were excellent scholars, and won the esteem of their pupils, and the community. There was some deficiency in government and order. LeRoy Z. Collins, a graduate of Bowdoin college, and a man of considerable experience as a teacher, was engaged near the beginning of the year 1874, and has continued at the head of the school to the present time. The average attendance has been between forty and fifty. The school has given general satisfaction.

In 1874 the appropriation for schools was \$5,000, and at the same time, \$600 were raised "to improve the stairs and paint the school-rooms in the town hall." The expense was about \$1,000. Miss Addie C. White was engaged to give instruction in vocal music. She gave lessons in the high school, and in the primary and grammar schools in the Center and North and South Lancaster. The scholars of George hill school attended the lessons in South Lancaster. This was continued with success the next year, when the money raised for education was \$6,000. In the same year, 1875, the sum of \$3,800 was appropriated for building a new school-house for schools number four and five, which were consolidated, with the intention of having a primary and grammar school in the same building. The old school-houses of Nos. 4 and 5 were sold. The state of business at Ponakin caused some families to leave, in consequence of which the number of scholars has not warranted the division of the school into two departments.

The appropriation for education in 1876 was \$6,000, besides the income from the state, something less than \$200, and also the tuition of scholars from other towns. The actual expense of the schools for the year was about \$5,700. In 1877 the sum raised for schooling was \$5,500, in addition to income from other sources, which amounted to about \$250.

At the last March meeting, 1878, the town adopted a series of Rules under the truant laws. It was voted to raise \$5,500 for schooling, in addition to the income from the state school fund, which is something less than \$200, and the amount for tuition of out-of-town scholars in the high school. For vocal music in the schools the sum of \$200 was voted, and \$100 for extra repairs; in all, about \$6,000. An effort was made to erect a new school-house in the Center. Two or three plans were before the town, at successive meetings, but none of them met the views of a majority. The need of a house that will accommodate the primary, grammar and high schools is still pressing.

Since districts were abolished, and the whole management of schools was committed to the superintending committee, some of the smaller schools have been discontinued. This process was begun in 1869-70, when three ladies, Mrs. Ware, Miss Bradley and Miss Fisher, were on the committee. There was dissatisfaction at the time, and the action was reversed. But in a few years there was a general conviction that the policy was right, and the committee have now, for four or five years, joined the scholars of No. 2 to No. 1, and the school in No. 8 to No. 11. As said already the numbers four and five have been permanently consolidated, and the new school is number four. The arrangement of the schools at present is as follows. A high school in the Center to which the youth from all parts of the town resort. A grammar school in the Center, and another in South Lancaster. A primary school in the same places. Schools including primary and grammar scholars, in Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7 and 9; in all, ten schools. The music teacher, Miss Ellen S. Fisher, visits the schools once a week, except the more remote, which she instructs several times each term. The teachers have the scholars practice on a given lesson every day.

Lancaster has long held a high rank among the towns in the state, in the matter of appropriating money for education. The amount divided among the scholars, gives for each one about twenty dollars. The town stands first in the county, and among the fifteen or twenty highest in the whole state in the appropriation per head.

Here follow the names of the members of the superintending school committee since the year 1842, with their term of service.

Rev. Edmund H. Sears,	1843-47	Rev. B. Whittemore,	1844-53
Rev. Charles Packard,	1843-54	Rev. J. R. M. Eaton,	1846,7
Benjamin Holt,	1843-6	John H. Shaw,	1847,8
Edward P. Whitman,	1843	Charles G. Stevens,	1847,8,9
Wright Cummings,	1843,4	John M. Washburn,	1847-54
Solon Whiting,	1843,4	Rev. George M. Bartol,	1848-72
Ezra Sawyer,	1843,4	G. R. M. Withington,	1848

George W. Burditt,	1848,9	E. M. Fuller,	1868
Silas Thurston,	1848-66*	William H. McNeil,	1869
G. M. Morse,	1848.9	Rev. George T. Leavitt,	1869-71
Rev. C. M. Bowers,	1849	Mrs. Mary G. Ware,	1869-71
Rev. Franklin B. Doe,	1855-60	Rev. Quincy Whitney,	1869-71
Wilder S. Thurston,	1855	Miss Charlotte Fisher,	1869,70
Levi S. Burbank,	1855-7	Miss Levancia Bradley,	1869
Rev. Quincy Whitney,	1856,7	George W. Howe,	1870,1
H. C. Kimball,	1856-61	Charles F. Wilder,	1869-71
Rev. E. A. Lawrence,	1861-64	J. D. Butler,	1872-4
Rev. M. C. Stebbins,	1862-65	Rev. A. P. Marvin,	1872-8
C. W. Burbank,	1863-71	Charles L. Wilder, jr.,	1873-6
Levi Farwell,	1863	Dr. F. H. Thompson,	1874-6
John Cunningham,	1863	Edward Houghton,	1876-8
William A. Kilbourn,	1865-72	Miss Anna H. Whitney.	1876-8

At the beginning of this period there were seven men on the school committee. The number has varied from time to time. In 1863 three were added to the committee already elected, for some special purpose. In 1871 the number was fixed at three, one to be chosen each year, as the law provides. By resignation or removal some have not served out the term of their appointment, in which cases the vacancy has been filled, till the annual meeting, by the school committee and selectmen in joint convention. The members who have served as chairmen are Messrs. Sears, Packard, Bartol, Kilbourn, Marvin, and perhaps others.

TEXT BOOKS.

The following books are used for study or reference in the various schools and the list is here inserted for future reference.

Dictionaries,—Webster and Worcester.

Spelling,—Leach, Soule and Campbell's Hand Book.

Language Series,—*Primer, Lessons, Composition, Grammar*,—Swinton.

Writing,—The Duntonian System.

Drawing,—Smith.

* Several intervening years excepted.

Singing,—L. W. Mason's Books and Charts.

Geography,—Guyot's Physical Geography, Warren's Primary and Common School Geography, Classical Atlas.

Physiology,—Brown.

Botany,—Gray.

Natural Philosophy,—Steele.

Chemistry,—Steele.

Mineralogy,—Teacher's Notes.

Zoology,—

Geology,—

Grammar,—Greene and Swinton.

Arithmetic,—Eaton.

Astronomy,—Peabody.

History,—Higginson and Dickens, Lyman's Historical Charts, Thalheimer's General History.

Political Economy,—Nordhoff.

Algebra,—Eaton.

Geometry,—Eaton.

Trigonometry,—Eaton.

English Literature,—Gilman.

French,—Bocher's Otto's Grammar and Reader; Fleury's French History; Selected French Plays; Fisher's Readers; Spiers' Dictionary.

Latin,—Harkness' Grammar and Reader; Sallust, Cæsar, Virgil, Cicero.

Greek,—Goodwin's or Crosby's Grammar; Introductory Greek Reader; Anabasis; Iliad.

HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY.

The following course of study was adopted in 1877, after several years' experience. It is, of course, subject to change. The first Diplomas were given to a class of four at the close of the winter term, in March, 1878.

COURSE OF STUDY.

FIRST YEAR.	SECOND YEAR.
<p style="text-align: center;">FIRST TERM.</p> American History. School Composition. Arithmetic. Botany. * Latin.	<p style="text-align: center;">FIRST TERM.</p> School Composition. Arithmetic. Physiology. Latin. * French.
<p style="text-align: center;">SECOND TERM.</p> American History. School Composition. Arithmetic. Natural Philosophy.	<p style="text-align: center;">SECOND TERM.</p> School Composition. Algebra. Physiology.
<p style="text-align: center;">THIRD TERM.</p> American History. School Composition. Arithmetic. Natural Philosophy.	<p style="text-align: center;">THIRD TERM.</p> Composition. Algebra. Physical Geography. * Greek.
General Exercises. Drawing. Singing. Gymnastics.	Select readings and declamations.
THIRD YEAR.	FOURTH YEAR.
<p style="text-align: center;">FIRST TERM.</p> General History. Algebra. Physical Geography.	<p style="text-align: center;">FIRST TERM.</p> English Literature. Geometry. Zoology. Political Economy. Topical Reviews.
<p style="text-align: center;">SECOND TERM.</p> General History. Algebra. Geology.	<p style="text-align: center;">SECOND TERM.</p> English Literature. Political Economy. Trigonometry. Chemistry. Topical Reviews.
<p style="text-align: center;">THIRD TERM.</p> General History. Geometry. Mineralogy.	<p style="text-align: center;">THIRD TERM.</p> English Literature. Astronomy. Chemistry. Topical Reviews.
Original readings and declamations.	

* Languages optional through the whole course. Public literary exercises on the last Friday afternoon of each month.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ACADEMY AND OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

THE Lancaster Academy was established because the Latin grammar school did not meet the wants of a portion of the families for a higher education. A law passed in the early years of the colony, required towns containing a hundred families, to maintain a grammar school. This law was either enlarged in its scope by subsequent legislation, or liberally interpreted by the people, since it became the custom in some of the towns to have the ancient languages taught in the public school. This was the case here, it is believed, in the first quarter of the last century. There was a stated grammar school in Lancaster before 1757, as we learn from the Records that the following vote was passed in that year. "Voted that the grammar school be kept in each precinct — Lancaster and Sterling—according to what they pay." In 1762 Col. Abijah Willard and others had leave to build a school-house, on public land, not far from the meeting-house. The school-house was probably near Dr. Thompson's corner. Two years later in consequence of a petition of Levi Willard, Esq., a grammar school was to be kept in the Center, the ensuing year, provided the petitioners should build a house, and support the school, "after the amount of their taxes had been appropriated for that purpose." But the school alternated between the two sections of the town until Sterling was incorporated. In 1790 the town voted to build a school-house opposite the Mansion house, so called, now occupied by Dr. Edgecomb. It stood near the house of Mr. Stowell. After the division of the town, in some of the years, the Latin grammar mas-

ter taught in different districts, as the Center, George hill and Ballard hill. Latin was taught in the third district, some sixty years ago, and there is an old Latin dictionary still in existence, with which its owner once knocked the school-master flat upon the floor. From the Records of No. 7, or George hill school, it is inferred that the district, at times, had a Latin master at their own expense.

This plan of a migratory school, which the scholars had to follow from district to district, or abandon continued study, was very unsatisfactory to those who desired their sons and daughters to pass beyond the branches taught in the ordinary schools. As early as the year 1815, a number of gentlemen belonging to Lancaster and some of the neighboring towns, united together, and established the Lancaster Academy. Still the town made an annual appropriation for a Latin grammar school, though not without opposition. This went on till 1823, when sixty dollars were appropriated for the Latin grammar school; from which date the school disappears from the Records.

Before taking a final leave of the Latin grammar school, a brief reference should be made to the masters of the school, all of whom were respected in their day, and some of whom obtained a lasting reputation. Not repeating the names of those who taught the classics before the middle of the last century, we find that Edward Bass, who graduated at Harvard in 1744, and became the first Episcopal bishop in Massachusetts, taught here in 1746; and his classmate, Joseph Palmer, afterwards a clergyman, had the school in 1747. Edward Phelps, and Abel Willard, Esq., followed in 1749-52. Hezekiah Gates was master in 1756, and Moses Hemenway, afterwards a distinguished minister in Wells, Me., in 1757-9. Gen. Joseph Warren, of Bunker Hill fame, succeeded him. Next came a Mr. Parker, a graduate of Harvard. Dr. Israel Atherton, the first liberally educated physician in Worcester county, came next. His name occurs often in our annals. His successor was Joseph Willard, afterwards president of

Harvard University. Then came Ensign Mann, Mr. Brown, Joseph Bullard, Frederick Albert, Mr. Hutchinson, graduates. Peter Green, M. D., of the class of 1766, taught here about 1767, and lived here as a physician many years afterwards. He removed to Concord, N. H., where he was active in his profession in 1825, at the great age of 91 years. John Warner, Robert Fletcher and Dr. Josiah Wilder taught previous to the Revolution. The above facts are given on the authority of Willard.

There is difficulty in tracing the succession of teachers for some years, but it is known that William Ellery Channing, whose fame has gone out wherever English literature is enjoyed, was master of the school about the close of the last century. The names of his immediate successors have not been found, but the following came after him: viz., Solon Whiting, Miss Caroline Lee Whiting, Miss Ann F. Vose, Miss Susan Prescott, Silas Thurston, Charles Stedman and Frank Dana.

LANCASTER ACADEMY.

As said above, the academy was founded in 1815. But it seems from the following statement of the venerable Rev. C. C. Beaman, of Boston, a descendant of Gamaliel Beaman, that there was a school here, several years before, which was called "the academy." Perhaps this was a preliminary school in order to see if an academical institution could obtain support. One of the earliest masters was Abel Whitney, of whom and his school, Mr. Beaman gives pleasant reminiscences.

"Mr. Whitney taught in a building called the Academy, located in the center of the town. I was his pupil for one winter term, about 1811, while spending a season with my grandfather, Joseph Beaman.

"Very pleasant memories come back to me from that school. I had previously spent a summer term at the school-house—No. 6,—taught by Mr. James D. Farnsworth, quite a young

man, and still a college student. He became a Congregational minister.

“The school of Mr. Whitney was of larger pretensions in its size and fitting up, and had a greater number of scholars, and more advanced studies. * * * It embraced students from all parts of Lancaster, and contained pupils of advanced age, and of both sexes, to the exclusion of younger ones. * * * The older boys or young men had learned something by report, and talked freely of him, leading the school to expect a very strict disciplinarian. I remember his first entrance. The house was full, and a tall, stout man with dignified step and self-possessed, resolute aspect, entered and walked up to the teacher’s desk. All eyes were intently fixed upon him. He spoke pleasantly, and mentioned his purpose of dividing his school into classes as soon as he could learn the capabilities of his scholars. Among the scholars I call to mind the three sons of Dr. Thayer, John Eliot, Nathaniel and Christopher; also a daughter of Dr. Thayer; two daughters of Mr. Robert Townsend, one of whom, (a young lady generally beloved for her amiability and personal attractions,) Mr. Whitney afterwards married; Henry, son of Dea. Lane, Warren, son of Robert Townsend; and the families of Wyman, Stearns, Whitney, Torrey, Stedman and Phelps, who were represented by sons and daughters.

“I had been a member of Lawson Lyon’s academy, at Boston, where my father lived, and Mr. Whitney had heard of the school, and asked me many questions about it. Notwithstanding all the reports of the severity of the teacher, he was by no means a hard master, and there was very little scolding or whipping. The young ladies were very sensitive when any severity was practised, and no doubt exercised a reasonable restraint both upon the teacher and the biggest boys. I was uniformly kindly treated by the teacher, and I recollect no unkindness extended to any of the scholars. He kept good order in the school, and the application of the students was of a commendable character. The school examination at the

close of the term, was highly spoken of by the committee men who were in attendance.

"The principal recreation of the school in recess, was in skating on the river, * * * and there was no quarreling among the boys, but on the contrary, much kindness and sociability. Looking back now for over sixty years, I recall with pleasure the scenes and general aspect of the school-room and the grounds adjacent, while I was a pupil. There is nothing to cloud the remembrance, and much to admire in the deportment and intelligence exhibited. * * * I never met with master Whitney after leaving his school, but for some time heard of him as a noted teacher. School-masters, after we grow up, assume a higher place in our grateful memories, as we realize our great obligations to them, and very few are the scholars who would not respond cheerfully to the demand for a subscription to the erection of a Memorial Stone over the grave of an instructor."

To proceed with the narrative, Mr. Willard said in 1825, "few institutions of the kind have probably ever done more good. Many have already been taught there, who but for its establishment would have been much less favored in their opportunities for learning."

The academy was now located on the Old Common. The Latin grammar school-house which was erected near the house of Mr. Stowell in 1790, was moved across the river, and on to the Common, for the accommodation of the academy. Here it remained until the academy building on the Common in the Center was built in 1825. Afterwards the old house started again on its travels, and finally reached its present location in the rear of the house of John A. Rice, in South Lancaster, where it serves the purpose of a meat market.

The teachers of the academy, while on the Old Common, seem to have been superior men; some of them have acquired a wide reputation. The first was Silas Holman, M.D. He was here in the summer of 1815, and then removed to Maine, where he was a practising physician.

Jared Sparks had charge of the academy one year, from the autumn of 1818. He was graduated at Harvard in 1815, and was tutor there two or three years after leaving Lancaster. He became distinguished as a clergyman in Baltimore, as the editor of the *North American Review*, and as president of Harvard University. His most lasting title to fame is founded on his biographical and historical labors.

John W. Proctor, a graduate of Harvard in 1816, had the care of the academy one year. He was afterwards attorney and counsellor at law in Danvers, where he maintained a respectable rank in his profession, and as a public man.

George B. Emerson, who was graduated at Harvard University in 1817, and was a tutor therein from 1819 to 1821, taught the academy two years from the summer of 1817. Mr. Emerson ranks as one of the foremost educators in the country.

The next principal was Solomon P. Miles, a graduate of Harvard in 1819, and tutor from 1821 to 1823, who conducted the school through the two years commencing with August, 1819. He was afterwards preceptor of the high (English classical) school in Boston.

Nathaniel Wood, another Harvard graduate, 1821, and tutor in the years 1823 and 1824, was here two years, closing in 1823. He studied law in Boston, and afterwards settled in Fitchburg, where he was a leader of the bar during a long and busy life. He was a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and also a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1853.

Levi Fletcher was at the head of the school from August, 1823, about one year. He was a graduate of Harvard University, like his immediate predecessors, having taken his degree in 1823. In 1825 he was chaplain on board the frigate *Macedonian*.

The next preceptor was Nathaniel Kingsbury, who belonged to the class of 1821, in Harvard, but left during the third year. He came to Lancaster in the fall of 1824, and con-

tinued at the head of the school during several sessions. The academy sustained a high character for discipline and instruction.

He was followed by John H. Warland, formerly a well-known editor, Martin Lincoln, father of Mrs. Prof. Walton, Mr. Cummings and Henry Kimball, still kindly remembered by many pupils.

As already stated, the academy was first opened on the Old Common about 1815. At that time several important families lived there, and Mr. —— Higginson, father of Col. T. W. Higginson, was residing in Bolton. These families naturally set up the school in the place most convenient to themselves. Before following the academy to its new location in the Center, it will be pleasant to linger awhile, and in the company of one who was familiar with the brilliant circle on the Old Common, learn something of literary life there nearly sixty years ago. The following extract from a recent letter of MISS ELIZABETH P. PEABODY, widely and favorably known in this country and abroad, as an author and educator, gives a view of one stratum of society in Lancaster which could be derived from no other source. She came hither in 1820, with her father, who was a physician. There were three daughters in the family, who have since become distinguished. One was the wife of Hawthorne; another of Horace Mann, and the third is the writer from whom we quote.

“It had been represented to us that a girls’ school was wanted, and as I had been educated chiefly by my parents for a teacher, I was to have this school. This proved a failure, for it was not a good locality for a girls’ school, especially one that must depend for scholars on other places, because there was a boys’ school there, and boys were boarding all over town. Nevertheless I did keep school there more than a year, and had some pupils from out of town, nearly as old as myself, and one was older.”

She then speaks of the founders of the school, and some of the first teachers, whose names have been given already.

With such instructors the school had great success. The writer proceeds: "Many boys were sent to board in town, and go to the school. There were also two young southerners named Allston, who were confided to the care of Mr. Lyman Buckminster, who was paid a liberal salary to prepare them for college; and he called to his aid Mr. James G. Carter. Mr. Carter was the most intimate friend of Warren Colburn who had inspired him with his own idea of reforming education.

The old Stillwell house, so called, which was purchased by the state for the Industrial school for girls, and which was burned in 1876, was occupied, at the time of Miss Peabody's residence here, by "Capt. Richard Cleveland and his very remarkable wife. Capt. Cleveland had retired on his fortune gained in a successful mercantile career begun in Salem, where both he and his wife were born, and whence he first set sail for India as a sea-captain in the employ of Hasket Derby, senior. But he soon worked on his own account, and was one of those navigators who organized the wide commerce of Salem. He was a noble, original, heroic character, who, inspired with the love that was eventually crowned by a most happy marriage, worked with the enthusiasm and self-devotion of an old knight of the days of chivalry, to win a fortune for his bride elect, and with a kindred high sense of honor. His two volumes of voyages indicate the exceptional character of his career. In the course of it he met and united in a bond of friendship, (as exceptional as his love,) with Mr. Shaler, who subsequently bought and lived in that same house."

Pleasantly mingling her own life here with that of the cultivated friends among whom she moved,—one of the youngest and most accomplished of them all, though only seventeen,—Miss Peabody proceeds. "As soon as we arrived in Lancaster, we were called upon by Dr. Thayer, who gave me his youngest daughter for a pupil; and Mrs. Cleveland called and invited me most cordially to her house, where

every evening there was an assemblage of all those who were interested in education, a subject in which Mrs. Cleveland was wholly absorbed, having herself educated her three boys with help in the last years, of Messrs. Sparks, Emerson and Miles, to all of whom her hospitable mansion was a home, and she was their most respected and beloved counsellor. She had studied Rousseau and Pestalozzi without losing her own originality, and she believed a true and natural education the foundation stone of the national edifice. The evenings at her house were the greatest inspiration to all these educators. I had my own ideas already very strongly fixed as to the principles, and was very eager to learn methods more natural than those of the ordinary schools. There was a general educational Revival at this time.

"There I met Colburn, and learned from his own lips his idea of making children discover and make the rules of arithmetic, which he proposed to teach very differently from the manner in which his arithmetic came to be taught. He believed his plan of leading children to discover, could be applied to every science. Mr. Carter undertook to carry it out in the science of geography. Colburn suggested to me that it was the true way to teach grammar. But it was not merely new methods of intellectual education that were discussed at these *symposia* at Mrs. Cleveland's, but the necessity and method of building up *character* on the Christian and heroic ideal, of inspiring children with the power to educate themselves—anticipating *Fröbel*."

Passing over for the present, other passages in the letter of Miss Peabody, the following is pertinent to this place. "The mother of Rev. William H. Channing, a magnificent specimen of noblest womanhood, was a cousin of Mrs. Cleveland, and had recently left Lancaster when I went to live there. She had retired thither in her early widowhood, and put her son at the academy. At her house had died the celebrated Miss Eloise Payne, elder sister of Howard Payne, who was called the American Roscius when a boy, and who is still

known by his beautiful song 'Home, sweet home.' This gifted woman lies under a simple monument in the graveyard on the Common, which was erected by the now venerable John G. Palfrey, who was a pupil of the father of Eloise, and school companion of herself, and who thus wished to testify his respect and love for the inspirer of his youth and companion of his studies.

"When I think of these two years of my life at Lancaster, it seems arrayed in all the glory of the Ideal. The enthusiasm for study among the young people; the enthusiasm of educating in the teachers; the extraordinary beauty of nature; the classic music which always formed part of the entertainment, and which Mrs. Cleveland always played to her husband, who enjoyed it so much that she never allowed any visitor to interrupt it; Mr. Cleveland's unwordly nobility of character, all blend to make it an oasis in the desert of this 'work-day world.' Life has never seemed to me tame or uninteresting anywhere; but this season is glorified in my memory not merely by the subjective enthusiasm of my own youthful season, but by the objective reality of so many rare individualities congregated together."

The writer of the above left Lancaster in 1822 or 1823, and the academy was transferred two years later to the Center. Mr. Willard informs us that a "subscription to erect a new building in the center of the town" was made in April, 1825. A large and ample sum was obtained for this purpose with but little difficulty. The land just south of the church—the town hall has since been placed between—was given by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter, who with their brothers, also subscribed most liberally to the undertaking. A new and very tasteful building of brick, two stories in height, with a cupola and bell was erected. It was intended to add to the academy, a "distinct and permanent school for females," but this part of the plan does not appear to have been realized. Instead of that, girls were admitted to the advantages of the academy.

Nathaniel Kingsbury, already mentioned, held the position of principal after the academy was established in the Center, but the duration of his mastership has not been ascertained. The school seems to have declined, and the Records of the academy do not give the names of successive teachers, if any there were, for several years.

About twenty years after the building was completed and the academy was opened in the Center, a change was effected by the formation of a new company. A meeting of gentlemen interested in the education of their children, in a "good private school," was held, March 9, 1847, in the academy building. Henry Swift was chairman, and Wilder S. Thurston secretary. Mr. Swift explained the object of the meeting, and remarks were made by Messrs. Washburn, Lincoln, Whiting, Humphrey, King, Thurston, Shaw and Vose upon the expediency of the undertaking. The meeting resolved to purchase the building, if practicable, and to see how many shares would be taken by the company present, at \$25 per share. Sixteen shares were taken on the spot, and a committee, — John M. Washburn, Henry Swift and Dr. Lincoln — was chosen to procure subscriptions to purchase the building. Fifty shares were needed for buying the building. Rev. Charles Packard and Capt. Shaw were added to the committee, who were requested to report "regulations for the government of this company."

At a meeting held one week later, the committee reported in favor of applying to the legislature for an act of incorporation. This was agreed upon, and the committee were directed to petition to be "allowed to hold real and personal estate to the value of twenty thousand dollars." Here follows a list of the original subscribers, with the number of their shares.

Henry Swift,	4 shares.	Orice King,	1 share.
Stedman Nourse,	1 "	Nathaniel Gage,	1 "
John H. Shaw,	1 "	J. M. Washburn,	2 "
Henry Lincoln,	1 "	S. J. S. Vose,	1 "

Joel W. Phelps,	1 share.	Josiah Fay,	1 share.
Charles Humphrey,	1 “	Wilder S. Thurston,	1 “
Thomas B. Warren,	1 “	G. R. M. Withington,	2 “
Ephraim C. Fisher,	1 “	Alanson Chase,	1 “
John G. Thurston,	2 “	George Stratton,	1 “
George Howard,	1 “	S. H. Turner,	1 “
Matthew P. Woods,	2 “	Charles Sawyer,	1 “
Charles Packard,	1 “	Samuel Carter,	1 “
Jacob Fisher,	3 “	Ephraim Fuller,	1 “
Luther Billings,	1 “	Henry Wilder,	2 “
Anthony Lane,	2 “	James Pitts & Co.,	1 “
Charles L. Wilder,	2 “	Hollis Davis,	1 “
Nathaniel Chandler,	2 “	John Bennett,	1 “
Ezra Sawyer,	2 “	Solon Whiting,	1 “
Sidney Harris.	1 “	Samuel A. Hastings,	1 “

Others soon became proprietors by purchasing shares of the original subscribers, or new shares. These were George M. Bartol, Jeremiah Moore, Jonas Goss, Dolly Chandler, G. F. Chandler, Peter T. Homer, Curtis P. Smith.

An act of incorporation, signed by Gov. George N. Briggs, April 7, was obtained, which authorized the "Lancaster Academy to hold real and personal estate" amounting to \$25,000, which was to be devoted "exclusively to the purposes of education." This act was accepted, June 7, when an organization was effected, and a rule adopted that each proprietor, whatever his number of shares, should be entitled to only one vote. The following officers were chosen: Henry Swift, president; John M. Washburn, secretary; Charles Packard, John H. Shaw, John G. Thurston, Henry Wilder, Charles Humphrey, Ezra Sawyer, Henry Lincoln, trustees.

The president reported, August 23, that the academy building had been bought for \$1,100, when it was voted to put the house in order, and to procure a teacher. Rev. Charles Packard was chairman of the committee for the latter purpose. The building and lot were purchased of John Bennett, James Pitts and Moses Stow of Lancaster, and Joseph Whitney of Bolton.

The meeting in May, 1848, requested the trustees to "advertise for a teacher, and offer the use of the room rent-free, with such assurance of aid as they can obtain." Action was taken in June, looking to an arrangement with District No. 13, for procuring a teacher in connection with the district. In July a committee was chosen to obtain a teacher.

At a meeting, April 16, 1849, the committee having the care of the building were authorized to rent the upper rooms to the town for a year from the first of September, for sixty dollars, with the privilege of removing the partition, and erecting additional seats at the expense of the lessees. It appears from the Records that the committee, May 7, were authorized to grant the use of the upper rooms, on the same terms, to Mr. Henry C. Kimball, provided the town did not want them for the purpose of a high school. Turning to the town Records, we find, under date of June 11, that a vote was passed in favor of two high schools, one of which was to be in Clintonville, and the other in the Center, to be kept ten months. Probably an arrangement was effected for that year, and perhaps Mr. Kimball was the teacher. The next year the town was divided, and its population being diminished about one-half, it was not required by law to sustain a high school.

The next year the use of the upper rooms was granted to a competent teacher, and the lower room to school district No. 11, for forty dollars. By the division of the town, districts No. 10 and 11 had been set off, and the old district No. 13 became No. 11, or the Center district. Mr. H. C. Kimball had the use of the upper rooms for a year from the first day of September, 1850. Mr. Kimball had charge of a school in the academy building for several years. In 1851 he had the free use of the upper rooms, besides the sum of twenty-five dollars for fuel and incidental expenses.

Efforts were made by some of the proprietors in 1851 and the year following, to sell the property and divide the proceeds, but without success. The rent of the lower rooms to

the district, brought into the treasury from forty to sixty dollars a year. In 1854 an arrangement was proposed with the town for the use of the lower rooms during five years, at an annual rent of sixty dollars, and fifteen per cent. on all moneys needed to improve the rooms; or for one hundred dollars per annum, the corporation making all necessary repairs and addition of furniture.

Several meetings were held in the year 1854 with reference to selling the academy building to the town, for the use of district No. 11, and finally it was voted to make the sale for the sum of twelve hundred and fifty dollars, with the following among other conditions, viz., "the upper rooms, together with the wood room below, or rooms of equal convenience and accommodation in the immediate vicinity, shall ever be reserved, rent-free, for a high school or academy, to be under the control of the trustees and their successors." This was passed by a vote of seventeen to fourteen, but the seventeen voters held only twenty-two shares, while the fourteen held twenty-seven shares.

November 15, at a meeting held this day the trustees were authorized and requested to "execute a deed of conveyance of the academy lot and building to the town of Lancaster," for school purposes. This was passed by a vote of eighteen to two. In consequence of this action, a vote was passed, April 16, 1855, authorizing the treasurer to pay the several shareholders \$26.28 on each share held by them.

It is not necessary to recite the farther proceedings of the corporation, while it existed, or notice any changes in its organization. The use of the upper rooms of the academy was given to Mr. Kimball until 1861, a period of nearly fourteen years, when he withdrew, owing to the stringency of the times. The war of the rebellion was raging, one of the early effects of which was to withdraw scholars from private schools. Mr. Kimball was held in high esteem.

Mr. S. W. Hathaway was granted the free use of the "academy rooms and all the apparatus and privileges belong-

ing thereto," by a vote passed April 18, 1862. Mr. Edward Houghton had a similar privilege.

In 1863, October 6, Mr. William A. Kilbourn was granted the free use of the academy, and also fifty dollars for the year beginning on the first day of December. A similar grant of money had been made to Mr. Kimball. Mr. Kilbourn had charge of the academy until the winter of 1872-3, and conducted it with vigor and success. At a meeting, May 30, 1870, it was voted to "tender the use of the upper room in the academy building to the school committee." At the town meeting on the seventh of March preceding, a vote was passed to send scholars properly qualified to the Lancaster academy, under the charge of Mr. Kilbourn. The academy had now the use of the upper town hall, and the town had the use of the upper rooms in the academy building, by a mutual arrangement. The academy and high school were united two or three years, when the academy corporation was dissolved, by a vote passed on the first of March, 1873. Since then the town has maintained a free high school.

THE SCHOOL OF HON. JAMES G. CARTER.

Mr. Carter took his degree, with high honors, at Harvard in 1820, and soon entered upon his work as an educator. He began in the house of Mr. Wilder, on the Old Common, but soon came to the Center, and opened his school in the Popkin house, (now the barn of Wm. H. McNeil). He soon proved himself "worthy of the family name of Rev. Thomas Carter, of whom Gov. Winthrop said, 'he was apt to teach.' He gathered around him, as pupils, a family of young men. They were boys who needed, for a time, a closer supervision than the college faculty could give. Some of them were of southern birth, and these especially taxed his wisdom and patience to the utmost."

The statistics of his school are not at hand, but it is known that he gave special attention to his scholars four or five years,

when he became interested in other literary and educational work. However, he taught, with the assistance of others, several years longer, while giving attention to other pursuits of a private and public nature.

Mr. Carter took an active part in the plan for removing the academy from the Old Common to the Center in 1825, and for a time had the principal care of the institution. Besides, his general influence in favor of a higher condition of the schools, was very great.

"For more than twenty years," says one who holds his memory sacred, "young men at the most critical point in their history, were placed under his influence, and to him many a useful and honorable life owes its success."

The personal influence of Mr. Carter over his pupils was peculiar. Says one of his pupils, "it was never his habit to reprove the boys in each other's presence, but they always felt that the master's eye was on them. The power of the eye in discipline, was a vital point in his educational system. A tremendous force lay in his steady, searching glance. It was like the touch of Ithuriel's spear; before it all false and contemptible things shrank to their true proportions."

PROF. WILLIAM RUSSELL'S NORMAL SCHOOL.

In the year 1853, May 11, the "New England Normal Institute" was opened, on which occasion an address was delivered by Prof. Russell, stating the origin and design of the school. He had been engaged as an educator for many years, and stood in the front rank of his profession. A Normal Institute had been started by him in New Hampshire, but he was induced by flattering prospects to undertake a new enterprise in Massachusetts. The public spirit of the citizens induced him to select this town as the seat of the institution. There were already two or three Normal schools in the state, but it was believed that an institution of higher grade would meet a general want.

The school started under the most favorable auspices, with an able and accomplished corps of teachers, and an encouraging number of scholars. The following gentlemen and ladies were in the list of instructors : Prof. Russell, principal ; Dana P. Colburn, Henry C. Kimball, Herman Krüsi, Sanborn Tenney, William J. Whitaker, Mrs. C. T. Symmes and Miss Anna U. Russell, besides assistant teachers and occasional lecturers. Among the lecturers were Lowell Mason, Calvin Cutter, Prof. S. S. Green and Francis T. Russell.

There were about eighty scholars during the first term. The total number for the academic year 1853-4, was one hundred and thirty-nine. These came from towns in all parts of the state, and from seven or eight different states.

Such a school was an honor to the place, and a benefit to the commonwealth. But it was soon brought to an end. Perhaps its success hastened its close. The state was stimulated to raise the standard of attainment in the Normal schools. In this way the necessity for the "Institute" was removed, and as a private enterprise it could not compete with public institutions. The ground was cut from under the Institute and it ceased to be in the autumn of 1855. But it had wrought a good work whose influence will be felt, far and wide, for a long time to come. It demonstrated what a Normal school should and might be, and raised the standard of education in public schools of every grade, as well as in academies and other private seminaries. Thus this apparent failure was one of the most fruitful efforts of Prof. Russell's noble and beneficent life.

There have been other private schools in the town, of different grades, and taught by competent teachers. But sufficient space has been given to the subject, and other matters are pressing for room. It may be truly said that in recent times, the public schools, including the primary, grammar and high schools, are so good that there is little call for private instruction.

CHAPTER XXII.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

PRIVATE libraries, as the words are here used, include those belonging to individuals, and those which are formed by a company clubbing together, and using the books in common. The volumes may be used exclusively by the owners, or let out at a small price, per day, or week, or month. By a public library is meant one which belongs to a parish, church, town, or city, the volumes of which are circulated, without charge, among the families composing those bodies.

The first library of which any trace is found in the annals of the town, was the property of the first minister, Rev. Joseph Rowlandson. No catalogue of it remains, but it is believed to have been respectable in the number and value of its volumes. Being a man of some culture and taste, it is safe to assume that he enjoyed good books. In order to sustain himself twenty years in the ministerial office in the same parish, he must have had some resources besides his native sense. Living remote from other towns, he must have depended mainly on his own library for works needed in the preparation of his discourses.

His parishioners probably had little leisure, even if they had the taste for reading. Every family had its bible and psalm book, and some religious reading besides. Probably some brought volumes of sermons and other works, like Fox's Martyrs, from England. We can easily believe that such a man as Major Willard, though his life was filled with business, both private and public, would have a shelf or two of valuable works in his house, relating to religion, history and biography.

The Rev. John Whiting and the Rev. Andrew Gardner were "university men," or graduates of "old Harvard," and without doubt, owned and used books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, besides a commentary, a body of divinity, volumes of sermons and other works in different branches of reading or study. The next minister, Mr. Prentice, must have had a respectable collection of books. Mr. Hancock in his funeral sermon says, that "God gave him the tongue of the learned." As that gift of God is always conveyed to a man through the use of his own faculties in studying the works of God and the writings of other men, the inference is warranted that Mr. Prentice was familiar with valuable works in sacred and secular literature. Like other ministers in early times, he gave instruction to the young men who were preparing for college, as well as to other young men and women who desired to proceed farther in their studies than could be done in the town schools. Before his decease there were several families in the town—Wilders, Willards, Houghtons and others—who were above the average in cultivation and intelligence. The elder Joseph Wilder was a judge, and his son Joseph was rising in reputation as a public man. Col. Samuel Willard was prominent in the colony, and his three sons who resided here, Abijah, Abel and Levi, were all men of ability and information. Abel was a highly respected lawyer. Doubtless their houses contained many volumes of substantial, though few of light reading.

The Rev. Timothy Harrington was a man of letters. He read and taught the classics. The testimony of his survivors warrants the conclusion that he was familiar with a large range of literature. As there was no library nearer than Cambridge, his chief supply of reading must have been in his study. Among his students was Mr. Samuel Locke, afterwards a minister, and president of Harvard college. His influence was in favor of liberal culture, and a generation grew up around him who were interested in good books. Just before the close of his ministry a library was formed, which proved

that there was a reading class in the town, and which served to promote a wider and deeper interest in the better grade of literature.

THE LANCASTER LIBRARY.

On the fourth of October, 1790, there was a meeting of the Proprietors of the Lancaster Library, over which Dea. Cyrus Fairbank presided. Timothy Whiting, jr., Esq., was clerk. A committee of five was chosen to frame by-laws, and report a list of books to be purchased. The members of the committee were Israel Atherton, Esq., Capt. Samuel Ward, Lt.-Col. John Whiting, William Stedman, Esq., and Timothy Whiting, jr., Esq.

This committee reported on the eighteenth, and the "Regulations" which they recommended were adopted. The preamble will bear perusal. It reads as follows: "We the subscribers to the following Articles, being sensible that a general diffusion of knowledge has a tendency, not only to promote individual happiness, but to strengthen the bonds of society, by making 'man mild and sociable with man;' and it being incumbent on us as members of a free and independent community, to use our endeavors to preserve the liberty, freedom and happiness we enjoy; and convinced that we cannot effect this in a more eligible way than by enlarging our minds with such useful knowledge as will best serve to increase our estimation of such invaluable blessings,—do for the purpose aforesaid, severally and reciprocally promise and agree to and with each other that we will associate ourselves together, and purchase a *Library*, to be denominated Lancaster Library, and to consist of such books as we shall in future agree to purchase under the regulations hereafter expressed, which regulations we solemnly promise to observe and keep."

This preamble is followed by twenty-one Articles which provide for the election of officers, the purchase and custody of books, and their circulation among the proprietors. The library was always to be kept within a mile and a half of the

meeting-house. A person could become a proprietor by being elected by a two-thirds vote, and paying three dollars, at least, and signing the articles of agreement. A proprietor living within five miles could keep a book six weeks ; between five and ten miles, three months ; upwards of ten miles, four months. A fine of two pence for every day beyond the time was levied.

Many will be gratified by seeing a list of the original proprietors, as it includes a large proportion of the leading families in the town, at the time, as well as some from other towns, including Rindge, N. H.

Samuel Ward,
 Timothy Whiting, jr.,
 Daniel Stearns,
 Benjamin Wyman,
 David Phelps,
 Jonas Lane,
 Michael Newhall,
 Isaac Fisher,
 Joseph Wales,
 Nathaniel Wyman,
 Edward Clarke,
 Jeremiah Ballard,
 Nathaniel Eaton,
 Samuel Rugg,
 Elisha Allen,
 John Thurston,
 William Stedman,
 Asa Warner,
 Seth Payson,
 Daniel Goss,
 Catharina G. Hickling.
 Josiah Bowers,
 Pearson Thurston,
 John Ballard,
 Thad. Pollard,

Richard Haven,
 Cyrus Fairbank,
 Israel Atherton,
 Jonathan Whitney,
 Edm. Heard,
 Eben'r Torrey,
 Ephraim Carter, jr.,
 John Maynard,
 John Whiting,
 Levi Holden,
 Jona. Wilder,
 Henry Haskell,
 Jonas Fairbank, jr.,
 Joseph Carter,
 William Wilder,
 Josiah Flagg,
 Ch. Carter,
 Jona. Prescott,
 Paul Willard,
 Thomas Ballard,
 Jacob Fisher,
 Joseph W. Page,
 Eli Stearns,
 John Prescott, jr.,
 Benj. Houghton,

Nath. Willard,
 Robert Phelps,
 Thomas Legate, jr.,
 Robert Townshend,
 Joel Phelps,
 Joseph Rogers,
 Amos Farrington,
 Isaac Willard,
 John Wilder,
 Edward Goodwin,
 Sam'l J. Sprague,
 W. Cleveland,
 John Carter, jr.,
 Charles Bridge, jr.,
 John Goodwin,
 William Bridge,
 Titus Wilder, jr.,
 Joseph Leach,
 John White, jr.,
 Seth Sergeant.
 Moses Smith, jr.,
 John Prentiss,
 Joel Wilder,
 Moses Rice.

The company was organized by the choice of the following officers, giving names and titles, Mr. Joseph Wales, librarian ; Mr. Ebenezer Torrey, treasurer ; Timothy Whiting, jr., clerk ;

Lt.-Col. Edmund Heard, Lt.-Col. John Whiting, Mr. Josiah Flagg, committee. The Rev. Mr. Harrington, and the master of the Latin grammar school for the time being, were by annual vote, allowed the free use of the library. The same privilege was given to Rev. Mr. Thayer, after his settlement.

The first list of books comprises sixty works, but the number of volumes is not given. It was probably above one hundred, as it included Addison's *Spectator* in eight volumes, and the historical works of Gibbon, Hume, Rollin, Robertson, Voltaire, Catherine Macaulay, and John Adams' *Defence of American Constitutions*. It was really a choice collection, containing one or more of the works of the following authors: Milton, Cowper, Pope, Gay, Thomson, Young, Barlow, Dwight, Goldsmith, Sterne, Mason, Blair, Richardson, Beccaria, Brydone, Montesquieu, Ferguson, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Price, John Adams, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Dr. Morse's *Geography* and others. The first bill for books after deducting "ten per cent. for part, and five per cent. for part," was £38-13-2. American history was not neglected, as shown, by the purchase, at first, or later, of Ramsay's *American Revolution*, Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, Belknap's *New Hampshire*, Williams' *Vermont*, Trumbull's *Connecticut*. Volumes of sermons and other religious works added value to the library.

In 1792 these works were added: *The Man of Feeling*, *The Lounger*, *The Mirror*, *Evelina*, *Man of the World*, and *Children's Friend*. Miss Burney was then in the full glow of her reputation, and her novels were eagerly read, not only by the crowd of novel readers, but by such men as Burke and Johnson, with delight. Mr. Torrey, the treasurer, was also authorized to subscribe for the *Encyclopædia*, which came in numbers.

It would be needless to give the annals of the Lancaster Library from year to year. There were changes in the membership by additions and removals, and changes in the officers by election; there were frequent additions to the library by

purchase or gift, and occasionally volumes were sold or exchanged for others more desirable. For example, the meeting in 1795 voted that the standing committee should "exchange Smollett's History of England for other books, giving a preference to those included in the catalogue of books to be purchased, and those on the subject of Divinity." The reason for dropping Smollett is not given, but perhaps it is to be found in that elaborate dulness which is so unlike the vivacity, sense and wit of his novels.

Forty-eight volumes were bought in 1797, among which were Hunter's Biography in three volumes; Addison's Evidences, Watts on the Mind, Paley's Philosophy, and Evidences of Christianity, Baron Trenck, Life of Franklin, and Goldsmith's Poems. In some years there were purchased as much as forty dollars worth of books.

In the year 1800, "seven of the proprietors of the library, desirous of forming themselves and associates into a society or body politic, for the express purposes of holding, increasing, preserving and using such library," requested William Stedman, Esq., a justice of the peace, to grant a warrant to some one of them, directing him to call a meeting of the proprietors, for the purpose of reorganizing. The subscribers were John Whiting, Samuel Ward, Ebenezer Torrey, John Ballard, Josiah Bowers, Edward Goodwin and Joseph Wales. By this operation the Lancaster Library was changed to the "Social Library," at a meeting held May 5, 1800, when Israel Atherton was called to the chair. Thanks were voted to Dea. Wales for his services as their clerk and librarian for the last ten years. Josiah Flagg was chosen clerk and librarian; Ebenezer Torrey, treasurer; Eli Stearns, collector. The standing committee elected were Jonathan Wilder, Josiah Bowers, Edward Goodwin. An assessment of twenty-five cents on each share was levied. The Records show however, that the title of Lancaster Library was occasionally used.

Among the volumes added in 1801 were Lathrop's Sermons, Whitby's Discourses, and Camilla, by Miss Burney.

The next year these were bought, besides other valuable works, viz., Campbell on Miracles, Mrs. Chapone's Letters, Volney's Travels and Lectures on History, Winthrop's Journal, and Hannah More's Strictures on Female Education.

A new set of regulations and by-laws was adopted in 1805, which are of no interest now, and probably were of little consequence at the time, it being one of the amusements of societies of the kind to tamper and fuss with their constitution and laws. A matter of much more serious importance was the laying of taxes, and the collecting of those unpaid. In 1811 an examination brought out the fact that the "unpaid taxes" between 1804 and 1811 amounted to more than forty dollars. The income, however, enabled the committee to make valuable additions to the library in 1812, such as Clark's Travels in Russia, Turkey, etc., and Silliman's Travels, both works of great interest at the time, and still readable, Marshall's Life of Washington, and works of Hannah More and Mrs. Opie. In the years following Shakespeare's Works were purchased, and the Novels and Poems of Sir Walter Scott, as they appeared.

In 1823 it was voted to allow the account of the clerk and librarian, and the policy of paying him for his services was endorsed. Ten dollars was the compensation for two years. By this time many of the generation who instituted the library had passed away, but their successors appear to have supported it vigorously by making additions of standard as well as less durable works. The North American Review, Blackwood's Magazine, and other periodicals of the first class were taken. By degrees, as new authors became conspicuous, their writings were obtained. Prescott, Dickens, Irving, Bulwer, Allison, and Stevens the traveler, furnished a large quantity of choice reading. Taken as a whole the collection was of a high order of literature for general perusal. It reflected credit on the community which could be interested by it, and it could not fail to raise the tone of thought and sentiment in proportion as it was read.

At length in 1850, for some cause unrecorded, the company ceased to be, and the books were sold at auction. The whole number sold was about one thousand and twenty. The price obtained per volume was small compared with the cost or the value of the works, but as they were purchased in great measure, by the owners of the library, the loss was of no account, and the books went into families where they supplied the next generation with a generous and nourishing mental pabulum.

SCHOOL DISTRICT LIBRARIES.

Before the Social Library was scattered, a new enterprise was started which resulted in the opening of hundreds of small libraries in different sections of the commonwealth. The plan was to have a small but choice library in every school district. It is not known how extensively this plan was carried out, but it is certain that a large number of towns employed these auxiliaries to the system of public instruction. Lancaster was in this list of towns, and some of its districts, at least, had libraries of their own.

For example, the old third district, according to the ancient book of Records, whose first date is December 1, 1800, availed itself of this aid. The first minute relating to the district library is under the date of August 21, 1844, and reads as follows: "Chose B. Whittemore, C. Atherton and C. Studley a committee to report rules and regulations for the library." The rules having been reported, they were adopted by the meeting. They need not be recited, as they simply provided for the custody, circulation and security of the books. The circulation was confined to the district, unless by special permission, they were allowed to go beyond its bounds. Sometimes districts whose libraries consisted of different works, made an exchange, and thus doubled their facilities for good reading. The selection was judicious, having been recommended by those who knew the wants of the public in the line of miscellaneous literature. The "Family Library" so

called, well remembered by elderly people, was a component part of many school libraries.

This arrangement lasted in district No. 3, until the year 1859, when it was "voted to sell the Library at auction, Monday evening, March 9, at 6 o'clock, and the proceeds to go for paying in part for the outline maps, and varnishing the same." This last item indicates the time when outline maps were introduced, and hung upon the walls of school-rooms. It was a starting point in the better study of maps. The action of the third district may be taken as an example of what was done in other districts of the town. By this means an entertaining and useful kind of reading was supplied to families in all sections of Lancaster.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LIBRARIES.

Before the district libraries were sold and scattered, the churches had begun to supply the children and youth with a new species of literature, under the name of Sunday or Sabbath school books. These books are well printed and handsomely illustrated. With some exceptions, the reading is of a wholesome character, tending to promote the religious education of the young. Probably the books of this kind which have been read, worn out and given away by our Sunday school libraries, would amount to several thousand. The library of the First and the Evangelical Sunday school, each numbers between two and three hundred.

THE AGRICULTURAL LIBRARY.

About twenty-five or thirty years since, there was an awakened interest in the business of agriculture, horticulture and landscape gardening. At that time agricultural libraries were established in many towns. The same set of works formed the bulk of these collections. Lancaster had a library of the kind. At first owned by individuals, it was afterwards given to the town, and became a part of the public library. The number of volumes was above one hundred and fifty, includ-

ing thirty-six volumes of Massachusetts and United States Agricultural Reports.

This was a valuable collection of books, as will appear by the following list of authors: Liebig, G. P. Marsh, H. Colman, J. F. W. Johnson, Dodd, Langstroth, C. L. Flint, Nichols, Donald G. Mitchel, Stephens, Buel, Fessenden, Breck, Downing, Emerson, Olmsted, and others.

LIBRARY CLUB OF LANCASTER.

The Social Library was dissolved in 1850, but as there was a need of something of the kind, a new organization was effected the next year which took the name of the LIBRARY CLUB OF LANCASTER. The preliminary meeting was held at the town-house, December 1, 1851, with Henry Wilder in the chair, and Henry C. Kimball as secretary. A committee of three—Henry Lincoln, J. L. S. Thompson and H. C. Kimball—was chosen to request some magistrate to call a legal meeting, and also to prepare a code of by-laws, for the association. Accordingly George R. M. Withington, Esq., issued a warrant, under which a meeting was held on the seventeenth of December. Dr. Lincoln called the meeting to order, when John M. Washburn was chosen moderator, and C. A. Rand, clerk. It was voted that those present should "become a corporation under the provisions of the law in such cases made and provided." A code of by-laws to the number of fifteen, was adopted. H. C. Kimball was elected secretary and sworn into office. A paper containing the names of twenty-four signers was read, each signer pledging the sum of three dollars annually. After appointing a committee to nominate a list of officers and a book committee, the meeting adjourned.

Monday, December 22, the Club met, and placing Mr. Henry Wilder in the chair, proceeded to the choice of officers, as follows. President, Henry Wilder; Vice-president, J. L. S. Thompson; Treasurer and Collector, Julius H. Siedhof. The following were the first committee for the purchase

of books. Rev. George M. Bartol, Rev. Charles Packard, Henry Lincoln, M. D. and H. C. Kimball, the secretary, and Miss Mary G. Chandler. Then follows a list of the original members, with their own signatures.

George M. Bartol,	Samuel J. S. Vose,
Charles Packard,	Emily Leighton,
Henry Lincoln,	Jacob Fisher,
H. C. Kimball,	H. L. Thurston,
Julius H. Siedhof,	J. Forbush, of Bolton.
Francis F. Hussey,	S. B. Dodge,
Christopher A. Rand,	Sarah A. Lane,
C. T. Symmes,	J. E. Edwards,
J. L. S. Thompson,	C. Sweetzer,
Henry Wilder.	Mrs. P. T. Homer,
The following joined soon after.	John M. Washburn,
C. L. Wilder,	Mary G. Chandler,
G. R. M. Withington,	Eliza Ann Walton.

The same officers were chosen at the next annual meeting, with the following book committee, Rev. Messrs. Packard and Bartol, and Mary G. Chandler.

At a meeting held, January 8, 1853, it was provided that an "inventory be kept by the librarian of the cost of all books purchased for the library, and of the time when they are purchased;" also that the book committee should procure a book in which a list of the books purchased, and at what price, should be kept. The meeting discussed the question of establishing a "Natural History Association in connection with the Library," after which it was moved by Mr. Bartol that a "committee of three be appointed to ascertain the expenses necessary for commencing, and to suggest a plan for further action." The motion was adopted, and Messrs. Bartol, Wilder and Thompson were chosen.

The first gift of books to the new library was made by C. Gayton Pickman, Esq., of Boston, but formerly a resident of Lancaster, and owner of the estate now belonging to Mrs. Elmina Greene. He presented the "Works of Daniel Webster in six volumes." This was the edition prepared by the Hon. Edward Everett.

The first annual report was made at the meeting in the early part of 1853, but was confined to proceedings previous to November 29, of the preceding year. At that time there were twenty-five members, all of whom except the librarian, Mr. Vose, had paid an assessment of three dollars. As the librarian provided a room and gave his services, he was not assessed. The sum of \$73.38, including \$1.38 in fines, had been received into the treasury, and \$58.30 had been expended for books and periodicals. As showing the character of the library, the following list of periodicals, and the titles of some of the books are given. North American Review, Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts, Edinburgh, North British, Westminster and London Quarterly Reviews, Blackwood's Magazine, and Horticulturist. Among the books were Lake Superior, by Agassiz and Cabot; Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims; Young's Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts; Life and Correspondence of Southey; Irving's Columbus, Sketch Book, and other works; Life of Franklin by Sparks; Old Red Sandstone, by Hugh Miller; Earth and Man, by Guyot; Life and Letters of Lord Jeffrey, and Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac. The number of volumes purchased was thirty-five; the number given, was sixty-seven. Among the donors were Henry Wilder, Mary G. Chandler, George M. Bartol, Charles L. Wilder, Capt. Hussey, Dr. Thompson, G. R. M. Withington and H. C. Kimball, besides several from members of congress and other men in public life.

The officers were re-elected, December, 1853, with the exception that Dr. Siedhof ceased to be treasurer, and Mr. Kimball took both offices of secretary and treasurer. Mr. Kimball was added to the book committee. Provision was made for printing one hundred copies of the catalogue, and it was voted that any person might have the "benefit of the library by paying one dollar per quarter." The committee voted the addition of several new works of great value, such as Macaulay's England, 2 volumes; Sparks' Life of Washington;

Frothingham's Siege of Boston; Crayon Miscellany and five other works by Irving; Natural History of Selborne, Longfellow's Poems, and others. Quite a number of volumes were received by donation; among others, ninety-six numbers of Littell's Living Age, from Rev. G. M. Bartol; eight bound volumes of Niles' Weekly Register, from Dr. Lincoln, and Harris' Report on Insects, from the secretary of state.

In 1854 Dr. Thompson was librarian, and continued in that charge as long as the Club existed. Rev. Mr. Packard had left town, and ceased to be a member of the book committee. Otherwise it remained the same. The officers were unchanged. And here it may be stated that Messrs. Wilder, Thompson and Kimball retained the offices of president, vice-president, and secretary and treasurer, until the Club was dissolved in 1862. The same was true of the book committee, except that the librarian, Dr. Thompson, was added in 1857. Among the works in 1854 were five volumes of Bancroft's History of the United States; Works of Addison in five volumes; Household Words, eight volumes; Boswell's Johnson, two volumes; Life and Works of Robert Burns, four volumes; the Poetical Works of Campbell and Rogers, each one volume, and the Autobiography of Hugh Miller. The whole number of bound volumes amounted to two hundred and forty-one.

At a meeting held February 2, 1855, it was moved that the price of shares should be twelve dollars, paid at one time, or in successive yearly subscriptions. Proprietors of more shares than one, should have a vote for each share, not exceeding three; but no member could vote while indebted for assessments or fines. At a meeting in November, 1856, these propositions were adopted, with the addition that transient readers might take books at twenty-five cents per quarter. Subsequently the price was put at fifty cents, and Saturday afternoon was fixed as the time for taking out books. Three dollars was the assessment for 1857.

The farther history of the Library Club need not be given in detail. A few items will be of interest. By a report made in 1859, it appears that four persons owned one share each, and thirteen owned two shares. A valuable book-case was given by Mr. Bartol.

The question of giving the library to the town was mooted at a meeting, November 26, 1860, and referred to the book committee to consider and report. The number of volumes in the library now amounted to five hundred and fifty-three. The committee to whom the matter of donating the library to the town was referred, reported to the Club, at the annual meeting in 1861, that they "had not thoroughly considered the subject, but their impression" was that the time was not favorable, owing to the "distracted condition of the public mind and the probable increase of taxes."

The subject was before the Club at an adjourned meeting, January 1, 1862. It appears that the Agricultural Library Association had sent the Club a vote purporting that they viewed with "favor the proposition to grant to the town the use and care of the two libraries, on proper and suitable conditions, to be made the basis for a future town library." After a general discussion of the subject, the following action was unanimously taken. "The proprietors of Lancaster Library believing that a public library in the town, to which all can have access, would greatly aid the cause of education and good morals, by affording to the young, innocent and profitable reading, and to all the means of knowledge and mental improvement, desire to aid in the establishment of such an institution. They therefore offer to the town their library of more than six hundred volumes, on condition that the town will this year appropriate, as a foundation for a public town Library, the sum of one dollar for each of its ratable polls, and thereafter annually for three years appropriate the sum of fifty cents on each of its ratable polls, for its increase." Those present to vote were Henry Wilder, at whose house the meeting was held, G. M. Bartol, Dr. Thompson, F. F.

Hussey, Mrs. H. L. Thurston, Miss M. A. Thayer, Miss Mary G. Chandler, Mrs. Emily Leighton and H. C. Kimball. Mr. Wilder was charged with the business of bringing the proposal before the town at the ensuing March meeting, and Mr. Kimball was requested to procure the signatures of the proprietors to the proposal. The action of the town was in accordance with the proposal. The last meeting of the Library Club was held, August 16, when Dr. Thompson was chosen secretary in place of Mr. Kimball, who had left the town. It was stated that the town, at a legal meeting in April, had accepted the offer made by the Club. A report was made, showing that the sum of \$12.10 was in the treasury, when it was "voted that the members of the Library Club hereby make over such funds as now remain in the treasury, to the library committee of the Lancaster Town Library, to be used by them for the benefit of said library; but the members of the Club would prefer that such funds should be expended in furnishing cases for minerals." The last clause of this vote, reveals the fact that a Natural History department of the Library Club had engaged the attention of the members, and some collections had already been made.

The Records of the Club were then, by vote, passed into the custody of the librarian of the town library, when the following vote closed forever the active life of the Lancaster Library Club. "Voted, that as the town has accepted the offer and conditions of the Club, we do now adjourn to such time as we shall be called to meet by the officers of the Club."

THE LANCASTER TOWN LIBRARY.

The establishment of a public library for the free use of all the inhabitants of the town, was brought forward in the annual meeting, March 3, 1862, by an article in the warrant. The subject was referred to the following gentlemen. Rev. George M. Bartol, Rev. Amos E. Lawrence, Mr. M. C. Stebbins, Rev. Jonathan E. Edwards and Henry Wilder, Esq. At an adjourned meeting, April 2, the committee reported

in favor of founding a library on the "conditions offered by the Lancaster Library Club," and also presented a series of rules and regulations. The report was adopted in full, and the following were chosen the first library committee. George M. Bartol, A. E. Lawrence, Jonathan E. Edwards, M. C. Stebbins, Quincy Whitney, J. L. S. Thompson and Henry Wilder. Thanks were given to the Library Club for their valuable donation.

It is pertinent to state that public attention had been called to this subject, by the school committee for the year 1860-61, Messrs. Bartol, Kimball and Silas Thurston. In their annual report, it was stated that the law authorized towns to tax their inhabitants "for a public library, for a library building, for library books, or for anything pertaining to a library." This law was secured by the judicious action of Rev. John B. Wight, a member of the legislature from Wayland, in 1851. The act was amended in 1859, and has been followed by the establishment of many libraries in the towns and cities of the commonwealth.

The town library had thus a vigorous start. With more than a thousand volumes from the Club, with one hundred and thirty from the Agricultural Library, and with many more from the district libraries, it formed at once, a large collection of books for an inland and agricultural town. Some of the volumes were duplicates, as the school libraries were much alike, but these made the basis for exchange with other libraries, and therefore were a real gain to the central library. Altogether there were not less than twelve hundred volumes in the collection, when it was opened to the free use of the public, on the fourth of October, 1862. The books were of a better class and higher order than are generally found in miscellaneous collections, as has been already shown in noticing the additions from year to year. The committee always had competent judges of books among its members, and they exercised their judgment, with due respect to the popular demand for light reading and ephemeral productions. The in-

come, the first year, was not far from three hundred dollars, a much larger sum than had ever before been devoted to the replenishing of libraries in this town.

In 1863 there was some change in the library committee, Rev. Messrs. Edwards and Whitney having removed. Their places were filled by the election of Spencer R. Merrick and C. W. Burbank. The next year the last two members were succeeded by Rev. Benjamin Whittemore and Rev. Marcus Ames. In 1865 William A. Kilbourn took the place of Mr. Stebbins, who had closed his school, and entered on the work of the ministry at Ayer, then Groton Junction.

The year 1866 was a golden year in the history of the library. The town received, through Rev. Mr. Bartol, a communication from Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., offering \$5,000 for a library, and \$3,000 for the cemeteries, to be used in keeping them in order. At this time the town was interested in the setting up of some suitable Memorial or Monument, in honorable memory of her soldiers who went into the war for the suppression of the rebellion. The favorite plan here, as in other towns, was a monument simply, inscribed with the names of those who fell in the war, whether from wounds, sickness or imprisonment. At the April meeting a vote was passed that the town would give \$5,000 for the erection of a Memorial Hall, provided a like sum could be raised by subscription. Jacob Fisher, Anthony Lane and George Cummings were chosen a committee to receive such sums as the citizens might be inclined to give. The proposition met such a favorable response that the chairman reported to the town, June 30, a subscription of over \$4,000, which had been procured without effort. There was no doubt that the whole sum of \$5,000 could easily be raised.

A committee of seven was chosen, November 7, to have charge of the location, of building, and erection of the hall. These were the committee: Nathaniel Thayer, George M. Bartol, Jacob Fisher, F. B. Fay, Henry Wilder, J. L. S. Thompson and Quincy Whitney. Col. Fay declining, the va-

cancy was filled by the choice of E. M. Fuller. The selectmen for the year,—Messrs. Buttrick, Merrick and Farwell were added. Besides the \$10,000 thus raised, the committee were authorized by Mr. Thayer, who paid a large part of the tax, to expend all that was necessary to make the memorial hall worthy of its object, and an ornament and blessing to the town.

The committee to whom the whole subject had been referred, made a report which was unanimously adopted by the town. In the words of the "Report on the town library," made in 1869, by Mr. Bartol, chairman, the vote included three points: "to erect a Memorial Hall; 1st, as being as worthy of the town and of the object as any other monument; 2d, because, owing to the munificence of a well-known and ever to be honored townsman, to do this would not carry us beyond our means; and for the third reason, that the town was in great need, not only of a fire-proof room for its Records, but also of accommodation for a rapidly increasing town library; the rooms which the latter then occupied threatening to prove in a few years too narrow." The Report continues: "the building is not only correct in style, but accords with its surroundings, and is very much to the credit of its architect, Mr. Harris. It is unusually compact and convenient and tasteful, and it is difficult to conceive how its main purpose could have been made more prominent."

The cost of the building was nearly \$30,000, of which more than two-thirds was paid by Mr. Thayer, in addition to his endowment of \$5,000 for the purchase of books. The Report above quoted says farther: "that the Hon. Francis B. Fay, in addition to his original subscription of \$1,000, has placed in our hands \$100, for the purchase of a clock; and also that George A. Parker, Esq., with a truly enlightened view of the possibilities of such an institution, has presented us with \$500 worth of fine art works selected by himself, and also with seven hundred dollars for the further increase of such a department, outright, or in permanency, at discretion of the committee."

The letter of Mr. Thayer making a permanent endowment of the library, and also providing for the care of the cemeteries of the town, finds its place in this connection. It was dated Boston, January 22, 1866, and addressed to Rev. Mr. Bartol, in the words following.

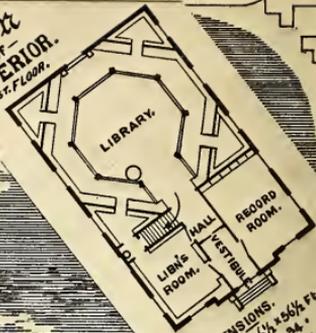
"DEAR SIR: You have often spoken of the great good you considered the town library was doing, and the pleasure which its very general influence gave you. I do not see any way in which any one can more certainly promote the well being of the town, than by helping to increase its means of usefulness.

"And I hereby authorize you to offer to the town of Lancaster, as trustees, five thousand dollars, say 5,000\$ New York Central railroad bonds, payable in 1883, with interest payable half yearly, in May and November, upon the following conditions, viz., the town treasurer shall hold the said bonds, or invest any money received on account of the principal as a *permanent fund*, the interest of which he shall pay over as received, to the library committee, to be by them expended in the purchase of books. And the town shall further agree to raise by tax each year for the library, the amount authorized by law of the state.

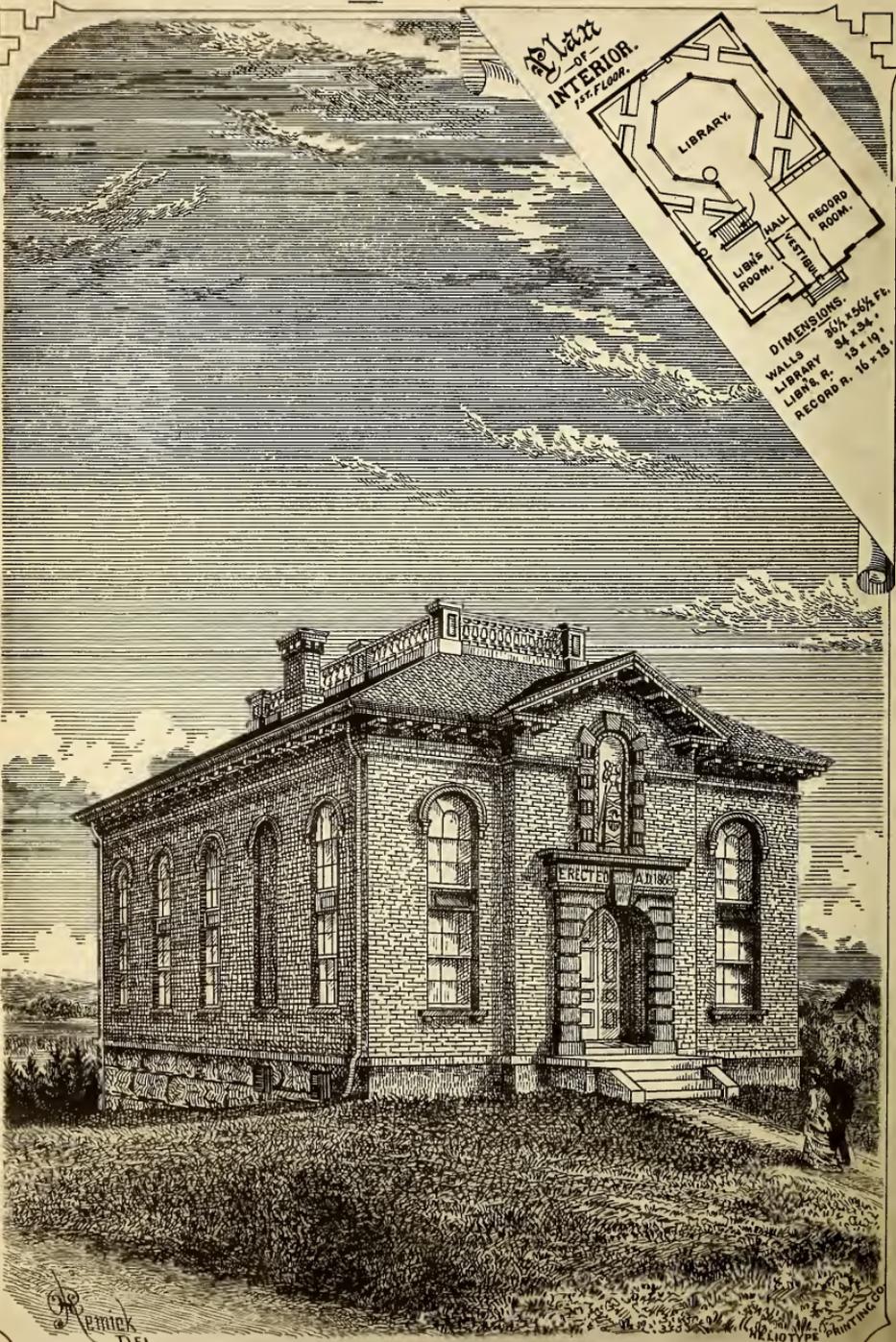
"You have often spoken upon another subject, the condition of the burying grounds, and I have mentioned to you the great pleasure it has recently given me to see the general interest manifested in regard to the burying ground near my house, and the respect shown for the memory of past generations. I do hope that for the future all the burying grounds may be kept in a condition which will be creditable to the town; and in furtherance of *that object*, I hereby authorize you to offer to the town as *trustees*, three thousand dollars, say 3,000\$ New York Central railroad bonds upon the following conditions, viz., the town treasurer shall hold said bonds, or invest any money received on account of the principal of said bonds, as *permanent funds*, and shall pay over the *interest* as received, to the library committee, to be expended by them in ornamenting and keeping in repair the several burying grounds in the town.



W. L. Lutz
 ARCHT.
 INTERIOR.
 1st FLOOR.



DIMENSIONS:
 WALLS 34' x 34'.
 LIBRARY 34' x 34'.
 LIB. R. 15' x 19'.
 RECORD R. 16' x 15'.



ERECTED IN 1868

P. H. BUCK
 DEL.

H. L. I. T. P. CO.
 H. L. I. T. P. CO.
 H. L. I. T. P. CO.

MEMORIAL HALL.

"Upon being furnished with an attested copy of a vote of the town, agreeing with *me*, my *heirs* and *assigns*, that they will receive the money and *forever* hold it in trust, upon the foregoing conditions, I will at once pay over the eight thousand dollars of bonds to the town treasurer, and I know of no better security."

The letter having been laid before the town, soon after its date, the following action was taken. "We hereby, as citizens of the town, legally assembled to act upon his proposition, accept the same with sincere and hearty gratitude, and strictly upon the conditions he has specified in his letter."

The building was erected in 1867, and finished in the spring of the following year. Appropriate dedicatory services were held on Wednesday, June 17, 1868, Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., presiding. The following was the order of exercises, with a statement by the executive committee, and music by the band. Reading of Scriptures, by Rev. George R. Leavitt; Dedicatory Prayer, by Rev. George M. Bartol; Address, by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, of Boston; Ode, by H. F. Buswell, Esq., of Canton; Prayer and Benediction, by Rev. Dr. Whittemore. The address was elegantly printed, and will be read with interest in after times. The two objects of the memorial hall were presented at length. The first was "to dedicate a suitable and grateful memorial of brave fellow-citizens, who at their country's call, and in the ardor of patriotic impulse, went forth, life in hand, ready to peril life and all they held dear on earth, to do and die, and actually did lay down their own lives for the saving of that of the nation." Then followed a lengthened reference to the military history of the town, and especially the part taken in the war for suppressing the rebellion.

The second object of the building was to "enlighten, enlarge, fructify and imbue with just, generous and elevated sentiments and aspirations our own and others' minds." The influence of letters and libraries was the theme of the orator in the remainder of the address. A great assembly were

deeply interested in the services, and in the occasion which called them together.

Some account of the hall should be put on permanent record. The following is gathered from a statement prepared by William E. Parkhurst, Esq., and printed in the *Clinton Courant* of June 20, 1868.

"The two-fold design of the building—as a library and as a memorial hall—everywhere appears. The main hall is constructed in the form of an octagon, the distance from side to side being 34 feet. The height from the floor to the skylight is 26 feet. Directly in front of the entrance door, and on the farther side of the room, is a large marble tablet, bearing the names of the soldiers, citizens, or natives of the town who died in the war, arranged in the order of date of decease, with age. Upon the upper part of the tablet appears the following:—

THAT OUR POSTERITY MAY ALSO KNOW THEM, AND THE
CHILDREN THAT ARE YET UNBORN.

The names of the deceased soldiers, not only of those there inscribed, but of those who have since died, and also of all who represented the town in the war, will be found on other pages of this history.

The building is situated in the rear of the Center Common. "The style is classic, of the so-called Renaissance; the material being granite, brown freestone and brick. Dimensions: $56\frac{1}{2}$ by $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Inside, the walls and ceilings are frescoed in the highest style of the art, by Brazier.

"Immediately above the porch, and architecturally connected with it, is a recessed panel or niche of freestone, bearing in bas-relief an urn surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves, draped in mourning, and resting upon a pedestal of bound staves, representing the Union intact. On the pedestal appears the national coat of arms, and against it lean a musket and sword."

The entry bears on either wall a marble tablet; that on the right thus inscribed:—

1653 — 1868.

THIS EDIFICE,

TO THE SOLE HONOR AND MEMORY, UNDER GOD,

OF THOSE BRAVE AND LOYAL VOLUNTEERS,

NATIVE OR RESIDENT OF LANCASTER,

WHO FELL MAINTAINING THE NATION'S CAUSE

IN THE BATTLES OF THE GREAT REBELLION,

IS ERECTED ON THE VERGE OF A FIELD

LONG USED BY THE INHABITANTS AS A MILITARY MUSTER-

GROUND,

AND NEAR THE FOURTH [FIFTH] BUILDING

OF THE TOWN'S FIRST CHURCH, INSTITUTED 1653, [1660].

"The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth forever."

WITHIN ITS WALLS THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE TOWN,

WASTED BY FIRE AND OTHER ACCIDENTS,

AND ALSO THE TOWN'S LIBRARY, FOUNDED IN 1862,

ARE NOW MORE SAFELY THAN HERETOFORE DEPOSITED.

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchmen waketh but in vain."

The tablet on the left has this inscription:—

"The memorial of virtue is immortal. When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it."

THIS BUILDING,

BEGUN AND COMPLETED A. D. 1867-8,

IS DEDICATED, BY THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS,

TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF THOSE MEN OF LANCASTER

WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC

IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

WE CAN NEVER BE DEATHLESS TILL WE DIE.

IT IS THE DEAD WIN BATTLES — NO: THE BRAVE

DIE NEVER. BEING DEATHLESS, THEY BUT CHANGE

THEIR COUNTRY'S VOWS FOR MORE, — THEIR COUNTRY'S

HEART.

Since the library was transferred to the memorial hall, it has been greatly increased in number and value. The whole amount expended in 1868, including a sum raised by public entertainments, was \$578. The number of volumes purchased was 300, and the number received by donation, 554. The whole number of volumes in the library in the spring of 1869, was 4,051.

The income in the year 1869-70 was \$780, including a town grant of \$300; interest of Thayer fund, \$280, and donation of George A. Parker, \$200. There was a balance in the treasury raised by fairs, which enlarged the amount to over \$900. The number of volumes was now 4,983. By purchase during the year, 380 were added, and 572 by donation. These last, with few exceptions, were the gift of Mr. Thayer, to the value of \$1,200, and from an unexpended principal and interest of \$500 deposited by Mr. Parker, and \$200 afterwards added. Among the works selected by these gentlemen were the "most valuable books in the market, whether for standard merit or beautiful illustration."

At the annual meeting in 1870 the town raised \$1,000 for the library, and this has been the annual appropriation to the present time. To this sum the dog tax has been added a few years past, making an addition of nearly two hundred dollars. The library in the spring of 1871 numbered 5,667 volumes. During the year "six hundred and eighty-eight dollars worth of costly and valuable books" were received from Mr. Thayer, including a complete set of the "Columbian Centinel" in fine condition.

The annual report dated April, 1872, gave 6,306 as the number of volumes in the library, showing an addition of 645 in the year preceding. Among the books added of permanent value were the Harleian Miscellany, Baine's History and Antiquities of Lancashire, and Gregson's Portfolio of Fragments; the photo-lithographed first folio of Shakespeare, Parker's Glossary of Architecture, and History of Early English Domestic Architecture, Fergusson's History of

Architecture, Perkins' Tuscan Sculptors, Lubke's History of Ancient Art, and Harding's Selected Sketches. Costly works on Natural History were in the library.

The additions in 1872-3 were 638, and the whole library contained 6,943 volumes. The library had been open returning and taking books, and for a reading room, in the afternoon or evening of every day except Friday and Sunday.

The year closing in the spring of 1874 was signalled by large and valuable additions. The new books were 499, mostly by purchase. Among them were the French Etching Club, one large volume in sheets, \$50; Roberts' Egypt and the Holy Land, four splendid volumes with colored lithographs, \$200; the entire series of the London Illustrated News to 1873. The number of volumes taken out during the year was 8,457, being 896 over the year preceding, showing a remarkable increase in the love of reading.

By the first of February, 1875, the library had accumulated 8,525 volumes, showing an increase of 780 during the year. The number loaned was 9,521. A bequest of \$100, made by MISS MARY WHITNEY, for the improvement of the library, was received from the executor of her will, and placed in the town treasury.

The next year, 1875-6, carried the library up to 9,217 volumes, (including 479 duplicates,) and 2,923 pamphlets. Some of the duplicates have since been exchanged. Only two volumes were lost during the year. Many had been covered anew, and some re-bound. The number of volumes added, by purchase and donation, in 1876-7, was 503, making 9,720 in all. The report at the end of the year 1877-8, in March, gives the whole number of bound volumes in the library as 10,569; the number of pamphlets, 3,578.

The first catalogue was printed in 1868, after the town library had been founded. It was a classified catalogue, and contained about four thousand volumes. The Card catalogue was made in 1872-3 and has been enlarged as books have been added. In the spring of 1877 a new catalogue, in the

alphabetical form was published, making a volume of one hundred and sixty-eight pages. The work upon this and the Card catalogue, was chiefly done by Miss Alice Chandler, the librarian, assisted by Miss Anna H. Whitney. The number of volumes in the library in March, 1878, was 10,569, besides 3,578 pamphlets.

The following gentlemen have been members of the committee since the public library was founded. The figures indicate the years in which they have served. A dash following the year shows that the member is still in office.

Rev. George M. Bartol, 1862-. Henry Wilder, 1862-76, with the exception of one year. He was a man of much intelligence and public spirit, and gave time and interest to the library and natural history room without grudging. J. L. S. Thompson, M. D., from 1862 to 1878, with the exception of one year. He was one of the original members, and performed the duties of librarian for many years, as he had previously done for the Club. His presence has secured the addition of many scientific works. He, with Messrs. Wilder and Bartol, has always taken a deep interest in the natural history department.

Rev. Amos E. Lawrence,	1862-5	Rev. Jonathan E. Edwards,	1862,
Rev. M. C. Stebbins,	1862-4	“ “ “	1866-68
Spencer R. Merrick,	1863	Rev. Quincy Whitney,	1862-3
Rev. Dr. Whittemore,	1864,7	C. W. Burbank,	1863
William A. Kilbourn,	1865-72	Rev. Marcus Ames,	1864-7
Edward M. Fuller,	1868	William H. McNeil,	1868-73
J. D. Butler,	1871-2	Henry C. Kendrick,	1871-3
F. H. Thompson, M.D.,	1873-5	Rev. A. P. Marvin,	1873-
G. F. Chandler,	1874-	Nathaniel Thayer, Esq.,	1873-4
Miss Anna H. Whitney.	1875-	Horatio D. Humphrey,	1874-
Henry Nourse,	1878-	Miss Charlotte Fisher,	1876-

Mr. McNeil was librarian in the year 1872, succeeding Dr. Thompson, but Miss Alice Chandler, assistant, had the care of the library. Since that year she has been the librarian, having the assistance of Miss Mary E. Fisher, and Miss Belle Lyman.

The two following documents explain themselves, and furnish a most pleasant close to this chapter. The first is a letter to the selectmen of the town, dated Newport, September 20, 1878.

"GENTLEMEN :—In the early years of my life, I was very often at the house of Capt. Samuel Ward of your town, my mother's brother-in-law, and the very intimate friend of my father. Indeed, his house was almost a second home to me. The town was in those days the best possible specimen of an old-fashioned New England town. It had even then a small public library, to which Capt. Ward was a donor. Though I have not been there for more than fifty-five years, I remember vividly and affectionately the loveliness of the country, its rich intervales, as it was called, its brooks, and fields, and hills, as well as its minister, my father's bosom friend.

"When I went to college, Capt. Ward took part in defraying my quarterly college bills, and being unwilling that the generous act should come to an end with him or with me, I have deposited with my friend, Mr. N. Thayer, the sum of one thousand dollars for the benefit of the Lancaster town library, to be called the Capt. Samuel Ward library fund, the income only to be expended year by year, for the purchase of books in the department of history, leaving the word to be interpreted in the very largest sense. In case of diminution of the capital, the fund to be made good out of its income.

"I ask the town of Lancaster to accept this fund in the form of a permanent trust.

"I remain, gentlemen, with the highest respect, your friend,
GEORGE BANCROFT."

The second paper is a Memorandum expressing the views of Mr. Bancroft in regard to the kind of books for which the income is to be expended. The title of the paper is a "Memorandum for Mr. Thayer." It is inserted here for future guidance.

"The idea of a library trust fund I like. Ward is not definite enough. I think it should be 'The Captain Samuel Ward

Library Trust Fund.' * * I wish you to invest the money at once safely in a seven or six per cent. stock or bond, or whatever you think best, at your own discretion ; only if you pay a premium for it, I want the premium to be discharged out of income, so that when the fund comes to be used, it may be unembarrassed. I wish also any waste of the capital to be made good in like manner out of the income.

"Then I do not want the income to be spent for novels ; and to avoid what might seem a censure on those who buy them for public libraries, I designate a class of books for which I wish the money spent, namely, History, in the largest sense, without limit as to country, or town, or individual, or science, or literature, or manufactures, or commerce, or church, or peace, or war, or opinion, or anything else about which history can be written.

GEORGE BANCROFT."

These communications having been read in town meeting, on motion of Mr. Thayer, a vote was unanimously passed, gratefully accepting the liberal donation of Mr. Bancroft, under the title of "The Bancroft Library Fund in memory of Captain Samuel Ward." It was also voted to instruct the library committee to send a vote of thanks to the donor.

Thus an act of kindness done to a boy, a half century ago, has borne fruit in perpetuating an honorable name, and in providing for the instruction and enjoyment of the youth of this town in all future generations.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS.

THE religious history of Lancaster heretofore has been concerned with a single church, and its connection with the town as a parish. The main current of ecclesiastical narrative now divides into four or five channels. We shall follow their course rapidly, making a brief note of events on the way.

I. THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL OR UNITARIAN CHURCH.

In about half a year after the decease of Dr. Thayer, his successor, Rev. Edmund H. Sears, was heard, called and settled. The services of installation took place on the twenty-third of December, 1840. The following churches were represented in the Council, viz., Bolton, Marlborough, Southborough, Northborough, Leominster, Fitchburg, Shirley, Groton, Grafton, Sterling, Leicester, Worcester, Littleton, Harvard, Beverly, Framingham, Second Church in Boston, and Harvard University. The order of exercises was as follows. Introductory Prayer and Reading the Scriptures, by Rev. Alonzo Hill, of Worcester; Sermon, by Rev. Henry Ware, jr., D.D.; Prayer of Installation, by Rev. Isaac Allen; Charge, by Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of Fitchburg; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. R. P. Stebbins; Address to the Society, by Rev. Chandler Robbins, of Boston; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, of Beverly.

The pastorate which begun happily was continued harmoniously and usefully about six and one-half years. There were

but a few salient points requiring notice, as the most useful ministerial connections are generally free from the troubles which make history.

Early in the ministry of Mr. Sears, requests were presented for private admission to the church by persons who could not be present in public, either because of sickness, or distance. For example, Mrs. Eliza Ann Wilson requested that she might be "privately admitted to the church, and that private baptism be administered to her children, she being very sick, and unable to attend public worship." A similar request was made in behalf of Abel W. Rugg and his children, that baptism might be administered to the children at home, because of his sickness and inability to attend public worship. These and similar requests were complied with, sometimes with a vote of sympathy.

Cases of a different kind occur, as that of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Sears, of Sandisfield, who desired to be admitted to the church by privately assenting to the Covenant, "they living remote, and being unable to be present, and there being no church in their vicinity with which they could conscientiously be united."

Dea. Samuel F. White died, March 16, 1843, and in the following December, Br. William Stearns was unanimously chosen his successor.

An effort was made early in the ministry of Mr. Sears to raise the tone of spirituality in the church and congregation. All his labors tended to that result, as he was a man of deep and earnest convictions, in which regard he made progress during his whole life. At a meeting, February 4, 1844, a committee was chosen to "consider what may be done farther to promote the prosperity of the church, and produce more of Christian fellowship among its members." The committee were Deacons Bancroft, Osgood and Stearns, and Brs. Ebenezer Bragg, Luke Bigelow and Henry Wilder.

The report presented by this committee, probably written by the pastor, is an interesting paper, and well worth re-pro-

ducing, if the limits of this chapter would admit of it. It concluded with several Resolves. The first reads as follows :

"It is highly desirable there should be a more perfect Christian fellowship among the members of this church, and that our Covenant requires a more frequent and friendly intercourse with each other." The second provides for a monthly meeting of the church on the evening of the Sabbath ; the first on the evening of the communion Sabbath, and the next in the alternate month. All who might desire to become members of the church, were invited to attend the meetings on the alternate Sabbath evenings. All these meetings were to be so spent as to "cultivate a spirit of devotion." It was recommended that the members of the church should meet occasionally at each other's houses, for "prayer and mutual conference, and for free conversation upon religious subjects." In addition, a committee was appointed to converse with such members as had "habitually walked disorderly," in relation to their "standing with the church." At each meeting the members to be invited to "contribute each a small sum as a charity to be employed for the comfort and benefit of such members as might desire it, or for any other worthy object of benevolence."

The report was accepted, and each resolution was voted upon separately, and unanimously adopted. The deacons were chosen as a committee to visit and converse with those whose life and conduct were not exemplary.

A vote was passed on the second of February, 1846, to raise a sum not less than fifty dollars, of which not less than thirty dollars should be "appropriated for the support of a scholarship in the Meadville, Pa., Theological School ;" and the rest for a charity fund for the benefit of the poor of the church. A committee was chosen to receive voluntary contributions, who reported at a subsequent meeting that they had received \$56.12, and had sent "thirty dollars to Rev. J. F. Clark in trust for the Meadville school," leaving \$26.12 for the charity fund. Forty-eight members contributed.

The pastorate of Mr. Sears was terminated by the state of his health, which forbade his continued charge of a large parish. Under date of April 1, 1847, is the following entry in the Records. "I close this day my ministry with the first church of Christ in Lancaster, after a connexion of six years and four months. The following is a summary of its records Additions to the church, 56; Baptisms, 80; Deaths, 151; Marriages, 50. E. H. SEARS."

Mr. Sears made an impression in this place which the lapse of years has not effaced. He was held in the highest estimation, and was always welcomed whenever he returned to visit his former friends and parishioners. His labors as a pastor and an author, after leaving, made him one of the most useful and eminent men in his connection. The occasional sermons and hymns which came from his facile and elegant pen, carried his influence far beyond his personal presence; and his most elaborate work, "The Gospel of John the Heart of Christ," bids fair to hold a permanent place in religious literature. His sympathies as a man and a Christian were much wider than any denominational lines, and his writings have been much valued by evangelical believers of every name.

The ministry of Mr. Sears closed on the first day of April, and that of his successor began early in the succeeding August. The Letter Missive calling a Council reads: "having invited the Rev. GEORGE M. BARTOL to settle among us, and become our Pastor, and he having accepted our invitation, we have appointed Wednesday, the fourth day of August next, for the ceremony of Ordination." John M. Washburn, Ezra Sawyer and Luke Bigelow were the committee. Twenty churches were invited to be present by pastor and delegate. Sixteen churches in the county, including all in the neighboring towns, were in the number; Shirley in Middlesex, and one in Beverly, Boston and Portland, Me., each.

The Council met in the Lancaster House, and organized by the choice of Rev. Joseph Allen of Northboro' as moderator, and Rev. Thomas Allen of Sterling as scribe. Thirty-

two pastors and delegates were present. The following was then read as the action of the Society in Lancaster: "voted, unanimously, that the parish do give a Call to Rev. Mr. Bartol, to become their pastor." The reply of Mr. Bartol was then read by the scribe.

"Boston, June 19, 1847. My Christian Friends: I have given to the proposal of the Unitarian Society in Lancaster, by you, their committee, my most serious consideration. I beg that you will not deem me wanting in a proper sensibility to this mark of confidence and esteem on the part of those whom you represent. I return my warmest thanks for the invitation, and for the flattering terms with which it was accompanied. I am happy to accept it, and hereby very respectfully do so. With fervent prayers that the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of His Holy Spirit may be with you all, I remain, my brethren, in the truth and affection of the Gospel, ever your friend and servant."

Certificates as to the education and Christian standing of the candidate having been presented, the Rev. E. Everett Hale, then of Worcester, moved the following: "that we are satisfied with the above testimonials, and that we are ready to proceed to ordination." The following was the order of service.

Anthem; Introductory Prayer, by Rev. William H. White, of Littleton; Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. Mr. Hale; Hymn; Sermon, by Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, of Boston; Hymn; Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. Joseph Allen, of Northboro'; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. C. T. Thayer, of Beverly; Charge, by Rev. Alonzo Hill, of Worcester; Hymn; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Frothingham, of Salem; Anthem; Benediction by the Pastor.

Mr. Bartol is a native of Portland, Me., a graduate of Brown University, and of Cambridge Divinity School. Since his ordination, thirty-one years of ministerial life have passed over him, with the usual incidents of a permanent pastorate.

Marriages, births and deaths have added to and taken from his society, which is respectable and wealthy as at his coming. At the close of twenty-five years, on the fourth of August, 1872, the silver wedding of his connection with the church and parish, was attended by a large and genial party in the town hall, manifesting their esteem for himself and his family. Remarks were made by Rev. E. H. Sears, his predecessor, Rev. A. P. Marvin, then pastor of the Evangelical church, the venerable Rev. B. Whittemore, and others, to whom Mr. Bartol happily responded. Prayer and singing were interspersed, and the occasion was one to be held in pleasant remembrance.

This church, during the two hundred and eighteen years of its history, has had eight pastors, including the Rev. Andrew Gardner, and the present incumbent, and has never dismissed one except Mr. Sears, and then reluctantly in compliance with his request. Mr. Rowlandson, after twenty-two years of faithful labor, was deprived of his pastorate by the destruction of the town. Mr. Whiting and Mr. Gardner met a tragical fate in Indian raids. Mr. Prentice began to preach in 1705, and died in 1748. In the latter year, he was succeeded by Mr. Harrington, whose ministry continued until 1795. Mr. Thayer was his colleague about two years, and sole pastor to the summer of 1840. Thus these three venerable men filled a term of one hundred and thirty-five years of continuous service as pastors of the same church. The present pastor, living in times of change, has seen, with rare exceptions, every pulpit, of every denomination, in the region round, occupied by successive ministers, whose power for usefulness has been, in many cases, weakened by the fickleness of the people. The record is honorable to the church, and to the parish and the town with which it has been connected, during nearly seven generations of men.

The church was in connection with the town as a parish from 1660 till the Second Precinct was formed, when the church and the First Precinct were united. When Sterling

became a town, Lancaster resumed its parochial functions, which continued till near the close of the ministry of Dr. Thayer.

In the year 1866, the meeting-house was somewhat altered and improved in the interior. The frescoing in particular, is very elegant and appropriate.

II. THE UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The exact date of the first Universalist preaching in Lancaster might be hard to find, but there is evidence that it was in the year 1837, and at the house of J. M. Damon, near the Whittemore place. The organization of the First Universalist Society is a matter of record. A preliminary meeting was held, January 16, 1838, at the town-house by inhabitants of this town and vicinity. John Hawkes called the meeting to order. Capt. Joseph Whitney was chosen moderator, and J. M. Damon, clerk. A prudential committee of three was chosen in "relation to further support of preaching by Universalists in this town." The committee were Benjamin Wilder, Joseph Whitney and Sidney Harris. Each member of the committee was to circulate a subscription paper to raise funds, and Benjamin Wilder was elected treasurer. The treasurer reported that the "funds were adequate to pay all demands up to this date," besides a small sum to be collected. This proves that services had been held previous to the organization. An invitation was extended to singers to take part in the exercises.

Another meeting was held, March 7, when it was voted by those present, John Hawkes being chairman, that "we form ourselves into a body to be known and denominated the First Universalist Society in Lancaster, for the purpose of extending a knowledge of faith as held by Universalists, and the support of public worship in this town." Accordingly J. M. Damon was directed to present a petition and procure a warrant authorizing a legal meeting. The warrant was issued by Nathaniel Rand, Justice of the Peace, and under this

warrant, a meeting was held in the town-house, April 3, over which Mr. Rand presided. The officers of the society were elected as follows. Josiah Fay, clerk; R. S. Pope, moderator; Joseph Whitney, James Wheeler and J. P. Nourse, prudential committee; Benj. G. Wilder, treasurer; John Bennett, collector. Measures were taken to raise money by subscription for the support of preaching. R. S. Pope, James Wheeler and J. M. Damon were chosen a committee to draft a Constitution.

This committee reported to a meeting held on the thirtieth of April, when the Constitution was accepted without amendment. It is not necessary to give this document at length, but its purpose and spirit may be indicated. In the preamble we read as follows. "We the subscribers, feeling desirous to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, do hereby form ourselves into a society that we may be helpers to each other." The object was stated to be "the promotion of truth and morality among its members, and also in the world at large," and as the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is "calculated, above all truth, to inspire the heart with the emotions of benevolence and virtue," the members were in favor of supporting the preaching of that gospel, and in any other practicable way to spread a knowledge of it among men. Any person might be admitted, on application, by a majority vote, provided he sustained a "good moral character."

It was regarded as the "duty of every member to adorn the doctrine of the Lord Jesus with a holy life and conversation;" to aid in supporting the society, and to attend on its public services. An habitual neglect of either of these duties was "regarded as a sufficient reason for striking the name of any member from the roll by a vote of the majority." There were fifty-eight signers to the Constitution, though some of the signers were not original members. Of these, twenty were females.

From this date meetings were held annually, when officers were chosen, and measures taken to sustain preaching and public worship, until the year 1855, when the matter of "procuring preaching for the present year," was left to the prudential committee. During this year the society was much weakened, by the loss of twenty-one members, whose names were stricken from the rolls, either because of their removal from the town, or their neglect to pay for the support of preaching.

It does not appear that public worship was statedly held after this time, and members still living state that the removal of many, as well as divisions among the remainder, led to a suspension of measures for the vigorous support of the society.

During several years, however, the society was flourishing, and the meetings were attended by a considerable audience. In time a neat and convenient house of worship was erected in New Boston. This was the center of the families who belonged to the society, as quite a portion of the congregation was from the village of Clintonville.

In 1858 the house was sold to the state and removed to the Old Common, where it became the chapel of the State Industrial School for Girls. The ministers who preached for the society, and led in their devotions, were, first, Rev. R. S. Pope, who held services, as said above, at the house of Mr. Damon. That house has been removed to a spot near the Dyer place, but at the time stood midway between the Whittemore place and the corner of the road. The company becoming too numerous for the rooms, Benjamin Wilder, then treasurer of the society, had an article inserted in the warrant for the November meeting, to see if the town would grant the use of the town-house for public services. The request was rejected, one prominent man giving the reason, that if granted, the Orthodox would be wanting it next. However, the matter was reconsidered. Davis Whitman, Esq., a retired merchant from Boston, who had lived many years in town, and a leading man in the first parish, took an earnest stand

in favor of the application, and by a combination of the Universalists, Orthodox, and more liberal Unitarians, the town voted the use of the hall for religious purposes.

The next minister was Rev. Lucius R. Page, since, D. D., who was then employed by the printing house of Carter & Andrews as a proof-reader. He lived in the Dr. Lincoln house. He was engaged as a preacher about three years; sometimes holding meetings in the hall, and at other times in the Academy.

Then came the Rev. John Harriman, who also conducted services in the Academy building. Another minister was the Rev. J. S. Palmer.

About this time, that is, in 1848, the Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, D. D., became the pastor. His labors were continued several years, and he was the last stated minister of the society.

The meeting-house, which was neatly cushioned, carpeted and furnished, making it a convenient place of worship, stood on the east side of the main street in South Lancaster. The exact position was at the east end of the lane which opens between the houses of Warren Wilson and Charles Lawrence.

III. THE EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

The Orthodox or Evangelical Congregationalists of Lancaster, were organized as a church, on the twenty-second day of May, 1839. The Rev. Asa Packard, a retired clergyman, who had been settled in Marlborough, then resided in what has long been known as the Capt. Jacob Fisher house. In that house the Council met, and instituted the church. But before citing the doings of the Council, and detailing the history of the church, a few words will be needed in showing the steps which led to this result.

Mr. Thayer was a Liberal Christian at the time of his settlement. The church and the community were in a measure prepared to receive and retain him as such, though there were

individuals who still adhered to the doctrinal belief of the former generations. After the lapse of twenty years, in which a new generation had grown up, there were not, perhaps, a half dozen Orthodox Congregational families in the town. The pastor of the only church in the place, was the minister of the town, and his preaching satisfied the demands of his parishioners, with few exceptions. There were three or four Baptist families, including Dea. Haven, living on the Old Common. There were, perhaps, twice as many families, to whom the ancient formulas, and the ancestral worship, were dear, who sighed for what they considered more earnest and scriptural preaching. What was true of Lancaster, was also true in regard to nearly all the towns in the valley of the Nashua.

But a change began to show itself about sixty years since. The demand for evangelical preaching, for prayer meetings, for family worship, and for more direct efforts to promote piety, began to be heard. This met with stern, and sometimes discreditable opposition. The Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, then a student, and afterwards an honored and useful missionary among the Cherokee Indians, came to Lancaster about the year 1818, to visit friends. He held a few neighborhood meetings, when a plot was formed by "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," to "ride him on a rail" out of town. The plot failed, and doubtless was frowned upon by all decent people. A young woman came on a visit to a sick friend, and by Christian conversation, awakened a spirit of opposition almost incredible at the present time.

About the year 1825, the Rev. Mr. Brown, a Baptist minister, called on Dr. Thayer with an urgent request that he might have the use of his pulpit on the Sabbath. The Doctor treated him with his habitual courtesy, but other arrangements prevented the granting of the request. In consequence, Mr. Brown arranged for an open air meeting on a week day. He gave notice of a meeting, in the afternoon, in the Cemetery on the Old Common. According to the narratives of two aged men, who were present, the meeting was composed

of a motley crowd. It was made up mostly of men and boys ; with a few women intermingled. The services were conducted with propriety, but the minister was subjected to many interruptions, and his efforts turned into ridicule. One man sent to the neighboring tavern for a pail of punch, which was distributed freely among the company. Another effort met with no better success.

Mr. Sampson V. S. Wilder, whose Memoirs have recently been given to the public by his daughter, Mrs. Haynes, was then residing in his spacious mansion, styled a "cottage," on the western slope of Bolton hill, [the home for many years past of Mr. Jonathan Forbush]. Mr. Wilder was a native of Lancaster, born on the Old Common, and trained up under the teaching and influence of the pastor of the church. But in his absence from his native place, and amid other scenes and influences, he had become deeply impressed with the conviction that Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, was Emanuel, God with us, and he was zealous in maintaining what he believed. He opened his ample rooms for the accommodation of all who wished to hear Mr. Brown preach the Gospel as he understood it. It was not long before it became a frequent thing for ministers to be invited to the hospitable home of Mr. Wilder, for the express purpose of holding meetings. The result was, that in the year 1830, the "Hillside Church" was formed in Bolton, for the accommodation of all those in several neighboring towns, who desired evangelical preaching.

The resort to that church was great from all the "region round about." Many from Lancaster made the meeting-house on the hillside their Sabbath sanctuary. In 1831, which was a season of uncommon religious interest in this section, meetings were held in school-houses, when practicable, and in private dwellings, so as to bring the preaching of the word into many neighborhoods. In this manner a considerable change was effected, so that there grew up not only a desire, but a conviction, that stated services should be established in the

Center. The Manual of the Orthodox church says that "after eight years, the Orthodox element in Lancaster, having increased in numbers and confidence, secured a room in the town hall, and held regular Sabbath services independent of the parent church." The scenes of noisy and shameful opposition which the pioneers encountered, need not be here recorded. Denied at one time, the use of the town hall, they met in the academy, on which one of their number held a mortgage. But amid all the opposition, Dr. Thayer acted an honorable part. He regretted that any felt the need of a new religious society. It would have been gratifying to him to have the town remain as one parish. He exerted an influence, in all legitimate ways, to maintain the settled order of things. But when he was satisfied that the movers in the enterprise were in earnest, and capable of going forward, he gracefully yielded to the new order of events.

A religious society was legally organized, at the house of Rev. Asa Packard, on the twentieth of February, 1839. The "large upper room of the academy building was obtained and furnished as a place of worship, and the infant society held its first meeting on the Sabbath, April 14. The pulpit was afterwards regularly supplied."

Steps were taken without delay, by those interested in forming a new church in Lancaster, to obtain letters of dismission and recommendation from the church in Bolton. The request was complied with, and other persons being ready to unite, an Ecclesiastical council was called by the brethren, through their committee, Rev. Asa Packard, Charles Wyman and Horatio N. Bigelow. The council met on the twenty-second day of May, 1839, at the house of Rev. Asa Packard, and was composed of the following pastors and delegates.

First church in Harvard, Rev. George Fisher, pastor.

Evangelical church in Leominster, Rev. O. G. Hubbard, pastor, and Br. G. W. Wakefield, delegate.

Evangelical church in Bolton, Rev. J. S. Davenport, pastor, and Br. Francis Haynes, delegate.

Evangelical church in Boxboro', Rev. Joseph W. Cross, pastor, and Br. Ephraim Whitecomb, delegate.

Rev. Mr. Fisher was chosen moderator, and Rev. Mr. Cross, scribe.

The Throne of Grace was addressed by the moderator. Rev. George Trask, of Warren, was invited to sit and deliberate with the council.

After reading a record of the proceedings that led to the calling of the council, and the consideration of the Confession of Faith and the Covenant adopted by the persons calling the council, it was unanimously voted that the proceedings were "regular and satisfactory," and the Confession and Covenant met "with the entire approval of the council." After some time "had been spent in prayer and deliberation," thirty-nine persons were "embodied as the original members of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Lancaster."

The public services were in the following order, in the academy. Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Cross; Sermon, by Rev. Mr. Davenport; Reading of the Confession of Faith, and the Covenant, and the Constitution of the church, and Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Fisher; Right Hand of Fellowship, and Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Hubbard.

The Confession and Covenant, which are here copied, may be compared with the statements of the other churches and religious societies, by those interested in such matters.

CONFESSION OF FAITH.

"I. You believe there is one, and but one, living and true God, who is revealed in the Scriptures as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these three are one, and in all divine perfections, equal.

"II. You believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God, and contain the only perfect rule of doctrinal belief and religious practice.

“III. You believe that God made all things for himself; that he governs them according to the counsel of his own will: and that the principles and administration of his government are perfectly holy, just and good.

“IV. You believe that our first parents were created holy; that they fell from their original holiness by transgressing a divine command; and that in consequence of their apostasy, all their descendants are by nature entirely destitute of holiness, alienated from God, and under condemnation.

“V. You believe that Christ, being God manifest in the flesh, has by his death made a full atonement for sin, and thus provided a free salvation for all; and that repentance and faith in him, evinced by a holy life, are the indispensable conditions of salvation.

“VI. You believe that such is the wickedness of the human heart that none will ever accept the salvation freely offered to them, till, through sovereign grace, they are moved thereto by the special influence of the Holy Spirit.

“VII. You believe that all who obtain salvation through Christ, were chosen in him before the foundation of the world; and that all who truly believe in him are justified, and will be kept by the mighty power of God through faith unto salvation.

“VIII. You believe that in this world the Lord Jesus Christ has a visible church; that the terms of membership are a credible profession of faith in Christ, and of that holiness which is wrought by the regenerating grace of God; that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances and sacraments of the church to be observed to the end of time. Baptism to be administered only to covenanting believers and their households, and the Supper only to believers in regular standing and communion with the church.

“IX. You believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, and that there will be a day of final judgment, when the thoughts of all hearts will be revealed, that all must appear before the judgment

seat of Christ and receive a sentence of just and final retribution, according to the deeds done in the body; and that the happiness of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked will be endless. Thus you profess and believe."

The candidates for admission having assented to the Confession of Faith, then entered into covenant with the church. A part only of the COVENANT is needed in this place. The first three sections read as follows.

"You do now, in the presence of God and this assembly, solemnly choose and accept the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be your God, the Supreme object of your affection, and your portion forever. You cordially acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ as your only Saviour and final Judge, and the Holy Ghost as your Sanctifier, Comforter and Guide. You humbly and cheerfully devote yourself to God in the everlasting covenant of his grace."

These points are followed by specific promises which include all the duties of a Christian life, both towards God and towards man, as taught in the Scriptures; and also by a distinct engagement to be a faithful member of the church, attending and supporting public worship, and seeking the "peace, edification and purity of its members."

Following these engagements is the solemn pledge of the church to receive the candidate into fellowship; to watch over him "with Christian affection and tenderness," and to treat him in "love as a member of the body of Christ, who is head over all things to the church."

The church was organized, as already stated, in May, 1839. Several ministers were heard, among whom were Rev. Mr. Bullard, and Rev. Barnabas M. Fay. The latter supplied the pulpit nine Sabbaths. Both appear to have been much esteemed. On the fifth of December the church were ready to vote unanimately to invite the Rev. Charles Packard to become their pastor. The parish concurred in the Call, with entire unanimity.

Another meeting was held on the twelfth of December, Rev. Asa Packard in the chair, when the answer of Mr. Packard was communicated. It may be recorded here as the first letter of the kind received by the church, and because it gives some idea of the writer.

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN: I have received, through your respective committees, an invitation to become your Pastor and Minister. When I think of the singular concurrence of circumstances which have brought about a result so unexpected to myself, (until within a short time past,) and also to you; when I consider the entire unanimity of your request, and the inviting field of labor that seems to be spread before me in this interesting region, I feel constrained to recognize in these events the hand of an over-ruling Providence. The experience I have had in the duties of the ministry, although not extended, has been enough to reveal to me my own insufficiency for such a great work without the special aid of God's Holy Spirit, and the prayerful co-operation of God's people. Trusting however, that you will aid me by your supplications, your holy living and your vigorous efforts; and relying upon the Great Head of the church for wisdom and grace, I hereby cordially accept your invitation; and should the pastoral relation be formed between us, may the Angel of the Covenant ratify it, make us blessings to each other, and to the cause of the Redeemer, and finally bestow upon us crowns of rejoicing in the day of his appearing.

CHARLES PACKARD."

Mr. Packard was ordained on the first day of January, 1840. The services were held in the meeting-house of the first parish, by the courtesy of Dr. Thayer and his people, and the Doctor took occasion, on the Sabbath, to remark that a new and respectable religious society had been formed in the town, and he trusted the new enterprise would be treated with all respect and kindness. This action of Dr. Thayer and his parish was gratefully appreciated, as the following

vote, passed at their very first meeting after the ordination, testifies. "January 5, 1840. The assembly being detained after public services this morning, voted *unanimously*, that we feel and will long cherish sincere gratitude to the Rev. Dr. Thayer and the religious society under his pastoral charge, for the use of their house for the solemnities of the late ordination; to the choir of that house who so kindly and so largely contributed to the enjoyment and edification of the assembly, and to the members of that society who so kindly officiated as marshals of the day."

The ordaining council was composed of pastors and delegates from Berlin, Bolton, Harvard, Leominster, Northboro', Paxton, Shirley, Stow, Warren, and the Calvinistic church, Worcester. The names of the ministers are given in the order of the towns. Revs. John R. Carver, George Fisher, O. G. Hubbard, Daniel H. Emerson, James D. Farnsworth, Hope Brown, E. Porter Dyer, George Trask, Seth Sweetser. Bolton church was vacant, but Rev. J. S. Davenport, the former minister, and Rev. Josiah Peabody, being present, were invited to sit and deliberate with the council.

Rev. James D. Farnsworth was chosen moderator, Rev. O. G. Hubbard, scribe, and Rev. Hope Brown, assistant scribe. After the usual presentation of credentials, and examination in doctrinal belief and religious experience, the council unanimously voted to ordain Mr. Packard according to the following Order of Exercises.

Introductory Prayer and Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. Mr. Dyer; Sermon by Rev. Mr. Sweetser; Consecrating Prayer, Rev. Mr. Farnsworth; Charge, Rev. Mr. Fisher; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. Mr. Emerson; Address to the Church and Society, Rev. Mr. Trask; Concluding Prayer, Rev. Mr. Brown; Benediction by the Pastor.

Brs. Charles Wyman and Charles Humphrey had already been chosen Deacons, but the date of their election is not recorded. The pastor, the deacons, Rev. Asa Packard, and Brs. Isaiah Moore and Horatio N. Bigelow were elected a

standing committee of the church. The pastor and deacons were *ex officio* members. The other three members were to be elected annually. Recently the number to be chosen has been changed from three to four.

The church adopted various rules, one of which may be quoted as showing the stand taken in relation to one great measure of reform. "Total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, shall be an invariable condition of membership in this church, and the privilege of communion must be withheld from persons, members of other churches, who do not strictly adhere to this principle."

It was voted, early in the history of the church, to take up a collection at every communion season, or once in two months, for some benevolent object, as the Sabbath school library, Foreign Missions, Home Missions, the Bible, the Education and the Tract Societies. In recent years, since the benevolent work in connection with Congregational societies has been systematized, the following order of collections has been adopted, the contribution to be taken on the Sabbath next following the communion. January, Home Missions; March, Education and College Societies; May, Bible and Publication Society; July, American Board; September, American Missionary Association; November, Congregational Union, or Church Building Society. It was also established as a rule to hold the monthly concert, and take up a contribution for foreign missions.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, 1841, being Thanksgiving, the church took emphatic action in relation to the sin of slave-holding. After a preamble stating the reasons for acting, the following votes were passed, which are here recited as indicative of the times, and showing a good record on the part of the church.

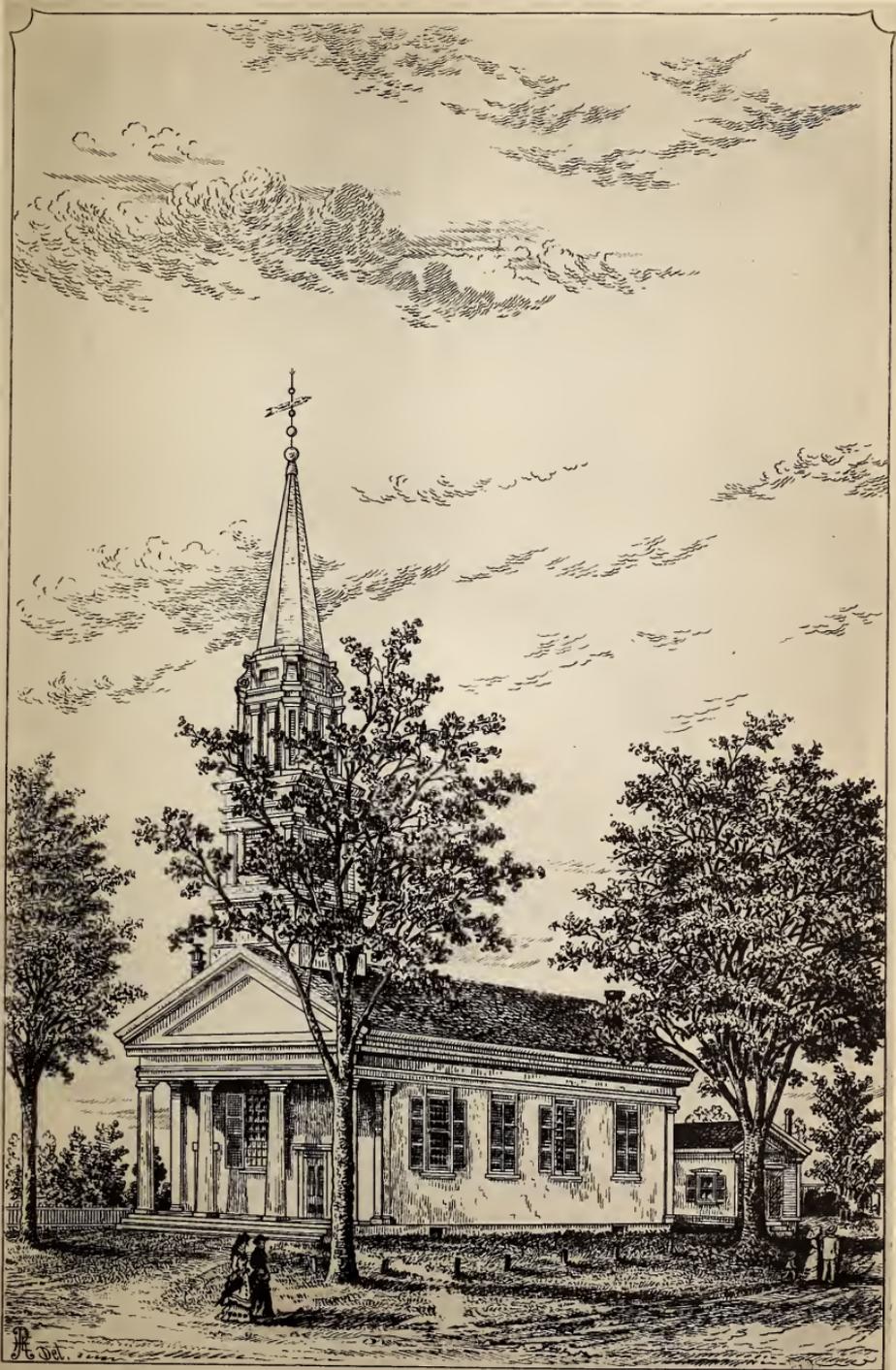
"Resolved, 1, that we cannot receive as church members, nor can we invite to our fellowship at the communion table, any persons who are guilty of the sin of slave-holding. 2. That our pastor be requested not to invite into the sacred desk any minister who is known to be a slave-holder."

The reason for this rule will ever remain, but by the awful overthrow of the slave system, there is no longer any occasion to enforce it; but the need of the rule regarding the "use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage," unhappily exists to the present time.

In the year 1841 a meeting-house was erected, and on the first day of "December, (a bright and cloudless day,) the new house of worship * * was solemnly dedicated to the service of Jehovah, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the presence of a very large congregation, filling not only the pews, but the aisles." The services of the dedication were as follows. Voluntary, by the Choir; Introductory Prayer, Rev. George Trask; Reading the Scriptures, Rev. Mr. Farnsworth; Original Hymn, composed by Mrs. Anna Carter; Dedicatory Prayer, Rev. George Fisher; Sermon, by the Pastor; Dedication Hymn, music and words by Benjamin Holt, of Lancaster; Concluding Prayer, Rev. Joseph S. Clark, of Boston; Voluntary by the Choir. The Rev. Mr. Clark was the Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, who did much in building up the waste places of the Commonwealth. This church was aided for some years, by the society which he represented on this occasion. The dimensions of the sanctuary were these. Length, sixty-one feet; width, forty-two and a half feet. There was a portico, seven feet deep, with fluted columns. The house was of wood with a graceful steeple, the summit of which was about one hundred and ten feet from the ground. The building was in good proportion, was painted white, and was carpeted and cushioned. There was a gallery at the west end for the choir and organ.

In the year 1868, during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Leavitt, the house was enlarged by the addition of about sixteen feet, making it not far from seventy-seven feet in length. At the same time the interior was frescoed.

The Chapel, which is thirty-six feet in length, by twenty-one and a half feet in width, was erected in the year 1852, and placed in the rear of the church.



CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.



In 1844 the church lost nearly half its membership by the formation of the Second Evangelical Church, in Clintonville, now the Congregational Church in Clinton. That church was recognized by an Ecclesiastical council, held November 14, at the house of Horatio N. Bigelow. On the eighth of December, twenty-six members were dismissed and recommended to the new church in Clintonville. Not long after, five more were dismissed, making thirty-one. The congregation was diminished in about the same ratio. Some of those who left were among the most able to bear the pecuniary burdens of a parish.

The ministry of Mr. Packard was useful, and his relations with his people pleasant. This is worthy of special remark, as the times were adverse to harmony. The temperance question divided public sentiment, and in a town not very favorable to prohibitory legislation, or by any means agreed in regard to total abstinence, it required discretion on the part of the minister to maintain his place and influence as an outspoken temperance man. The anti-slavery agitation excited stronger passions. The town was a stronghold of old whigism, but Mr. Packard was an uncompromising Christian abolitionist. Through all the turmoil of those times, he enjoyed the general esteem.

The church received many additions both by letter and profession. The greatest number of admissions in any year was in 1851, when twenty-seven were added. At length, in the year 1854, Mr. Packard asked a dismissal, giving two reasons for the action. "First, on account of pecuniary embarrassments;" and secondly, because he had received an invitation from the Second Congregational Church in Cambridgeport, which in his words: "leave no doubt in my mind of my duty to accept it."

On the sixth of April the church voted to comply with the request for dismissal, and recorded its high estimation of Mr. Packard as a man, a Christian minister, a public spirited member of society, a friend of education, and a zealous

advocate of general improvement and good morals. The action of the council which dismissed Mr. Packard is not upon the Records of the church. He was settled in Cambridgeport, according to his anticipation, and continued there about one year. His next and final settlement was in Biddeford, Me., where, after a respected and useful ministry, he suddenly died, on the seventeenth of February, 1864, aged sixty-two years. The tidings of his death were received with sorrow among the people of his former charge in this place. At a church meeting held on the twenty-first of February, a series of resolutions was passed, expressing in tender and affectionate terms, their appreciation of his character, conveying their warm sympathy to the bereaved family, and requesting that his remains might be "buried in this town amid the scenes of his former labors." The church offered to pay the expense of removal; but the burial was among his kindred in Maine.

Mr. Packard was bred to the profession of law, and was well fitted for a successful career as a public man. Convinced of his duty to enter the ministry, he became an earnest and successful pastor. In person he was well formed, with a pleasing countenance, and dignified deportment. He was often called to preside in councils and in town meetings. The temperance reformation found in him a firm and aggressive friend. In the early days of the anti-slavery movement, when a minister put all worldly prospects in peril by espousing the cause of the enslaved, he was a devoted and outspoken advocate of their rights. But he never neglected his duties as a pastor, while laboring for the needy beyond the limits of his parish. Rather he did his duty to his own people by interesting them in the welfare of others.

The history of the church in its origin, and during the pastorate of its first minister has been given at some length; but for obvious reasons, only a brief reference to succeeding pastorates will be needed.

Mr. Franklin B. Doe, a graduate of Bangor Theological Seminary, was unanimously invited to become pastor, at a

meeting of the church held on the fourth day of August, 1854. The society concurred, the invitation was accepted, and Mr. Doe was ordained and installed on the nineteenth of October, by an Ecclesiastical council. Omitting the names of delegates and the proceedings of the council, the order of service at the ordination was as follows. Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. J. S. Bingham, of Leominster; Introductory Prayer, by Rev. L. H. Sheldon, of Townsend, (not a member of the council;) Sermon, by Rev. Eden B. Foster, of Lowell; Ordaining Prayer, by Rev. J. W. Chickering, of Portland, Me.; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. W. W. Winchester, of Clinton; Charge to the pastor, by Rev. S. W. Hanks, of Lowell; Address to the People, by Rev. Charles Packard; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Joseph W. Cross, of West Boylston; Benediction by the pastor.

The Records during the pastorate of Mr. Doe are very scanty. He attended seven councils, by vote of the church, in company with a delegate. No votes were passed; no changes in rules or administration were made. The number of admissions to the church, during his ministry, was twenty-seven; fifteen by profession.

Having received an invitation by a "unanimous voice to the pastorate of a church in the west, which seemed to open a wider field of influence," Mr. Doe resigned on the twenty-fourth of September, 1858, and requested that a council might be called to effect the dismissal in the regular way. The church complied with the request, and the council, held on the sixth of October, cordially commended Mr. Doe "to the confidence of the churches as an able, efficient and successful minister of the gospel."

Mr. Doe was settled in the growing town of Appleton, Wisconsin, where his labors were greatly blessed. Later he became the Superintendent of Home Missions in the state of his adoption, and has proved himself well adapted to the arduous and reponsible duties of that position.

Among those who supplied the pulpit was Mr. John E. Todd, now of New Haven, who received a call in May, 1859, which he declined. In December the Rev. S. C. Kendall, then of Milford, N. H., received an invitation to settle. It was expected that he would accept, but an unexpected demonstration on the part of the people of his charge, induced him to remain with them.

On the twenty-eighth of March, 1860, Rev. Amos E. Lawrence was invited to "settle in the gospel ministry," by the church; the society concurring. For some reason there was delay and the invitation was renewed on the fourteenth of May, with the allowance of four weeks annually for a vacation, and fixing the commencement of the pastorate on the first of October. In due time a council was invited to meet on the tenth of October, when the installation took place. The following churches were invited, with the proviso that the "committee be authorized to add to or strike from the list at the request of Rev. Mr. Lawrence." The church in Norwich, Conn., Rev. Mr. Gulliver, pastor; Harvard, Rev. Mr. Dodge; Leominster, Rev. Mr. Backus; Clinton, Rev. Mr. Winchester; Fitchburg, Rev. Mr. Emerson; Worcester, Rev. Mr. James; Woburn, Rev. Mr. Marsh. The services took place accordingly, but there is no record of the council in the church books.

At a meeting of the church, November 2, 1860, it was voted that a "contribution be taken each communion season to defray the expense of the communion table, and the balance, if any, to be applied to the relief of the poor of the church under the direction of the pastor and deacons." Dea. Charles Wyman was chosen treasurer of the church, and Br. Caleb T. Symmes, auditor.

Remarks were made by the pastor upon the expediency of substituting "The Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book" for the "Church Psalmody." No vote is recorded, but the change was made not far from this time.

Br. Leander Rowell was chosen deacon, on the twenty-first

of February, 1864, in place of Dea. Charles Humphrey deceased. Dea. Humphrey was held in high respect and esteem by the church and the community.

Mr. Lawrence having asked a release from his pastoral relation, the church, on the sixth of March, 1864, voted to unite in calling a council, but deeply regretted the occasion that compelled the pastor to renew his request. It was further voted: "that we tender to him our cordial sympathy, and unite in the hope that the complete restoration of his health may soon permit him, in the fulness of his strength, to resume his labors in the gospel ministry." The church also promised to remember him and his family in their prayers that the Great Head of the church might "ever attend them with his gracious guidance and bestow upon each of them his rich blessings." The council was held, of course, but no trace of its action is on the Records. Thirty-one were added during this pastorate; all but eleven by profession.

Mr. Lawrence since his dismissal, has been engaged in pastoral duties, in assisting in the preparation of learned works for the press, and in foreign travel. His present place of residence is Newton.

Various clergymen occupied the pulpit for nearly a year. At one time an effort was made to engage a minister for a year, but this proposition was unsatisfactory. At length, on the twenty-third of February, 1865, a unanimous vote was passed in these words: "that we cordially invite Br. George R. Leavitt, of Lowell, to settle with us in the gospel ministry." The invitation was accepted.

The ordaining council met, March 29, 1865. The following churches were invited to be present by pastor and delegate. High Street church, Lowell, Rev. Owen Street, pastor; Calvinistic church, Fitchburg, Rev. Alfred Emerson; Church in Harvard, Rev. J. Dodge; Evangelical, Clinton, Rev. B. Judkins; Church in South Groton, (now Ayer,) Rev. M. C. Stebbins; Church in Ashby; Evangelical, Sterling, Rev. J. C. Larabee; Church in Blackstone, Rev. Jona-

than E. Edwards; College Street church, New Haven, Rev. O. T. Lanphear; Trinitarian church, Fitchburg, Rev. Mr Hutchings; Free church, Providence, Rev. James C. White; Rev. Messrs. Lawrence and Ames, resident clergymen, were also invited. Mr. Edwards had been a resident here, several years, before going to Blackstone. At the request of Mr. Leavitt, Rev. Drs. Beckwith, of Boston, and Leavitt, of Providence, were called to the council. The action of the council, and the order of service are not recorded.

At a meeting held, May 5, 1865, after the preparatory lecture, it was voted to "take up a contribution for some benevolent object once in two months," upon the "first Sabbath after each communion." This vote is still in force, but the objects of benevolence were subsequently somewhat modified. At the same meeting provision was made for preparing and printing the present "Manual" of the church. The pastor, and the clerk, Br. Spencer R. Merrick, were charged with this service.

The church, at a meeting held at the close of the morning service, October 18, 1868, appointed a committee to submit a plan for the organization of the Sabbath school, and the choice of new officers. On the following Sabbath the committee reported a plan, and the church adopted it, thus making the Sabbath school an institution of the church. This plan was re-enacted in 1872.

Mr. Leavitt resigned early in the year 1870, but none of the proceedings leading to the council are recorded. The minutes of the council, however, are on record. The only reason given to the council why the pastor asked a dismissal, was the inadequacy of the salary to meet his "necessary and somewhat peculiar burdens." In sundering the relation the council resolved "that we most cordially recommend him to all churches of Christ, as a preacher of superior abilities, as a pastor of abundant labors and conscientious fidelity, and as a Christian of earnest devotion to the Master and his work.

Sixty-seven members were admitted to the church during the pastorate of Mr. Leavitt; forty of them by profession of their faith. Mr. Leavitt, in the course of a few months, was settled as pastor of the Pilgrim church in Cambridgeport, where his ministrations have been attended with great success.

The Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, then residing in Worcester, supplied the pulpit during the months of February and March, 1870, with the exception of one Sunday. He also was here a few Sabbaths in June and July. He began as Acting Pastor on the first Sabbath in October. This relation was continued until May, 1872.

On the fifth of November, 1871, the church voted to use the Hymn and Tune Book entitled the "Tribute of Praise," in the Chapel.

At the same meeting a committee previously chosen to present a Plan for the "Bible Service" made a report, which was adopted, and followed with much interest and profit for two or three seasons. By this arrangement the Sabbath school was held in the afternoon, instead of during the interval of worship. At the close of the lessons, the pastor made a short address explanatory of any difficult passages in the lesson, and enforcing some prominent truth contained in it. He also led in prayer, and after singing, dismissed the congregation with the benediction. The cause of the discontinuance of the Bible service was this. About three-fifths of the children belonging to the congregation, lived so far from the meeting-house that they did not return to the afternoon meeting. If they were to receive Sabbath school instruction, it was necessary to give it to them at the close of the morning service.

At a meeting of the church, held March 19, 1872, it was "unanimously voted that we extend a Call to Rev. A. P. Marvin to become pastor of this church." The parish concurring in this action, the invitation was accepted, and the council for installation assembled on the first day of May, 1872. Rev. J. W. Wellman, D. D., of Newton, was chosen

moderator, and Rev. William J. Batt, of Leominster, scribe. The parts in the public services were performed as follows.

Invocation and Reading the Scriptures, by Rev. L. D. Mears; Prayer before Sermon, Rev. S. DeWitt Clark; Sermon, Rev. Dr. Wellman; Installing Prayer, Rev. W. J. Batt; Charge to the pastor, Rev. Alfred Emerson; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. Davis Foster, of Winchendon; Address to the people, Rev. George R. Leavitt; Concluding Prayer, Rev. L. W. Spring, of Fitchburg. The choir performed very acceptable service on the occasion.

January 5, 1872, the church voted to observe the "Week of Prayer," and to have the meetings on the afternoon and evening of alternate days, beginning with Sunday evening. At the same meeting Br. Frederick Whitney was unanimously chosen deacon of the church, in place of Dea. Charles Wyman. The latter served with acceptance from the organization of the church until his lamented death in the spring of 1870.

The pastoral relation of Mr. Marvin was terminated in the fall of 1875. He asked a dismissal on the twelfth of September, which was agreed to by the church at a meeting held on the seventeenth. The council met on the twenty-first of October, and organized by the choice of Rev. William A. Houghton, of Berlin, as moderator, and Rev. DeWitt S. Clark as scribe. The result expressed the esteem of the council for Mr. Marvin, and sympathy for the church.

The admissions to the church during the last pastorate were thirty; eleven of which were on confession of faith in Christ. On the first Sabbath of July following, [1876,] twelve young persons, all members of the Sabbath school, were received into the church, by profession. None have since been admitted to this date.

Mr. Marvin has continued to reside in the town, preaching as occasion offered, and engaged in writing the History of Lancaster. In the first year and a half after his dismissal, about forty ministers were heard, one or more Sabbaths, each.

Rev. Henry C. Fay supplied in the early part of 1876, and the Rev. Marcus Ames, formerly Superintendent of the Industrial school, was acting pastor from April 1, 1877, for one year.

Mr. William DeLoss Love, jr., a graduate of Hamilton college and a member of the senior class of Andover Theological Seminary, came here, by invitation of the committee of supply, in April, 1878, and after preaching several Sabbaths, received a unanimous call to settle in the ministry from both church and parish. He accepted the call, and was ordained and installed on the eighteenth of September. The churches represented in the council, were the Rollstone church, Fitchburg, Rev. G. R. W. Scott; the Pilgrim church in Cambridgeport, Rev. George R. Leavitt; and the Congregational churches in Leicester, Rev. A. H. Coolidge; Berlin, Rev. Wm. A. Houghton; Clinton, Rev. DeWitt S. Clark; South Natick, Rev. Pearse Pinch; Townsend, Rev. A. F. Newton; Leominster, Rev. S. C. Kendall, with their delegates. The following clergymen, without charge, were also members of the council. Rev. William DeLoss Love, D. D., of Andover; Rev. George H. Gould, D. D., of Worcester; Rev. Marcus Ames and Rev. A. P. Marvin, both of Lancaster.

The organization was effected by the choice of Rev. Mr. Coolidge, moderator, and Rev. Mr. Newton, scribe. After a thorough and satisfactory examination of the candidate, the public services were conducted in the following order. Invocation, Rev. Marcus Ames; Reading the Scriptures, Rev. George W. R. Scott; Sermon, Rev. Dr. Gould; Admission of the pastor elect to the Church, Rev. William A. Houghton; Ordaining Prayer, Rev. A. H. Coolidge; Charge to the Pastor, Rev. Dr. Love; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. DeWitt S. Clark; Address to the People, Rev. George R. Leavitt; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. A. P. Marvin; Benediction by the Pastor. The various parts, including the service of song by the choir, were very acceptable to a large audience.

The first minister of this church began with a salary of \$500. This was increased to \$600, and \$800, in his time, or soon after; and was raised to \$1,000, per annum, previous to the settlement of Mr. Leavitt. During his pastorate and that of his successor, the salary was raised to \$1,200. But those were times of high prices. The salary is \$1,000 at present.

The church has been in the habit of aiding its own members, when in need, from the beginning. This has been done by taking a collection at every communion, and by private benevolence, of which no account is kept. In addition, the members realize the duty of aiding any of their neighbors or townsmen, in seasons of want and sickness.

The contributions to benevolent objects, through the various Congregational organizations, have been taken at stated times, for many years. There has been an increase since the close of the war, and in some years, as between 1871 and 1876, the amount reached from \$400 to about \$800.

The audience is of the average number for a country congregation, representing about eighty families.

IV. THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

There have been, in this town, for more than half a century, a number of persons who receive to some extent, the religious views of Emanuel Swedenborg. A letter from Timothy Harrington Carter, of Newton, says: "I think my brother Horatio was the first receiver living in Lancaster, in 1824. He was a member of Dr. Thayer's church, and subsequently seceded." Horatio Carter was a deacon in the Unitarian church. He resigned, and asked a dismissal on account of his change of opinions. The letter proceeds: "My three sisters soon after became receivers, and then my grandmother, Arethusa Harrington, daughter of Rev. Timothy Harrington, at the age of eighty-two. She joined the Boston Society.

"The first Sabbath meetings were held at the house of my brother George, in 1830, [the Dr. Lincoln house]. Mr.

Joseph Andrews, then living in Lancaster, was the first reader, usually from Swedenborg's writings, or a selected sermon, with some of the chants and the prayer.

"Mr. Henry Wilder about this time attended the meetings, and a Mr. and Mrs. Douglass from England. Soon after Mrs. Southwick and her family occupied the Stedman Mansion house, and the office was fitted up for the Sunday meetings; and Mr. Gilman Worcester sometimes officiated as reader."

Mr. Artemas Barnes, then residing on the Eli Stearns place, (now S. R. Damon's,) became a member, and continued so after removing from the town. His love for the New Church and its doctrines is shown by the following anecdote. He bought certain equities in real estate, which cost the seller ten thousand dollars, for five hundred dollars. The seller threw in a copy of the "True Christian Religion," (Swedenborg's work). Mr. Barnes "lost the five hundred dollars but said it was the best bargain he ever made."

By the removal of the families of Mr. Andrews, the Messrs. Carters, and others from the town, the number of worshippers became so reduced that the meetings were discontinued. But in the fall of the year 1857, they were resumed. At first the company met at the house of Mr. Worcester, who then lived in the house of the late venerable William Nowell. Later the meetings were held in the academy. Next, they were at the house of Mrs. Mary G. Ware. In these years Mr. Wilder was reader, and conducted the services. The meetings were suspended again, but at what precise date is not known.

In the year 1865, the meetings were resumed again, and were held in an ante-room of the town hall, with Mr. Wilder as the reader. When ministers were present, the services were in the town hall. This arrangement was continued about ten years, until the decease of Mr. Wilder, in the summer of 1875. He was an earnest friend of the cause, and did not forget it when preparing for the future. By his will the friends of the New Church, here, became contingently on the decease

of his widow, heirs to a handsome property. But a condition of the will required the formation of a church or religious society to hold the property.

Accordingly a church holding the religious opinions of Swedenborg was organized in August, 1875, under the title of the "New Jerusalem Church of Lancaster." The members to the number of twenty belonged to the towns of Lancaster, Harvard, Lunenburg, Leominster and Berlin. The officers are a Clerk, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of three. Since the organization of the church, Horatio D. Humphrey has been the reader.

The church hold weekly meetings on the Sabbath, in the south ante-room of the town hall. The services consist of singing, prayer, and the reading of a discourse. When a minister is present, he delivers an original sermon.

A meeting for conference, reading and devotions is also held weekly at some private house.

The Rev. Abiel Silver, of Boston Highlands, has spent several summer vacations in the town, and always rendered acceptable service. Rev. James Reed, of Boston, has officiated on several occasions. Rev. Joseph Pettee always comes at quarterly meetings, and administers the communion.

It will gratify many to have a brief statement of the "Doctrines of the New Church." The following is from good authority.

"I. God is One in Essence and in Person, in whom there is a distinct and essential Trinity, called in the Word, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and the Lord Jesus Christ is this God, and the only true object of worship.

"II. In order to be saved, man must believe on the Lord, and strive to obey his commandments, looking to him alone for strength and assistance, and acknowledging that all life and salvation are from Him.

"III. The Sacred Scriptures, or the Divine Word, is not only the revelation of the Lord's will and the history of his dealings with men, but also contains the infinite treasures

of his wisdom expressed in symbolical or correspondential language, and therefore in addition to the sense of the letter, there is in the Word an inner or spiritual sense, which can be interpreted only by the law of correspondence between things natural and things spiritual.

“IV. Now is the time of the Second Coming of the Lord, foretold in Matt. xxiv., and the establishment of the New Church signified by the New Jerusalem in Revelation xxi., and this Second Coming is not a visible appearance on earth, but a new disclosure of Divine Truth, and the promulgation of true Christian Doctrine, effected by means of the Lord’s servant, Emanuel Swedenborg, who was specially instructed in this Doctrine, and commissioned to publish it to the world.

“V. Man’s life in the material body is but the preparation for eternal life, and when the body dies, man immediately rises into the spiritual world, and, after preparation in an intermediate state, dwells forever in Heaven or Hell, according to the character acquired during his earthly life.

“VI. The Spiritual World, the eternal home of men after death, is not remote from this world, but is in direct conjunction with it, and we are, though unconsciously, always in immediate communion with angels and spirits.”

V. SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH.

The Seventh Day Adventists are a variety of the great body of Millenarians, who believe in the speedy Second Coming of Christ, in bodily form, to begin and continue a personal reign on the earth. The first meetings of the Adventists, in Lancaster, were held in the year 1856. Those interested in the subject met at the house of Lewis H. Priest, who then lived on the Lunenburg road, at the old Sodi Sanderson place. Persons came from other towns, and the meetings were kept up about four years. By the removal of families and other changes, the meetings were suspended a few years, but in 1864 an organization was effected, at the house of Mr. Priest, who had removed to South Lancaster. At this

time, the church consisted of ten members, five males and five females. Elder Stephen N. Haskell moved into the place, this year, and has retained the relation of elder till the present time, making this his permanent residence. Joel Crandall has also been in the position of elder during the past year. Elder Robinson resides here, though his labors are chiefly in other places.

Elder Haskell bought the old Odd Fellows' Hall, that stood where Mr. Weeks now lives, fitted it up for a dwelling house, and for some time opened his rooms for a place of worship. That house now stands on the east side of the road, and a little back, about east of the school-house. Meetings were held in this house until Mrs. R. A. Rice bought the house on the corner between Dea. Rowell, and Wellington's shop. This was an ancient tavern, and had a large hall over the L part. Here the meetings began to be held about ten years ago. In 1875 the society moved into the chapel which stood on the spot now occupied by the church. The latter edifice was dedicated early in May, 1878. It is a very neat and convenient house of worship, well finished without, and tastefully furnished in the interior. An unpretentious and well-proportioned steeple improves the appearance of the building. The length of the edifice is fifty-six feet; the breadth is thirty-two feet. The cost was not far from \$3,000.

There are eighty members of the church, the majority of whom live in the neighborhood, though some reside at a distance. About twenty families have their homes in sight of the church; some live in Still River and some in Bolton. South Lancaster is the head-quarters of the New England Conference, and camp-meetings are held here nearly every season.

The church has regular service on the seventh day of the week, — Saturday — and observe the day with great strictness. There are meetings of the church held quarterly. On the second Sabbath of every third month, there is a general quarterly meeting, including several churches. The general

conference of the whole body is held yearly at Battle Creek, Michigan, which is the grand center of operations for the whole denomination.

In their general doctrinal views, the Seventh Day Adventists are allied to Evangelical Christendom. The following are some of their distinctive tenets.

1. The seventh day is the Sabbath.
2. Immersion in the name of the Trinity is the only valid baptism.
3. Christ will soon return, and begin his personal reign. The time is not known, but is near.
4. The saints sleep after death until the first resurrection, which will take place at the second advent of Christ.
5. At the advent, the "dead in Christ" will be raised, and go to live with their Lord in the air.
6. After a thousand years, the wicked will be raised. This is the second resurrection.
7. They will be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming. That is, they will be annihilated.
8. Souls are not naturally immortal, but immortality is imparted to the righteous, through grace.
9. The earth will be renovated, and become the final, blessed abode of the righteous.

VI. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Several years passed after Roman Catholic families began to settle in Lancaster, before they provided themselves with a church. For many years they resorted to Clinton for spiritual direction, and for the purpose of worship. But in the year 1872 they had become so numerous as to make the erection of a sanctuary a matter of economy as well as convenience. A large and valuable lot of land was obtained, and a house was covered in before winter. In the spring following, work was resumed, and the church was ready for dedication or consecration on the twelfth day of July, 1873. The service was attended by a large company, who rejoiced in the realization of their hopes.

The dimensions of the building are about seventy-five by forty-two feet. There is a basement which has not been put

to use, except for heating purposes. The pews are near together, giving a large seating capacity. The cost of the land and the edifice was great, as prices were high at the time. It is said that the whole expense was not far from thirteen thousand dollars.

The pews are owned by the church, and are rented quarterly to the occupants. The Rev. R. S. Patterson, of Clinton, or "father Patterson" as he is styled by his attached parishioners, has had the spiritual care of the parish from the beginning. The attendance on public worship is large and punctual, and the influence of the services is manifestly conducive to good morals, as it is doubtless comforting to the worshippers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BUSINESS. PUBLISHING. SOCIETIES. POPULATION. AUTHORS
AND BOOKS.

THIS chapter must, of necessity, be miscellaneous, as there are many subjects which could not be well placed in other connections.

BUSINESS.

Some information will be arranged under the head of business, though nothing but a brief notice of different branches can be given. Stores, mills, factories, shops, banks, etc., have given employment to many in past times.

STORE CORNERS.—The first store in Lancaster was the "trucking-house" of Mr. King, in the "Indian camp pasture." This was on the side of George hill, near the dividing line, between the land of George A. Parker and Jonas Goss. The place has been already marked, only it may be said, in passing, that this spot became a corner when the road was made over George hill from South Lancaster, by the Tuttle place, crossing the road from Deers Horns towards the north part of the town. Both these roads have been discontinued so long as to be forgotten.

This store business was sold to John Prescott, in a year or two, when he built the second trucking-house in the town. This stood a few rods northwest of the Ward house, now owned by Mrs. Ware. It was about midway between Mrs. Ware and Mr. Kilbourn, on the west side of the ravine. This was then a corner, as the road went northeast by the store, and crossed the ravine behind the house where Mr. Heald

now lives. Prescott had a blacksmith-shop on the south side of the road from Chandler's corner to George hill. His son Jonathan carried on the business of blacksmithing after his father. It is supposed that Mr. Tinker, who afterwards removed to New London, was a trader, and possibly he succeeded John Prescott in the store. But this is conjecture.

In a later generation, when the main road to South Lancaster was fixed in its present location, the store was moved to the corner opposite to the Ward house, and placed on the land of the late Col. Fay. This store was occupied by Levi Willard and Samuel Ward, alone or in company, for a period of nearly sixty years. The garrison-house of Rev. Mr. Whiting and Rev. Mr. Gardner was between the store and the house of Mrs. Col. Fay. Still later in origin was the store on John Bennett's corner, occupied long ago, by Elijah Wilder and others.

Going to the Old Common, there was a store at the farm house of the Industrial school. The north and south road formerly crossed at this spot. There was another store opposite to the school-house corner. The store was where the Parks house, now occupied by Mr. J. A. Messenger, stands. Oliver Carter carried on the business, and had an assortment of books.

Coming to the Center, the first store of which we have any knowledge, was at the corner east of Charles L. Wilder. All travel, north and south, and east and west, converged to this place. Col. Samuel Willard, grandson of the renowned Major, bought the property of his grandfather, and lived in the house now occupied by Sewell Day. He carried on the business at the corner store for many years. It is supposed that his son, Col. Abijah, succeeded him. Another son, Col. Levi, was a trader, and perhaps was a partner, in early life; but he was afterwards associated with Capt. Ward. Josiah Bridge and his brother, traded at this place, several years. The house and store were then owned in succession by Ebenezer Torrey and Davis Whitman, retired merchants

from Boston, but they did not engage in business here. The travel by the Neck having fallen off by reason of change of roads and bridges, a new store was erected on the corner by the house of Mr. Stowell, on the west side. Dea. Wales had liberty from the town to build on common land. Here business was carried on by him for many years, and down to a time remembered by some now living.

The brick store on the corner opposite the Evangelical church was built by Gilman B. Parker. It was occupied forty years ago by Wilder S. Thurston. Among his successors were W. S. Thurston, George Dodge, Solon Wilder, George Green, and again Mr. Wilder, the present owner.

Sewall Carter had a store, half a century since on the corner opposite to Thomas Blood's, where the road turns up by the Washburn place. The above were the chief centers of mercantile business in former generations. There have been many other stores, large and small, in the town. Notably, the one on the ground now occupied by William G. Wilder, in South Lancaster, where John G. Thurston, during many years, kept the largest store in the county.

The same was true of other Lancaster stores, at different periods. For example, the store of Mr. Emerson, on the Old Common, had an assortment of everything wanted in the country. It is said that a young woman, preparing for marriage and house-keeping, could obtain in Emerson's store, all articles necessary for clothing, bedding, and furnishing the house from bottom to top. Crockery, tinware, hardware, earthenware, spinning wheels, looms, in a word, everything needed in starting a family. In addition, the store supplied East and West India goods. It is needless to say, that there was a full supply of various liquors. This was, in its time, the most extensive store in the county. The same is reported of the store of Willard & Ward.

In the North Village Levi Lewis kept store many years, and did a large business. He commenced about fifty years ago.

Josiah and Charles Bridge moved from the store on the corner of the Neck road, to the Rand house, now occupied by Jeremiah Moore. Their business was extensive.

At the Dyer place was a store which accommodated the north-east section of the town. It was kept by Eben Francis. Nearly two generations have passed away since it was in full operation.

MILLS, SHOPS AND FACTORIES.—The first mill, as is well known, was Prescott's, in Clinton. Coming within present town limits, there were mills at Deers Horns in very early times, and the limited water power there has been improved to the present time. The mills at South Lancaster were started more than a century since. Col. Oliver Wilder, who died in the year 1765, owned this privilege, and improved it, many years. After him came Bennett, Wilder and others, till it passed into the hands of Samuel Carter. There was a saw and a grist mill, and at one time, a fulling mill. The grist mill remains. A cotton factory was built about thirty-five years ago. The property is now owned by George W. White.

The Ponakin water power was used, as stated on a former page, far back in the last century. Col. Joseph Wilder owned this when Col. Oliver improved the South Lancaster privilege. Saw and grist mills were here at first, to meet pressing needs. Then came iron works, nail making, etc. Successive owners have been Joseph Wilder, Gardner Wilder, Maynard, Jones, Knight, Charles L. Wilder, senior and junior, and others. The mills gave place to a cotton factory about 1861. It is now in the possession of the Lancaster Savings Bank, of whom Frank Sargent rented it a few years since. The water now runs by, unused, though capable of moving much machinery.

At Shoeshank, so called, there was a mill, many years since. This was on a little brook which runs into the Nashua just east of the present factory. Next a dam was built across the river, and a larger mill was erected. This property has been in the hands of Sewall Carter, and the Shakers. It is

now owned by the Shoeshank company, who make leather board and shoe shanks. The water power near the mouth of Wikapeket brook has been used a long time, by successive owners. It is now the property of Barney Phelps of Leominster, and annually turns out a large quantity of lumber. The lesser streams have also, in former times, worked their passage to the river. There was a fulling mill and clothier's shop near the mouth of Canoe brook, between Ponakin and Shoeshank. Rugg's saw mill was farther up stream, half a mile, in the woods. Small mills on Cumbery brook, and on the brook running through the North Village have already been noted. These smaller privileges have been long abandoned.

For several generations before the opening of the Fitchburg railroad, about 1845, Lancaster was a thoroughfare of travel from points west and north. In consequence, certain branches of business grew up, or were much enlarged. A stage route from the direction of Petersham and towns beyond, went through South Lancaster. But the main lines of travel were through the north and the center of the town. Previous to 1845, the travel through the North Village and the Center was very great. Besides the long strings of teams, passing back and forth, there were, at one time, 1838, thirty-two stages weekly, carrying on the average, forty-eight passengers daily, going from Boston to Albany, to Brattleboro' and to Keene; and also from Lowell to Worcester. This gave business to hotels, of which there were three in North Village, besides the great hotel in the Center and a smaller one in South Lancaster. Cart, wagon and sleigh makers found ready employment. Abraham Mallard and brother were wheelwrights in North Village. Blacksmiths, harness makers, and other mechanics were in demand.

One kind of business leads to the introduction of other kinds. Major Fisher was a cabinet maker and watchmaker; Capt. Jacob Fisher was a cabinet maker and painter. The business was carried on, at first in North Village, and after-

wards at Lane's crossing, where Capt. Anthony Lane continued it. He was succeeded by Charles Safford. Capt. Carter Fisher was a gunsmith. A little west of Lane's factory was the latter shop of John Hyde. Hats were also made in South Lancaster in considerable quantity by Luke Rugg and a Mr. Dean. There was a comb factory near Capt. John Maynard's house. It was the property of Gardner Maynard. Hannibal Laughton and William Ballard had a comb shop on Ballard hill. Oren Holman did a larger business in the same line, at his house, sometimes employing a dozen hands. Dea. Ward Cotton, son of Rev. Mr. Cotton of Boylston, lived on the Old Common from about 1825 to 1855, and made combs. Afterwards he manufactured comb-maker's tools.

Between thirty and forty years ago the business of making piano keys was prosecuted by Charles L. Wilder in the large shop on the corner of the Neck road. This was continued several years, and gave employment to quite a number of workmen. The copper pump factory of Stratton & Eager, now Eager & Rice, in South Lancaster, has been for years, and is now in prosperous condition.

The late Mr. Cobb began the pocket-book making business as early as 1835. In 1852 George A. Johnson entered into the business. He became sole proprietor in 1866, and continued the business in the large building now occupied as a dwelling by several families, till 1875.

The making of brick was begun, it is believed, soon after the rebuilding of the town, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. This was at the Whiting place. The Phelps family had a brick-yard not far east from the railroad at Lane's crossing. Jonas Lane owned the property many years. Hollis Eaton held it a short time, and then sold to the present proprietor, S. R. Damon. The works have been much enlarged in late years.

Back of Jacob Willard's in the northeast section of the town, was a brick-yard worked by Aaron Johnson, in ancient

times. Robert Townsend made bricks at the old clay pit on the land of Emery White, before this century came in, and with them built the old Lancaster House, or Hotel Lancaster.

The Burbank brick-works, in the low lands between the house and Pine hill, were in full operation sixty or seventy years since, if not earlier. The first superior bricks were made at this place. The Brick church was constructed of materials obtained from the Burbank brick-kiln. The walls of this ancient meeting-house show no marks of the corroding tooth of time. The Burbank clay-pit has not been worked for many years.

Mechanical business seems at present to be centred mainly in South Lancaster, where the tin-shop of Leander Rowell, and the blacksmithing and carriage-making establishments of George W. Wellington and S. H. Turner give some life to the place. Among the carpenters have been Samuel A. Hastings, Stedman Nourse and Arba Estey.

Mention should also be made of the mill of the Willard brothers, at which apples are converted into cider, vinegar, boiled cider and jelly, in great quantity. The latest enterprise of any magnitude is the hennery of Arthur Hawkins, where eggs, chickens and hens are counted by thousands. The above is a hasty glance at the business of Lancaster. It does not claim to be complete, and must be accepted with all its imperfection. Of course, the great pursuit, in every generation, has been the cultivation of the soil.

PRINTING AND ENGRAVING.

Mention has already been made of the *Lancaster Gazette* which was published in 1828-30. This paper was connected with a large printing and publishing establishment, which brought much business and many people to the town. One who learned his trade in the printing office, states that as many as four or five hundred were connected, in some way, with the different branches of the business. The following items are furnished by a person who was employed here,

when the enterprise was in full blast. "I do not remember with sufficient distinctness to specify any maps which were printed at Lancaster during the years 1830-4, the period of my stay in the town." It is known, however, that maps in great numbers were made, colored and mounted here and were sent out into different parts of the country. The writer, Mr. P. A. Ramsey, proceeds: "We had a copperplate printing establishment, but I think it was chiefly employed on illustrated plates for works printed in Boston. Mr. Joseph Andrews, and one or two other persons were engaged in copper and steel plate engraving, but I cannot certainly say what works they produced, except a steel plate of Swedenborg, etc.

"In the printing department we had several editions of the Child's Botany, and of the Girls' Own Book, by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child. Also, one or two editions of Paxton's Anatomy, edited by Dr. Winslow Lewis, of Boston. These two last mentioned works were fully illustrated by wood-cuts engraved at Lancaster. Up to this time there had been only the most indifferent wood-cut engraving in this country, and the Girls' Own Book, the engravings for which were made by Mr. Hall, was doubtless the harbinger of the new order of wood engraving which since that day has been the chief attraction in so many American books. Besides these three works, the Lancaster Press, so far as I can remember, was chiefly employed on the various and then highly popular works of Peter Parley, a History of the United States, and some standard school-books. It should be borne in mind that all our printing at that time was done upon hand presses.

"Besides the printing establishment, there was a stereotype foundry in operation in 1833-4. Besides some smaller works stereotyped here, two large ones were undertaken: The Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, and the Comprehensive Commentary. The latter is in several [five] large octavo volumes. Connected with this department, there was also a type foundry for the manufacture of movable types. We had a book-bindery, of course, without which the book

manufacturing establishment at Lancaster would not have been complete. The stereotyping department was removed to Boston in the fall of 1834, by Messrs. Shepard, Oliver & Co., to whom it had been transferred."

The *Gazette* already referred to, was published by F. & J. Andrews. The first number was dated "Tuesday Evening, March 4, 1828." In this number, is found an advertisement of H. & G. Carter, booksellers. Their store had quite a large assortment of valuable works, not only for schools, but for professional men, and for general readers.

F. & J. Andrews were succeeded by Carter & Andrews, in the business of publication. During the term of its existence, this establishment was among the leading enterprises of the country, in the line of type-founding, printing, engraving, illustrating, binding and publishing works for the press. The Comprehensive Commentary was an immense work, published by Fessenden & Co., of Brattleboro', Vt., but it seems that much of the work was done in Lancaster. The Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge was another work, containing the learning of the time on religious subjects. The smaller books, like those of Mrs. Child and Peter Parley, would do credit to any publishing house. The valuable work entitled "General Register of the First Settlers of New England," by John Farmer, was another issue of the Lancaster press.

BANKS AND RAILROADS.—These are facilities to business, and will be noted under this general division. The Lancaster Bank was established in 1836, with a capital of \$100,000. The capital was increased at different times till it amounted to \$200,000. The first president was James G. Carter. In a few years he was succeeded by Jacob Fisher who continued in office till 1874, when he resigned and George W. Howe was chosen. The cashiers have been Norman T. Leonard, G. R. M. Withington, Caleb T. Symmes and William H. McNeil. Mr. Symmes held the position about thirty years, from 1843 to 1874, when he resigned. Spencer R. Merrick was assistant cashier from 1874 to 1878. The title of the bank

was changed under the national bank law to Lancaster National Bank. A profitable business was done by this institution, and during several years after the rebellion, dividends of five and six per cent. were paid semi-annually. A large surplus had accumulated. By the stringency of the times following the "panic" of 1873, the bank met with losses, but the stock sells at par, and now dividends are regularly paid. The capital stock has been reduced to \$100,000.

The Lancaster Savings Bank was organized in 1845, and continued in operation till 1876, when it was put into the hands of receivers, owing to heavy losses, by the shrinkage of real property and the failure of debtors. At one time the deposits amounted to about \$1,000,000. Fifty per cent. of the deposits have already been paid, and it is expected that the depositors will receive one or more additional installments. The presidents have been, Henry Wilder and Caleb T. Symmes, and the treasurers, Caleb T. Symmes and William H. McNeil.

The Worcester and Nashua railroad was opened in 1849, and has furnished ready connections with all parts of the country. Three or four trains run to Worcester, Lowell and Boston, daily, and *via* Clinton, the means of reaching Boston and Fitchburg are doubled. The Lancaster railroad, extending from South Lancaster to Hudson, on the way to Boston, was built several years since, but has never been operated. It is hoped that this road may yet become the most ready and short means of transit to Boston.

MUTUAL BENEFIT, PATRIOTIC AND MORAL REFORM SOCIETIES.

The earliest society in Lancaster, of which we have record, was the Young Men's Religious Association, formed in the first year of Mr. Harrington's pastorate. This has been noticed already. This was a strictly religious society, and seems to have ante-dated by a century the Young Men's Christian Associations of the present time. Passing this, the

first mutual benefit society was formed January 30, 1778. This was a masonic institution, styled

TRINITY LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS. The following facts in relation to it have been furnished by the editor of the *Clinton Courant*, Mr. William E. Parkhurst. It appears that Patrick, Earl of Dumfries, was the head of the grand lodge of free and accepted masons of the kingdom of Scotland, by which body Gen. Joseph Warren, afterwards killed at Bunker hill, was appointed provincial grand-master over the lodges in Boston, in 1772. Joseph Webb followed him as worshipful master in March, 1777. The charter of "Old Trinity Lodge No. 6," of free and accepted masons, was signed by grand-master, Joseph Webb, senior grand-warden, Samuel Barrett, and junior grand-warden, Paul Revere. This document is "preserved with zealous care." The charter members were Michael Newell, Edmund Heard, James Wilder, Jonas Prescott and Richard P. Bridge. The lodge had "communications" on the first Tuesday evening of each month. The meetings were held, for a time in the tavern hall at North Village, and later in a room fitted for the purpose in the hotel in the Center.

Curiosity may be gratified by seeing the names of the officers in 1800. Worshipful master, Amos Johnson; senior warden, Eli Stearns; junior warden, Jacob Fisher; secretary, Abel Atherton; treasurer, Jonas Lane; deacons, Edward Gordon and Oliver Pollard; stewards, John Ballard and Solomon Carter; tyler, John Moor. The lodge in common with the people throughout the country celebrated the birth of Washington, February 22, when the masons in Lancaster listened to a discourse, in the meeting-house, by Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, "delineating in a comprehensive manner, the virtues and excellencies of the deceased, and enjoining on the brethren to imitate as much as possible his great and unequalled virtues."

Here follows a partial list of the grand-masters. Michael Newell, Edmund Heard, Isaiah Thomas, Timothy Whiting, jr.,

Ephraim Carter, Abijah Wyman, John Maynard, Abraham Haskell, Moses Thomas, Amos Johnson, Joel Pratt, John G. Thurston, Luke Bigelow, Calvin Carter, M. D. The secretaries for many years were Josiah Flagg and Jacob Fisher.

All the members of Old Trinity Lodge are now deceased except Nathaniel Wilder, of Rockford, Ill., and Horace Faulkner, of Groton. In 1832, the anti-masonic excitement being very high, the lodge suspended work. It is said that it was not safe for masons "to appear on Lancaster streets after dark, and for twenty years the jewels and furniture of the lodge were stowed away in a place known only to two or three trusty members."

The Morning Star Lodge of Worcester, the Wilder of Leominster, the Farmers of Sterling and the Princeton Lodge were colonies from Old Trinity. The two last are extinct. The legitimate successor of Old Trinity is Trinity Lodge of Clinton, "which was chartered in 1858, and is in a flourishing condition." It inherits the "honors, records and relics" of the ancient lodge.

LANCASTER LODGE OF ODD FELLOWS was instituted many years since. Its meetings were in "Odd Fellows Hall" in South Lancaster. It still "exists under the same name in Clinton."

THE WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY of Lancaster and Sterling, was instituted November 23, 1812. Silas Holman was president, and Isaac Goodwin secretary. This seems to have been an association formed for the purpose of maintaining the principles of Washington, with a benevolent design as subsidiary. It had public meetings and addresses. The oration in 1815, on the birthday of Washington, was by Stephen Bemis, and clearly held up the character, the personal example and the principles of the "father of his country" for imitation and guidance. Probably the society was formed partly for the purpose of promoting the interests of the federal party. One short paragraph from Mr. Bemis' address

is in these words. "To give currency to your principles, and success to your exertions for so laudable an object, you will perceive the importance of imitating the piety and the virtues of Washington. Like him, you will revere a governing Providence, and cherish religion and morality as the basis of public happiness." The society published a little volume, in 1813, containing the Farewell Address of Washington, the Constitution of the United States with the Amendments to that time, and the Declaration of Independence. Following the title page was a form of Certificate of membership.

LANCASTER SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF INTemperance. — This society was organized, January 21, 1833, by the adoption of a Constitution, and the choice of the following officers. William Townsend, president; Peter Osgood, Stewart Hastings, vice-presidents; L. D. Sawyer, secretary and treasurer; William Fletcher, William Toombs, Joseph Breck, C. C. Lyman, Nathaniel Lyman, directors. The preamble recognises the alarming prevalence of the evils of intemperance, and the solemn duty of all to combine for its suppression. The first article of the constitution is in these words: "all persons who subscribe this constitution shall be considered as thereby pledging their honor that they will totally abstain from the use of ardent spirits, as drink, except as a medicine when prescribed by a temperate physician, and that they will not offer it to others either as a token of hospitality, as a refreshment, or as an aid to labor."

The next meeting was held on the twenty-sixth of February, when an address was delivered by Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D. D. In September a committee of twelve was chosen "to visit the different school districts in town, to solicit individuals to sign the temperance pledge."

A meeting was held, January 1, 1834, when the pledge was put into another form. The signers agreed that they would "not use distilled spirits as drink, nor provide it as an article of refreshment for their friends, nor for persons

in their employment; that they will not engage in the manufacture of ardent spirits, nor traffic in the same, and that in all suitable ways they will discountenance its use in the community." If any member violated the pledge, his name was to be stricken from the roll by the executive committee.

The society seems to have been active and efficient, so far as their pledge extended. They held many meetings, had addresses from able men, circulated temperance journals and pamphlets, and sent delegates to county and state conventions. In 1836 addresses were given by Rev. John Pierpont, of Boston, and Rev. Mr. Rogers, then of Townsend.

The friends of temperance appear to have continued in this organization nearly twenty years, though but little was done by the society during the latter half of the time. As many as three hundred and fifty signed the pledge.

This was succeeded by other societies, and the good work has been prosecuted, with varying fortunes to the present time. All the phases of the temperance reformation have been exhibited here, and there can be no rational doubt that the evils of intemperance have been diminished. The influence of the church and the ministry has been in favor of total abstinence, as it was soon found that the use of any quantity of intoxicating drink as a beverage was inconsistent with a true temperance pledge. Many were reclaimed from intemperate habits, by the Washingtonian movement; many were saved from becoming intemperate by "bands of hope," which embodied the children and youth into efficient though temporary organizations. The last meeting of the old society which was recorded, bears the date of January, 1842.

After an interval of about ten years, a "meeting of the friends of temperance was held in the Rev. Mr. Packard's church on the evening of October 7, 1851," when delegates were chosen to attend a temperance convention. The secretary was requested to "procure the Records of the old temperance society," and Dr. Charles Jewett was invited to give a lecture.

Two weeks later the society was reorganized with the following officers, Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, president ; Caleb T. Symmes, vice-president ; Francis Wilcox, secretary ; Charles Humphrey, Eber Goddard, Charles Wyman, Thomas B. Warren and John Bennett, committee. After a few meetings, the records close. Probably a new society, with a more stringent pledge, including all intoxicating drinks, in the list of forbidden beverages, was formed. This has been the course in other places. In recent times, the special work of temperance has been managed by secret societies, and by the Reynolds and Murphy movements, and the women's praying bands. But the grand reliance for temperance and good morals is the influence of the church and ministry, which generate the greater part of moral force in modern society, in all Christian lands.

THE STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

This school does not come within the sphere of town history, but as its location is here, a brief notice of its origin, design and results, is in place.

It was established by the legislature in the year 1854, under the name of "Reform school," but for good reasons the word "industrial" has been substituted. The first superintendent was Rev. Bradford K. Pierce, D.D., now and for many years past, editor of *Zion's Herald*, one of the leading papers of the Methodist denomination. He continued in the position about seven years, and left the institution in a healthful and prosperous condition. He was held in high esteem in this community.

In 1862, Rev. Marcus Ames was appointed, and he held the office nearly thirteen years, when he resigned. Being specially adapted to the place, and aided by an excellent corps of lady teachers, matrons and housekeepers, Mr. Ames was able to accomplish great good. He has recently been chosen chaplain of the state institutions of Rhode Island, situated near Providence.

His successor was Dea. Loring Lothrop, of Boston, who officiated as superintendent and chaplain over two years, when failing health forced him to resign. His decease soon followed. His previous experience in Boston, and his general character fitted him for the position, and his resignation was much regretted.

The school is now under the efficient supervision of Mr. N. Porter Brown, late superintendent of the boys' reform school of Lawrence. The number of girls has been reduced since the burning of one of the houses.

POPULATION.

The population of Lancaster seems to a stranger to have fluctuated, now increasing and then decreasing, in successive periods. But this has been owing to the formation of new towns rather than to the diminishing of the number of people within the present limits of the town. For example, in 1776 the population of Lancaster was 2,746, while in 1790 it was only 1,460. But in the meantime Sterling had taken about half the territory and half the people. Again, in 1840 there were 2,019 souls in the town, but in 1850 the number was reduced to 1,688. This reduction was caused by the formation of Clinton.

CENSUS.—Here follows the official report of the population, by national and state authority since 1776.

1790,	1,460	1850,	1,688
1800,	1,584	1855, (state,)	1,728
1810,	1,694	1860,	1,932
1820,	1,862	1865, (state,)	1,752
1830,	2,014	1870,	1,845
1840,	2,019	1875, (state,)	1,957

LONGEVITY. — Lancaster has always been a healthy town. In the reports respecting health and vital statistics it holds a high rank in comparison with the towns and cities of the state. There is a pleasant joke that seems destined to have a long life, to the effect that a former British consul, residing in Boston,

came up one summer to sojourn in a place where the people never die. He was moved thereto by the fact that he was the agent of his government to pay the pension of a loyalist who lived to the great age of ninety-six years. This pensioner was Samuel, the son of Col. Abijah Willard. He died in 1856. Towards the close of his life he sent to the consul for his annual stipend by one of the merchants of the town, to whom the consul exclaimed: "What! is not that old tory dead yet?"

The following taken from the *Lancaster Gazette*, March 25, 1829, indicates the longevity of one family which has had representatives in the town from very early times to the present. "Died in this town on the sixteenth inst., Daniel Rugg, the tenth and youngest child of James Rugg, who was the eleventh and youngest child of Daniel and Elizabeth Rugg, of this town, who have lived together sixty-two years, the former aged 85, and the latter 82 years. They,—that is Daniel and Elizabeth—attended the funeral in company with twenty-five of their own natural descendants, fifty-four being absent."

The Osgood family were long-lived. For example, Joseph Osgood, at his decease was 77; his wife, 92; his daughter Jerusha, 96; Martha, 92; Joel, 75. Total, 432, or an average of 86 years.

The following record of Dea. Josiah White is very remarkable in this respect. Josiah White, 90; his wife, 84. Children: Mary, 86; Martha, 94; Jonathan, 80; Hannah, 77; Abigail, 86; Josiah, 94; Ruth, 40; Joseph, 60; Joanna, 75; Jotham, 87; Silence, 75; John, 91; Elisha, 90. The average age was over eighty years.

The deaths in Dr. Thayer's society between 1793 and 1826, were 656. Of these, 66 were the deaths of persons over 80 years of age. Below is a list of those who lived to the age of eighty years and more. The names are given in the order of time, beginning with the year 1769. All preceding 1826 are taken from Willard. Those since that date have been gathered from the Register of deaths.

1769, Ephraim Wilder, . . . 94	1808, Alice Houghton, . . . 83
1784, Joshua Phelps, . . . 84	1811, Martha Wilder, . . . 94
“ Edward Phelps, . . . 90	“ Priscilla Thurston, . . . 83
1797, John White, . . . 83	1812, Asahel Phelps, . . . 86
“ John Priest, . . . 88	1813, Mary Fletcher, . . . 86
“ Manasseh Divol, . . . 82	“ Elizabeth Divoll, . . . 93
1798, Ephraim Divol, . . . 84	1814, Joshua Fletcher, . . . 90
“ Elizabeth Priest, . . . 84	“ John Pollard, . . . 85
“ Joseph Priest, . . . 83	1815, Keziah Baldwin, . . . 91
1799, John Rugg, . . . 85	1816, Isaac Stone, . . . 93
1800, Elizabeth Houghton, . . . 82	1817, Micah Simmons, . . . 83
1801, Josiah Sawyer, . . . 82	1818, Mary Leach, . . . 86
1802, Edward Fuller, . . . 85	1820, Rebecca Fletcher, . . . 92
“ Sarah Adams, . . . 81	1822, Israel Atherton, . . . 82
“ Rebecca Tenny, . . . 81	1823, Rebecca Atherton, . . . 86
“ Martha Wheelock, . . . 94	1824, Samuel Wilder, . . . 81
1805, Jane Rugg, . . . 93	1825, Simon Willard, . . . 97
“ Mary Jones, . . . 85	“ Mary Joslyn, . . . 88
“ Bathsheba Robbins, . . . 85	1826, Samuel Joslyn, . . . 88
1807, Zeruah Rugg, . . . 86	“ Joseph Nichols, . . . 82
“ Lydia Rugg, . . . 91	

The above period of fifty-seven years gives a list of forty-one persons whose age was eighty years or more. The average is less than one each year. But taking the period between 1797 and 1826, which was twenty-nine years, we find that thirty-eight persons, or one and a trifle over one-third per annum, lived to be eighty. If we consult the list which follows, we find that there has been an increase in longevity, though this is contrary to a very general impression. Between 1826 and 1878, were fifty-two years, in which one hundred and seventy-five aged people deceased, whose age equalled or exceeded eighty years. This gives an average of over three and a half a year. With this remark, the following table is appended.

1826, Samuel Ward, . . . 86	1829, Anna Clarke, . . . 93
1827, Samuel Wilder, . . . 81	1830, Daniel Rugg, . . . 87
1828, Ephraim Robbins, . . . 80	1831, Dorothy Thurston, . . . 92
1829, Elizabeth Willard, . . . 89	“ Jonas Fuller, . . . 81
“ Sarah Todd, . . . 80	“ James Goodwin, . . . 90
“ Jonas Fairbank, . . . 86	1832, Daniel Butler, . . . 95

1832, Jacob Zwiers, . . . 93	1844, Betsey Sawyer, . . . 94
1833, Sarah Manly, . . . 84	“ Davis Whitman, . . . 82
“ Tabitha Allen, . . . 87	1845, Annis Andrews, . . . 81
1834, Elizabeth Rugg, . . . 88	“ Sally Carter, . . . 86
“ Relief Divoll, . . . 86	“ Prudence Robbins, . . . 90
“ William Gould, . . . 80	“ Lois Bartlett, . . . 84
1835, Rebecca Fletcher, . . . 83	1846, Gardner Phelps, . . . 88
“ Hannah Beaman,* . . . 99	“ Lucretia Osgood, . . . 91
“ Rachel Fales, . . . 85	1847, Lucy Eaton, . . . 97
“ Susanna Arnold, . . . 81	“ Rachel G. Wilder, . . . 88
“ Beulah Goodrich, . . . 81	1848, Lucy Allen, . . . 80
1836, Jonathan Wilder, . . . 81	1849, Jonas Lane, . . . 87
“ Josiah Bowers, . . . 84	“ Elizabeth Thurston, . . . 86
“ Rebecca Bowers, . . . 84	“ Seth Larkin, . . . 81
1837, Titus Wilder, . . . 87	“ Polly Washburn, . . . 84
“ Susanna Carter, . . . 82	1850, Samuel Wilder, . . . 80
“ Martha Wyman, . . . 81	“ Elizabeth Sawyer, . . . 84
“ Jemima Whitman, . . . 87	“ Nancy Newell, . . . 80
“ Lucy Laughton, . . . 81	“ Joseph Bennett, . . . 94
1838, Margaret Sweetser, . . . 85	“ Amy Thurston, . . . 88
“ Martha Carter, . . . 83	“ Samuel Rugg, . . . 83
“ Ruth Sawyer, . . . 93	“ Jacob Lincoln, . . . 88
“ Jeremiah Ballard, . . . 86	“ Lucy Rugg, . . . 83
“ Daniel Harris, . . . 80	1851, Peter T. Vose, . . . 81
“ John Thurston, . . . 84	“ Mrs. Gardner Phelps, . . . 86
1839, Elizabeth Gould, . . . 84	“ Rufus Fletcher, . . . 87
“ Prudence Dinsmoor, . . . 87	1853, Lucy Goddard, . . . 81
“ Phebe Atherton, . . . 82	“ Betsey Rice, . . . 84
“ Beulah Phelps, . . . 86	“ Mary W. Goss, . . . 87
1840, Abigail Fairbank, . . . 88	“ Joseph Rice, . . . 83
“ Mary Conquerette, . . . 81	“ John Wilder, . . . 87
“ Mrs. Silas Thurston, . . . 81	“ Polly Willard, . . . 83
“ Thomas Davis, . . . 87	1854, Aaron Pollard, . . . 80
1842, Oliver Carter, . . . 84	“ Ruth Wilder, . . . 93
1843, Relief Phelps, . . . 83	“ Mrs. Osgood, . . . 91
“ Sarah Wilder, . . . 86	1855, Thomas Miles, . . . 81
“ Hannah Upton, . . . 80	1856, Anna Barnard, . . . 83
“ Abel Rugg, . . . 92	“ Stephen Sargent . . . 80
“ Elisha Sanderson, . . . 81	“ Samuel Willard, . . . 96
“ Relief Houghton, . . . 81	1857, Nath'l Whittemore, . . . 82
“ Mary Wilder, . . . 95	“ Abigail Blood, . . . 84
“ Amos Sawyer, . . . 85	“ Betsey Newman, . . . 83
“ Katharine Rugg . . . 84	1858, Polly Houghton, . . . 89
1844, Elizabeth Tidd, . . . 88	“ Sophronia Howard, . . . 83

*Mrs. Beaman was 99 years, 8 months, and her death was caused by a fall.

1858, Sarah Thayer, . . . 83	1869, Polly Warren, . . . 85
“ Esther Phelps, . . . 84	“ Martha Bragg, . . . 81
“ Lucy Wilder, . . . 84	1870, Elias Barrett, . . . 90
“ Ann Goodhue, . . . 94	“ Mary Phelps, . . . 86
“ Sally Fuller, . . . 84	“ Joseph Maynard, . . . 90
1859, Annis Pollard, . . . 81	“ Austin Davis, . . . 81
“ Nancy Hosmer, . . . 80	1871, Jesse Hosmer, . . . 87
“ Nancy Colburn, . . . 82	“ Elizabeth Carter, . . . 91
1860, Salmon Willard, . . . 90	“ Josiah Fay, . . . 83
“ Mary Lawrence, . . . 90	1872, Cyrus Merrick, . . . 89
1861, Sarah Savage, . . . 95	“ Tarbell Bancroft, . . . 80
“ Benjamin Holt, . . . 87	1873, Sarah Farwell, . . . 88
“ Oliver Baldwin, . . . 93	“ Calvin Johnson, . . . 85
“ James Dickinson, . . . 86	“ ——— Brahney, . . . 82
“ Martha Lincoln, . . . 85	“ Mary Crouch, . . . 86
1862, Abigail Damon, . . . 81	“ Ebenezer Bragg, . . . 88
“ Lydia Lane, . . . 85	“ Sarah Barrett, . . . 82
“ Dorcas Farnsworth, . . . 80	1874, James Mattoon, . . . 80
1863, John Wilson, . . . 82	“ Phinehas Houghton, . . . 80
“ Hannah Pierce, . . . 95	“ Rebecca Houghton, . . . 85
“ Elizabeth Fletcher, . . . 84	“ Judith Goss, . . . 90
1864, Susan W. Prescott, . . . 81	“ Lucinda Bancroft, . . . 81
“ Charles E. Knight, . . . 89	“ Elizabeth S. Stone, . . . 87
“ William Damon, . . . 84	1875, Elmer Burbank, . . . 81
1865, Mary Whitney, . . . 88	“ Dolly B. Laughton, . . . 80
“ Benj. S. Rice, . . . 86	1876, Rosalinda P. Townsend, . . . 82
1866, John Ollis, . . . 85	“ William Bell, . . . 84
“ Deborah Johnson, . . . 89	“ William Townsend, . . . 89
1867, Nathaniel Warner, . . . 82	“ Catharine Sweetser, . . . 85
“ Sally Jones, . . . 92	“ Francis B. Fay, . . . 83
1868, Lucretia Wyman, . . . 83	“ Martha D. Bancroft, . . . 80
“ Lewis Priest, . . . 81	1877, Candace Alley, . . . 84
“ Elias Danforth, . . . 80	“ Sally Mallard, . . . 91
1869, Edward Powers, . . . 92	“ Polly Childs, . . . 82
“ Dolly Chandler, . . . 85	“ Jacob Fisher, . . . 82
“ Mary Davis, . . . 81	

PHYSICIANS.

The first person who bore the title of doctor in this town, according to Willard, was “Doctress Whitcomb.” It is supposed that she was here as early as 1700. Her knowledge in the healing art was derived from the Indians, with whom

she lived as a captive in one period of her life. Previous to her time the people could find no doctor this side of Concord. The names in the following list to the year 1826 are taken from Willard's History.

Daniel Greenleaf died in Bolton.

John Dunsmoor, probably son of "old father Dunsmoor," from Ireland, died in 1747.

Staunton Prentice, son of Rev. John Prentice, died in 1769.

Phinehas Phelps died in 1770.

William Dunsmoor, son of Dr. John, died in 1784.

Israel Atherton, a descendant of the first of the name who came to Lancaster in 1653, was a graduate of Harvard in 1772. He lived to the age of 82, and died in 1822.

Josiah Wilder, son of Col. James, was a graduate of Yale College. He died in 1788, aged 45. He was a prominent man in town affairs, and an ardent patriot.

James Carter, son of Capt. James Carter; he died in 1817. Many anecdotes are told of him and his son Calvin, both of whom were able in their profession, and independent in thought and speech.

Samuel Manning graduated at Harvard college in 1797. He was here previous to 1820, when his house and practice were taken by Dr. Peabody. Dr. Manning removed to Cambridge in 1821, and died the next year. He is said by some to have been a "quack," but ancient residents speak of him as a regular physician.

Nathaniel Peabody, graduate of Dartmouth medical school, was here in 1821 and 1822, with his family, in which were three daughters who have since come to distinction.

Calvin Carter, son of Dr. James, was in his day the most celebrated physician in the neighborhood, and his practice extended into other towns and counties.

George Baker, of Harvard, class of 1816.

Right or Wright Cummings has been a resident physician more than fifty years. He is still living, though past the age of active practice.

Henry Lincoln was born in Leominster; he came to Lancaster in 1836, and continued in active practice till his decease in 1860.

Henry H. Fuller settled here in 1860; in 1862 he went into the army, and in 1863 began practice in Charlestown, where he now resides.

J. L. S. Thompson, a graduate of the Williams college medical school, came from Bolton in 1846, and has continued in practice till the present time.

Joseph C. Stevens, of Bangor, Me., son of Gen. Joseph C. Stevens, practised here several years before the rebellion. Was in the Union service as surgeon. Removed to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1872. His remains were laid in the North Village cemetery.

Frederick H. Thompson, a graduate of the Harvard medical school, was here from 1870 to 1874. His present residence is Fitchburg, where he has an extensive practice.

A. D. Edgecomb came from Auburn, Me., in 1874, and took the place made vacant by the removal of Dr. F. H. Thompson.

LAWYERS.

Abel Willard, admitted to the bar in 1755.

John Sprague, " 1770; died in 1800; judge.

Levi Willard, " about 1786. Died early.

William Stedman, " 1787; member of congress.

Merrick Rice, " 1789; here to 1815.

Moses Smith, " 1802; relinquished practice in the year 1825.

Samuel John Sprague, admitted 1803; died in 1805.

John Stuart; here in 1821-2; removed to Boston.

John Davis, jr., from 1811 to 1821; removed to Charlestown.

Joseph Willard, admitted in 1819. Resided here several years. Wrote much on the history of the town. Removed to Boston, and became clerk of the Supreme court.

Solon Whiting, admitted in 1824. He was a son of Gen. John Whiting, and lived in the town, till 1877, when he removed to Andover. For a long series of years he was generally moderator of town meetings, and held different local offices.

G. R. M. Withington. He became cashier of the Lancaster bank, after several years' practice at the bar.

COLLEGE GRADUATES.

Mr. Willard inserted in his History a list of the "graduates at different colleges," belonging to this town, preceding the year 1826. Mr. Henry S. Nourse has kindly prepared a "Supplementary List of College Graduates, natives of or residents in Lancaster." Both of these lists are given below. Unless specified otherwise, they were graduates of Harvard University. The year of graduation and decease are stated when known. The first date is at the left of the page; the second at the right side.

1733, Josiah Swan, minister of Dunstable.

1752, Abel Willard, 1781.

1755, Samuel Locke, S. T. D., son of Samuel Locke of this town, president of Harvard University from 1770 to 1773. John Adams was his classmate, and held him in high esteem.

1766, Peter Green, born in 1745, a son of Peter Green of this town.

1770, John Mellen, Tutor, son of Rev. Mr. Mellen, of the second precinct, now Sterling.

1775, Levi Willard, born in 1756.

1776, Timothy Harrington, son of the minister, a physician in Chelmsford.

1777, Joseph Kilburn. Probably of Sterling.

1781, Isaac Bailey, of Sterling.

1798, Artemas Sawyer, of Sterling.

1799, Samuel John Sprague, son of Judge Sprague, killed by a fall from a horse just as he was commencing business.

1817, Sewell Carter, son of Dr. James, a merchant in Lancaster.

1817, Moses K. Emerson, a physician in Virginia, where he died in 1825.

1817, Paul Willard; counsellor at law, Charlestown.

1821, Henry Lanc, M. D., a physician in Boston.

1822, Samuel Manning. He studied law. At one time he resided in Mexico.

1822, Ebenezer Torrey, a lawyer in Fitchburg, and for a long term of years, president of the Fitchburg bank.

1823, Levi Fletcher, at one time chaplain in the navy.

1824, Christopher T. Thayer, son of Dr. Thayer, formerly pastor of a church in Beverly.

1825, Frederick Wilder, son of Jonathan, and brother of the late Henry Wilder. He died at Northampton in 1826. He was a young man of great promise, and his decease was much lamented. "Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit."

1826, Stephen M. Weld.

Josiah Wilder, M. D., graduated at Yale college, some ten years before the revolution.

Israel Houghton graduated at Yale about the same time.

1826, Jacob Willard graduated at Brown University. He studied theology at Cambridge.

1826, William White took the same collegiate and theological course.

Abel Willard, son of Joshua W., entered Harvard in 1772, but left in 1775, and went to England. He died in Canada.

Nathan Osgood entered the University at Cambridge in 1782, and left before graduation.

Samuel Ward entered in 1784, and left.

Jeffrey Amherst Atherton entered in 1791 and left in 1793.

Abel Willard Atherton entered in 1795, and left.

The following list by Mr. Nourse gives the date of entrance, graduation and decease, with titles in some cases.

Entered.		Graduated.	Died
1811,	Hasket Derby Pickman,	1815	1815
	He came from Salem in 1814.		
1822,	Richard Jeffrey Cleveland,	1827	
1823,	Henry Russell Cleveland, Mr.	1827	1843
1823,	Nathaniel Burger Shaler, M. D., 1829,	1827	
1829,	James Carter,		
1835,	Richard C. Shaler Stillwell, M. D., 1843,	1839	
1840,	Benjamin Apthorp Gould,	1844	
1841,	Frederick Warren Harris,	1845	
1846,	James Cooledge Carter, LL. B.,	1850	
1849,	John Davis Washburn, LL. B.,	1853	
1849,	Henry Stedman Nourse, Mr.,	1853	
1854,	Sylvanus Chickering Priest, (Amherst)		1858
	Joseph Robie Putnam,		
1861,	Enos Wilder,	1865	
1866,	Stephen Van Rensselaer Thayer,	1870	1870

1867, Albert Mallard Barnes,	1871
1867, Francis Newhall Lincoln,	1872
1867, Nathaniel Thayer,	1871
1871, Harold Parker,	
1874, Herbert Parker,	

AUTHORS AND BOOKS.

In making out a list of Lancaster authors and their publications, only those writers are included who were born here, or became residents long enough to gain a settlement, or who wrote one or more works while residing here. Several were educated here in part, or lived here a year or more as teachers, who have become distinguished in the world of letters, politics, science and art. Some of these are Gen. Joseph Warren, William Ellery Channing, Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, George B. Emerson, Elizabeth P. Peabody, Mrs. Horace Mann, Mrs. Hawthorne, Thomas W. Higginson and others. These cannot properly be placed in the roll of the *literati* of Lancaster.

The following list has been prepared with care, chiefly by Henry S. Nourse, for which he will be gratefully remembered by many who are now, or may hereafter be interested in the matter. The published writings of several have already been referred to, but they will be inserted here for the sake of easy reference. Pardon is craved, in advance, of any whose names have been inadvertently omitted.

1. Joseph Rowlandson, the first minister of the church and town. "Fast Sermon," November 21, 1678, printed in 1780. Also author of what Cotton Mather calls "lesser composures."

2. Mary (White) Rowlandson, wife of the minister. "Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," printed by Samuel Green, at Cambridge, Mass., 1682, 12mo.

London, 4to, 1682.

A second edition "carefully corrected," Boston, 1720; 16mo.

A new edition, (called 2d,) 4to, pp. 40, printed at John Boyle's printing office, next door to the Three Doves, in Marlborough street, Boston, 1773.

A "3d edition." "A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, who was taken prisoner by the Indians,

with several others, and treated in the most barbarous and cruel manner, by those vile savages; with many other remarkable events during her travels. Written by her own hand, for her private use, and now made public at the earnest desire of some friends, and for the benefit of the afflicted. Reprinted and sold by Thomas and John Fleet, at the Bible and Heart, Cornhill, Boston, 1791."

An edition printed at Leominster, 1794.

Another by Merriam & Co., Brookfield, 1811.

"Narrative of the Captivity and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, who was taken by the Indians at the Destruction of Lancaster, 1676," edited by Joseph Willard, and published by Carter, Andrews & Co., at Lancaster, Mass, 1828. The editor calls this the "2d Lancaster" and "6th edition." 16mo. Copy in Lancaster Library.

Reprinted by Ballard & Bynner. 16mo. Clinton, Mass., 1853.

Another edition was published by the Congregational Publication Society more than twenty years since.

Of this book, Edward Everett (see Orations and Speeches, Vol. 2, p. 665) says: "It is almost enough to make one faint to read the simple narrative of Mrs. Rowlandson."

3. Rev. John Prentice, 4th minister of Lancaster.

A Funeral Discourse at Marlborough, on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, January, 1731.

A Sermon at the opening of the first court in the county of Worcester, August 10, 1731.

An Election Sermon, before the general court, May 28, 1735, Boston.

A Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Oct. 24, 1724.

4. Rev. John Mellen, (1722-1807,) a native of Hopkinton, a graduate of Harvard, 1741, minister in the "2d precinct" or Chocksett, now Sterling, published eight occasional Sermons, (1753 to 1795,) and "fifteen Discourses on Doctrinal Subjects," 1765, 8vo.

5. Rev. Timothy Harrington, 5th minister of Lancaster, graduated at Harvard, 1737.

A Century Sermon, preached in Lancaster, May 28, 1753, in the meeting-house. Several editions. Contains much condensed history.

"Prevailing Wickedness and Distressing Judgments, ill-boding Symptoms on a stupid people;" a Sermon.

A Sermon at Princeton, Dec. 23, 1759.

6. Samuel Locke, D. D., president of Harvard college 1770-74, "a station for which no man was better qualified," said John Adams, who knew him well. President Stiles of Yale College considered him the most learned man in America. He came to Lancaster with his father, at the age of twelve, and fitted for college under Mr. Harrington, and after graduation, studied divinity with him. This was his home, (where William A. Kilbourn now lives,) till settled in the ministry at Sherborn in 1759.

Sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 1672. Annual Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Ministers, in 1772. Both printed, and the last reprinted.

7. John Mellen, supposed to be a son of Rev. John Mellen of Chocksett, born, July 8, 1752, a graduate of Harvard, 1770. Tutor. A. A., S. H. S. Minister at Barnstable, died 1828.

Eight Sermons and Two Dudleian Lectures.

8. Henry Mellen, (1757-1809) born in Chocksett, graduated in 1784. Son of Rev. John Mellen. Poems.

9. Prentiss or Prentice Mellen, son of Rev. John and his wife, Rebecca Prentice, the daughter of the minister of Lancaster, (1759-1840.) U. S. senator from Mass. 1817-20. Chief justice of Maine.

Judicial Decisions in the first eleven volumes of Maine Reports.

10. Nathaniel Thayer, D. D., forty-seven years pastor of the First church.

Twenty-three Occasional Sermons between 1793 and 1840. The following is a full list, as far as known.

A Sermon delivered on the day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, April 2, 1795, 8vo. Apollo Press, Boston.

A Sermon delivered August 20, 1812, on the day of "Publick Humiliation and Prayer, appointed by the National Government who had declared War against Great Britain." Worcester, 8vo.

Sermon at the Funeral of Rev. Timothy Harrington, December 23, 1795. Masonic Discourse, June 20, 1797.

Artillery Election Sermon, June 4, 1798.

Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Elihu Whitcomb, Pepperellborough, July 3, 1799.

Installation Sermon of Rev. William Emerson, First church, Boston, October 16, 1799.

Sermon: Ordination of Rev. John Sabin, at Fitzwilliam, N. H., March 6, 1805.

Sermon: Ordination of Rev. Samuel Willard, Deerfield, Sept. 23, 1807.

Sermon: Funeral of Rev. Francis Gardner, at Leominster, June 6, 1814.

Sermon on leaving the Old Church, Lancaster, Dec. 29, 1816.

Sermon on entering the New Church, January 1, 1817.

Sermon: Funeral of Henry Bromfield, Esq., Harvard, Feb. 16, 1820.

Election Sermon, May 28, 1823.

Sermon: Installation of Rev. Winthrop Bailey, of Greenfield, October 2, 1825.

Sermon on Revivals of Religion, in the Liberal Preacher, August, 1827.

Sermon: Dedication of the New Church in Stow, Oct. 1, 1827.

Sermon: Ordination of Rev. William H. White, Littleton, January 2, 1828.

Discourse at Townsend, Feb. 10, 1828.

Discourse: Ordination of Rev. A. D. Jones, Hubbardston, Nov. 13, 1828.

Thanksgiving Discourse; Lancaster, Nov. 27, 1828.

Discourse: Ordination of his son, Christopher T. Thayer, at Beverly, January 27, 1830.

Address at Berry Street Conference on the Modes of exerting Religious Influence at the present day, May 25, 1831.

11. Joseph Willard, born at Cambridge, 1798, but of the old Lancaster stock; graduated at Harvard, 1816; LL. B. 1820, S. H. S. Died, 1865.

Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Town of Lancaster, pp. 90, Worcester, 1826; in the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal.

Address before the Members of the Bar of Worcester County, Oct. 2, 1829; Lancaster, 1830.

Address in Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Lancaster, with an Appendix. Boston, 1853, pp. 230.

Willard Memoir; or Life and Times of Maj. Simon Willard, 1858, pp. 470.

Naturalization in the American Colonies, 1859, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Letter to an English Friend on the Rebellion in the United States, and on British Policy, 1862 pp. 28.

Mr. Willard contributed at various times to Farmer and Morris' Collection, Worcester Magazine, Christian Examiner, American Quarterly Review, American Monthly Review and Literary Gazette. He left in manuscript a Life of Gen. Henry Knox, and also a large collection of materials for a History of Lancaster.

12. Richard J. Cleveland.

A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises, 2 vols. 12 mo., Cambridge, 1842. The book passed through several editions, and was reprinted in England.

13. Henry Russel Cleveland, graduate of Harvard, 1827. Died, 1843. An intimate friend of Charles Sumner, George S. Hillard, Pres. C. C. Felton and Henry W. Longfellow.

Remarks on Classical Education of Boys, by a Teacher, 1834.

Life of Henry Hudson in Sparks' American Biography, vol. X., 1838.

Address delivered before the Harvard Musical Association, 1840.

A letter to the Hon. Daniel Webster on the Causes of the Destruction of the steamer Lexington, by a Traveller; 1840.

Several articles in the North American Review, New England Magazine, and other publications.

Selections from his writings, and a Memoir, were printed for private distribution, by George S. Hillard, Boston, 1844.

14. Horace W. S. Cleveland, author of writings on Landscape Architecture, and other subjects.

15. Henry Whiting, Brig.-General, U. S. Army, son of Gen. John Whiting. He died at St. Louis, Sept. 16, 1851.

Ontway, the Son of the Forest, a Poem, New York, 1822.

Sanilac, a Poem with Notes, by Lewis Cass and H. R. Schoolcraft, Boston, 1831.

Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, in connection with Cass and Schoolcraft, Detroit, 1834.

Life of Zebulon M. Pike, in Sparks' Biography, 2d series, 5th vol.

George Washington: his Revolutionary Orders issued during the years 1778-82, selected from the manuscripts of John Whiting, and edited by his son Henry. New York and London, 1844 and 1846.

The Age of Steam, in North American Review, 1824, and subsequently fourteen Articles.

16. Caroline Lee (Whiting) Hentz, daughter of Gen. John Whiting; married Prof. N. M. Hentz in 1825; died Feb. 11, 1856, at Marianna, Florida.

She was a popular and voluminous writer in prose and verse, and a beautiful and accomplished woman. Among her writings were the following:

De Lara, or the Moorish Bride, a Tragedy. This gained a prize of \$500.

Human and Divine Philosophy, a Poem, and other Poems.

Aunt Patty's Scrap Bag. 1846.

Lovell's Folly, of local interest.

Wild Jack, or the Stolen Child. 1853.

Helen and Arthur, or Miss Thusa's Spinning Wheel. 1857.

Besides these, she was the author of twelve to fifteen other volumes. Her stories have been collected into an edition of twelve volumes, by Peterson. In addition she wrote many popular stories for the magazines of the day.

17. James G. Carter, already mentioned as an author and educator.

Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, LL. D., on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks on the Principles of Instruction. pp. 123. 1824.

Essays upon Popular Education; containing a particular examination of the Schools of Massachusetts, and an Outline for an Institution for the Education of Teachers. pp. 60. 1826.

Editor of the Literary Gazette, Boston, 1826.

Geography of Worcester County.

18. Edmund H. Sears, a graduate of Union College, 1834. S. T. D., 1871. S. H. S., Harvard Divinity School, 1837.

Pictures of the Olden Time as shown in the Fortunes of a Family of the Pilgrims. Boston and London, 1857.

Regeneration. Boston, 1853.

Athanasia, or Foregleams of Immortality. Boston. Second edition, 1858; third, 1860. London, 1858.

The Fourth Gospel the Heart of Christ. Boston, 1872.

Sermons and Songs of the Christian Life. Boston and Philadelphia, 1875. Christ in the Life. Boston, 1877.

Christian Lyrics. Norwich, 1860.

A Frequent Contributor to the Monthly Religious Magazine.

19. Hannah F. Gould, lived in childhood at the Gould place, [now Mr. Currier's in Clinton.] Resided in Newburyport during mature life.

Poems collected from various periodicals. 1832.

Poems, 1835; Poems, 1841.

Gathered Leaves, or Miscellaneous Papers. 1846. New Poems. 1850.

Diosma, a Perennial: Poems original and selected. 1850.

The Youth's Coronal: Poems for Little People. 1850.

The Mother's Dream, and other Poems. 1853.

20. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, A. A. S., born in Lancaster, brother of the preceding, and a graduate of Harvard, 1814. Died 1859.

Editor of Horace and of Virgil.

Author of various Articles.

21. Martha W. Damon, born in Lancaster, February, 1815. Married names, Grant, Tyler.

Mira Dana: a Novel of an autobiographical character, dealing with persons and scenes in Lancaster, Lowell, Worcester, and other places; full of vivacity and adventure. By Mrs. M. W. Tyler. Boston, 1856, for the author. The real title is, "A Book without a Title."

22. Christopher Toppan Thayer, Harvard University 1824; Divinity School, 1827. Minister in Beverly, 1831-1859.

Valedictory Discourse. Beverly, 1859.

Address delivered at the Dedication of Memorial Hall, Lancaster, Mass., 1868.

23. William Russell, Prof., born in Glasgow, Scotland, 1798, died in Lancaster, 1873.

Grammar of Composition. New Haven, 1823.

Lessons in Enunciation. Boston, 1830.

Rudiments of Gesture. Boston, 1838.

American Elocutionist. 1844.

Pulpit Elocution. Andover, 1853; 2d edition, 1865.

Many other valuable works came from his pen, all bearing on the subject of Education, to which he devoted a noble and unselfish life. His work as an educator has been stated by his friend, George B. Emerson. It is hoped that a memoir will be published.

24. Rufus Dawes, born in Boston, 1803; educated in Lancaster. Among other writings was the following:

The Valley of the Nashaway and other Poems. 1830.

25. Hubbard Winslow, D. D., born at Williston, Vt., 1800; a graduate of Yale, 1825. For many years pastor of the Bowdoin street church, Boston, as successor of Dr. Lyman Beecher. Author of many valuable works. Lived in Lancaster east side of George hill. While here he wrote one or both of the following works:

Elements of Intellectual Philosophy, 1856; 10th edition, 1863.

Elements of Moral Philosophy, 1856; 8th edition, 1863.

26. Benjamin Holt, Master of the Mayhew School, Boston, for more than thirty years. President Handel and Haydn Society. Lived in Lancaster many years.

Composed and published Church Music.

27. Julia A. (Fletcher) Carney, born in Lancaster; resides in Galesburg, Ill., wife of Rev. Mr. Carney.

A gift from Julia, a volume in the Children's Library, Boston, 1846.

She is the author of many articles, stories and poems which have appeared in different periodicals, which have had a wide circulation.

28. Louise M. Thurston, daughter of Wilder S. Thurston; born in Lancaster; resides in Lynn. Forrest Mills, Boston, 1868. Charley Roberts Series. How Charley Roberts became a Man. How Eva Roberts gained her Education. Charley and Eva's Home in the West. The Children of Amity Court.

29. Mrs. Clara W. (Thurston) Fry, elder sister of the foregoing. Little Splendid's Vacation. Boston, 1868.

30. Mrs. J. J. Trowbridge. Our Grandmother's Stories. Aunt Kate's Fireside Memories. Boston. Ticknor & Fields, 1857.

31. Mrs. Mary G. (Chandler) Ware. Death and Life. The Elements of Character. Thoughts in my Garden. Author of many Articles in Magazines.

32. Charlotte M. Packard, daughter of Rev. Charles Packard. She came to Lancaster quite early in life; resides now in Brunswick, Me. She is the author of many very pleasant Stories and Poems. Some of her Hymns have found a place in one or more collections. Her writings, if collected, would make a readable and useful volume.

33. Rev. George Murillo Bartol, born in Freeport, Me.; minister of the First Church, Lancaster, since 1847.

Two Funeral Discourses: Stephen Van Rensselaer Thayer; Mrs. Sarah Toppan Thayer.

34. Rev. Amos E. Lawrence, minister of the Evangelical church, 1860-4.

Funeral Discourse, for Dea. Charles Humphrey, and other publications.

35. Rev. George R. Leavitt, pastor of the Evangelical church, 1865-70; now settled in Cambridgeport.

Sermons in the annual volume of the Monday Club, Boston, 1875-8.

36. Rev. James C. White. The Third Annual Sermon, by the Pastor of the Free Congregational Church, Providence, 1865. Also many Articles and Letters in periodicals.

37. Charles Fosdick Fletcher. The Priesthood from the Earliest Stages. Philadelphia, 1865. The Happy Land: An Essay, 1876. The Fall of Adam: An Essay, 1876. The Law of Love. [These are pamphlets.]

38. John Davis Washburn, born in Boston; came to Lancaster at the age of six years: graduated at Harvard, 1853.

Address at Lancaster, July 4, 1876, a Centennial Discourse, pp. 58, Worcester.

Remarks in the House of Representatives, Boston, May 16, 1878.

Three Reports of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society.

39. Levi S. Burbank, a native, now a teacher of high reputation in Woburn.

Remarks on Cumbery Pond.

Report on the Geology of the Nashua Valley. These are not the exact titles, but indicate the subjects.

40. Rev. B. K. Peirce, D. D., a minister in the Methodist denomination, resident here as Superintendent of the Industrial School, 1854-61.

Zion's Herald, Boston, of which he has been the able and genial editor many years. His writings would fill several volumes.

41. Rev. Abijah Perkins Marvin, resident since 1870.

Several occasional Sermons and Essays. Articles in the New Englander, Congregational Quarterly, Bibliotheca Sacra and other periodicals. Associate Editor of Boston Recorder, 1867.

42. The Editor or Editors of the Lancaster Gazette, if their names were known, would find a place in this record. The paper was edited with ability and discretion.

A catalogue of the works written by authors of Lancaster ancestry, would fill several pages. Among these writers would be Rev. Nathan S. S. Beaman, D. D., of Troy, N. Y., a distinguished author, and the ablest debater in the Presbyterian general assembly; Rev. Moses Hale Wilder, of Brooklyn, N. Y., author of the "Book of the Wilders;" Rev. Leicester A. Sawyer, D. D., formerly of New Haven; Rev. Samuel Willard, president of Harvard University, and many other divines of the Willard family; Hon. Lorenzo Sawyer, of San Francisco, author of Judicial Decisions, as judge of the United States Circuit Court; and William Hickling Prescott, the celebrated historian. It is a singular fact that several authors who have acquired distinction in connection with American historical literature, have been intimately associated with Lancaster by descent, or family connection, or residence, or education, as Willard, Higginson, Hildreth, Sparks, Bancroft, Palfrey and Prescott.

CHAPTER XXV.

CEMETERIES.

THERE are six public Burying Yards or Cemeteries in Lancaster. In proceeding, the origin of each will be given, as far as the facts can be found in the Records. These sacred garnerers of the dust of those generations which have passed away, possess a great and yearly increasing interest; and are visited, every season, by pilgrims from far distant parts of the land, to which the descendants of the early settlers have removed.

I. THE OLD BURYING GROUND.

The first place of interment in the town of which we have any knowledge, is called the Old Burying Ground, or Yard. This is believed to be the resting place of all who died here from the time of settlement in 1643, to the close of the century. But there is no stone, monument or mound to tell certainly where any were buried previous to the massacre in 1676. Neither is there a scrap of paper, nor a lingering tradition to show where the remains of those who were killed at that time, were placed. Perhaps the bodies of some were burned in the burning houses. About fifty persons perished, in different parts of the town, and nearly all of them had lived in the Center or in South Lancaster. Were they buried where they fell? Did the survivors, and the soldiers who were on the ground before the next day closed, gather all the bloody and charred remains and bury them together, near the minister's garrison? Were the bodies of all — "matron and maid, and the sweet babe, and the gray-headed man," — all laid in

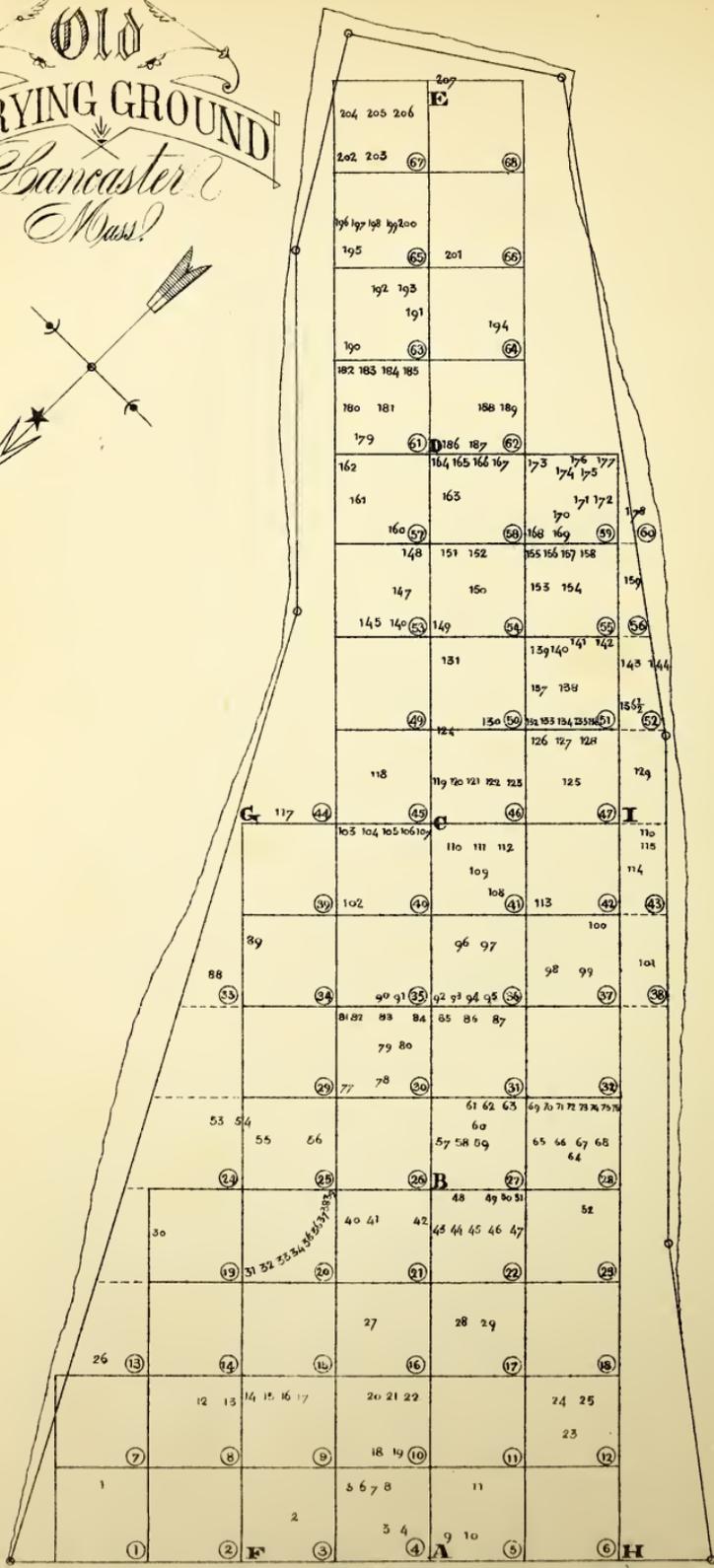
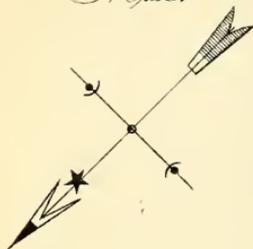
one grave in the old burying yard, which was near? Or finally, were they buried in separate family groups, where we know that some of their descendants were laid when their course was finished? These are questions which none can answer; but the last query suggests the most probable conclusion. Several of the victims had friends already buried, and the conjecture is reasonable that the bodies of the slain were placed beside kindred dust and ashes.

The dimensions of the yard are as follows. The length from the head to the foot is four hundred and twelve feet. The width at the head, or west end, is a little over two hundred feet, and at the foot not far from fifty feet. It is one hundred feet wide in the middle.

The form of this burial place is quite singular. It rises from the intervale on all sides except the southwest corner, where it joins the meeting-house hill, some ten to thirteen feet. It has doubtless been washed, in some former age, on the two sides and the east end by the waters of the Nashua. The whole yard is an elongated and regular mound. It might be called a giant's grave. Suppose him to be lying on his back, but a little inclined or sloping to the left, or the northeast, with his arms at either side, the middle of the form drawn back slightly, and the feet close together, and then covered with earth, and you have the outline of this ancient burial place.

The distance from the southwest corner of the yard, crossing the railroad, to the northeast corner of the Middle Cemetery, as the land lies, is about fourteen and a half rods; and to the top of the meeting-house hill, eighteen and one-fifth rods. The distance from the middle of the northwest end of the yard to the foot of the railroad embankment, is not far from five rods. From the northeast corner of the yard, perpendicularly to the river is nearly twenty rods. It is about the same distance from the middle of the northeast side, in a direct line to the river.

OLD BURYING GROUND Sancaster Mass.



There is no shrubbery in the yard. It is free from weeds, briars and bushes. Within and near it are walnut, oak, pine and maple trees, which adorn the lot, and give a grateful shade in the summer afternoon. A good fence surrounds the yard, and the entrance is by convenient turnstiles. Neatness and good order characterize the sacred enclosure. The public spirit of the town, and the gift of Mr. Thayer, will cause this and all the other burial places to be kept in a manner creditable to the living and worthy of the dead.

There is not a piece of marble in the yard. The earliest stones set up were rough granite slabs, quite small and irregular in form. Next came rough pieces of slate without form or comeliness, but serving as well as polished marble to tell the reverent seeker where the ashes of his ancestors repose. The third stage in mortuary memorials was the polished slate in regular form, and often adorned with heads of cherubs, and quaint devices. The lettering is generally good, and the spelling modern except on some of the most ancient stones. Perhaps half the inscriptions had become nearly or quiet illegible, by reason of moss, or the slow abrasion of the elements, when in 1876, the committee in charge, had them cleaned with acids and water. With here and there an exception, the epitaphs can now be read with ease. In some cases, however, it has been necessary to take all positions, and use every slant of sunshine to decipher the names and dates.

As the yard is not laid out in regular family lots, it was not easy to make a map or plan which would enable one to find the position of a particular grave. The following plan was devised. The yard was divided into squares of twenty-five feet. The squares were defined by corner stakes twenty-five feet apart each way. The surveying was done by Mr. Harold Parker, civil engineer, who also drew the accompanying plan. The lettering and figuring is the work of Mr. H. E. Remick. It is too plain to need any detailed explanation. Stone posts have been set at suitable points to enable any

one, with a measuring tape or rod, to find any specified grave after the monument has been removed, or has fallen by decay. The stone marked A and placed at the middle of the northwest end of the yard, is the starting point in laying out the squares. A line of stones one hundred feet apart, marked on the map B, C, D, extends down the yard. The last stone, E, is one hundred and twelve feet from D, to avoid a grave, and also to mark the lower end of the yard. There is a stone fifty feet to the right of A, and also another fifty feet to the right of C. There are also stones fifty feet to the left of A and C. From either of these stones it is easy to measure any number of feet, either way, with a line or rod.

Turning now from the yard to the map, the lot, as said above, is divided in squares of twenty-five feet. Each square is numbered in the right corner with a heavy faced figure. Let the explorer begin with the square in the northwest corner, numbered **1**, where he will find a single grave marked 1, near the east side. The next square has no grave. The third square has one, and the next, marked **4**, has six graves. Each grave is numbered with a small figure, and the figures are placed as near to their position in the square as possible, without exact measurement. It will be seen that the earliest date on any monument is 1684, two or three years after the town was re-settled and in order for municipal action.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The following inscriptions were copied in 1877, and care has been taken to have them exact in orthography and arrangement, but it is impossible to present the shape and size of the letters.

1. 1.

In Memory of A
 Father and 4 Children,
 Mr. Andrew Wilder, died Dec.
 ye 28th, A. D. 1764, in ye 56th
 year of his Age.

Death is a Debt to Nature due
 Which I have paid, and so must you.

Andrew, son of Mr. Andrew and Mrs. Elizabeth Wilder, was still born Sept. ye 1st, 1741.

Joseph, son of Mr. A. and Mrs. E. Wilder, died Aug. ye 15th, 1775, in ye 3d year of his Age.

Ruth, Dau'r of Mr. A. and Mrs. E. Wilder, died June ye 19, 1753, in ye 8th year of her Aag.

Deborah, Dau'r of Mr. A. and Mrs. E. Wilder, died Aug. ye 22d 1755. Aged 11 days.

2.

No stone.

5.

Here lies interred ye Body of Mr. John Phillips, Who departed this Life January ye 3d Anno Dom. 1763, Aged 76 years.

3. 2.

In Memory of Mr. John Phillips, Who died Nov. ye 23d, Anno Dom. 1776, Aged 56 Years. And also two of his Sons. John died Oct. ye 29th 1776, Aged 5 years. Samuel died Nov. ye 2d 1776, Aged 3 years.

6.

In Memory of Mrs. Lydia Phillips Who departed this Life, May ye 31st. Anno Dom. 1760, Aged 29 years.

Likewise of his Daughter Rebecca, died Oct. ye 29th, 1776, Aged 22 months.

7.

In Memory of Rebecca Phillips, Who died Feb'y ye 4th, Anno Domini 1775, Aged 53 years.

4. 3.

In Memory of Bathsheba Robbins, widow of Mr. Edward Robbins, Who died Oct. 16, 1805. In the 86th year of her Age.

8.

In Memory of Mr. Jotham Phillips, who departed this Life, Feb'y ye 20th, Anno Domini, 1780, Aged 44 years.

4.

In Memory of Mr. Edward Robbins, who departed this life Oct. 9th, 1791, in ye 78th year of his age.

5. 9.

In Memory of Jonathan Robbins, son of Mr. Edward and Mrs. Bathsheba Robbins, who died November ye 24th,

1763, Aged 17 years, 7 Months and 24 Days.	15. Sacred To the Memory of Mr. NATHANIEL WYMAN who died June ye 5th, AD. 1776, in the 58th year of his Age.
10. Mr. Edward Robbins, jun. 1763.	The stroke of death hath laid my head Down in this dark and silent Bed; The Trump shall sound, I hope to rise, And meet my SAVIOUR in the skies.
11. Here lies the Body of Jacob Waters, of Charlestown, Aged 65 years and 7 m's, who died at Lancaster December ye 15, 1714. [This inscription is on the inside of the stone.]	16. Here lies Buried The Body of Mrs. MARY WYMAN, ye wife of Mr. Nathaniel Wyman, who died on May, ye 3d 1759, in ye 37th year of her Age. Her Father deceased the same Day.
6 and 7. No stones.	17. Erected In Memory of Mrs. SUBMIT WYMAN, who died Nov'r 25, 1804, in the 74th year of her age.
8. 12. Here lies interred Ye Body of Mr. Ephraim Wyman, who deceased on ye 17th of Feb'ry, Anno Do. 1780, in ye 30th Year of his Age.	10. 18. In Memory of Elizabeth, Daug'r of Mr. Abijah and Mrs. Abigail Wyman, who died June ye 20th 1776, Aged 11 years and 10 months.
13. Erected in Memory of Mr. Nathaniel Wyman, who died Dec'r 15, 1801, Aged 55. A Pattern of Honesty and Industry.	19. HERE LIES BURIED YE BODY OF MR. JOHN BENNETT WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE DECEM. YE 20TH A. D., 1748, AGE 29 YEARS, 11 M & 10 D'S.
9. 14. Ye Body of Mrs. Mary Whitney, ye Wife of Mr. JONATHAN WHIT- NEY, who deceased Jan. ye 12th, A. D. 1778, in ye 34th year of her Age.	

20. In Memory of Mrs.
Bathsheba Bennett, ye
wife of Capt. John
Bennett, who died
Feb'y ye 7th, 1762,
Aged 67 years.
Remember Death.

21. In Memory of Capt.
John Bennett, who
died June ye 5th, 1761,
Aged 68 years.

O Death, Thou'st conquered me,
I by thy Dart am slain;
But Christ hast conquered thee,
And I shall rise again.

22. HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF MR.
SAMUEL BENNETT,
WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE, JULY 6TH,
A. D. 1742,
IN YE 77TH
YEAR OF HIS AGE.

11. No stone.

12. 23. Mary
Moore.
[Illegible date on foot-stone.]

24. Illegible stone.

25. Illegible stone.

13. 26. Lev't Godfrey.

14 and 15. No stone.

16. 27. In Memory of a
Father and 4 Children.
Mr. Matthew Clark died
July ye 9th ADom. 1760.
in the 56th year of his
Age.

Mary died Jan'y
ye 27th 1749, in ye
9th Year of
her Age.

Matthew died
July ye 24th, 1750,
in ye 9th year
of his Age.

John died
May ye 15th,
1751, Aged
3 years.

Sarah died
October ye 6th
1758, in the 3d
year of her Age.

Mr. Matthew
Clark, 1760.

M. C.

M. C.

J. C.

S. C.

17. 28.
 In Memory of Mrs.
 Martha Wilder, wife of
 Mr. Gardner Wilder, who
 died March ye 7th, ADom.
 1764, Aged 27 years.

My Loveing Friends, as you pass by,
 On my cold grave but east your eye;
 Your sun like mine may set at noon,
 Your soul be called for very soon;
 In this dark Place you'll quickly be;
 Prepare, for death and follow me.

29. Gardner, Son of
 Mr. Gardner and
 Mrs. Martha
 Wilder, who
 was stillborn.

18.
 No stone.

19. 30.
 Here lies Buried
 The Body of
 MRS. HARRIET BUSS,

Who died
 March ye 14, A. D.
 1738, in ye 56th
 Year of Her Age.

31. Here lies Buried
 The Body of Mr.
 JOHN BUSS, who
 died April
 ye 30, A. D.
 1734, Aged
 About 55
 years.

20. 32.
 Erected
 In Memory of
 Mrs. MARY LOCKE,
 Wife of Mr. William Locke,
 who died Nov. 17,
 1796, in the 50th
 year of her Age.

The sweet remembrance of the just
 Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

33. **ERECTED**
 in Memory of Mrs.
 REBECCA WILDER,
 Wife of Joseph Wilder, Esq.
 who died Sep'r 10th
 1789, in the 80th year
 of her Age.

Here sleeps the flesh, unconscions, close, confined,
 But far, far distant, dwells the immortal Mind.

34. Here lies interred ye
 Body of Mr.
 JAMES LOCKE,
 who deceased on
 ye 19th of March, AD.
 1772, in ye 33d year
 of his Age.

Behold the numerous Crowd
 That, Mouldering in the Ground
 Ready to start when CHRIST commands
 The awful Trump to sound.

35. Here lies interred ye
 Body of Mr.
 SAMUEL LOCKE,
 who died April ye 13th,
 AD. 1775, in ye 73d
 year of his Age.

The stroke of death hath laid my Head,
 Down in this dark and silent bed;
 The Trump shall sound, I hope to rise,
 And meet my SAVIOUR in the skies.

Samuel Locke was from Woburn, where he was born in 1702, August 24. He married Rebecca Richardson, in 1730, and came to Lancaster in 1742. His widow married Col. Joseph Wilder, and her sons, James and John Locke, married two of the daughters of her second husband. James married Rebecca Wilder, and John took her sister Lucy. This Joseph Wilder was not Judge Joseph, but Colonel Joseph. One of the sons of Samuel Locke and Rebecca Richardson, was Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D., born in Woburn, November 23, 1731, who came to Lancaster when twelve years old. He studied with Rev. Mr. Harrington when fitting for college; graduated at Harvard in 1755, and then studied for the ministry under his pastor's guidance. He became president of Harvard college in 1770, and remained in that position till December, 1773. He was a classmate of John Adams, who regarded him as one of the ablest men and first scholars in his class. In his Diary he writes: "Locke has been president of Harvard college, a station for which no man was better qualified." And president Styles, of Yale college, wrote of him, in 1773: "He has a liberal understanding, a penetrating discernment, and is capable of looking into and judging upon everything. * * * He is a good classical scholar, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee. He made an oration in Chaldee at the first public commencement after his election to the presidency, which I heard. He is excellent in philosophy and academical literature, and in all branches of knowledge is far superior to any president of any of the American colleges, unless Dr. Witherspoon, of Nassau Hall, should exceed him in theology."

36.

Here lies interred ye
Body of Mr.
JOSIAH LOCKE,
who died May ye 16,
AD. 1769, Ætatis 33.

Every man at his best | state is altogether vanity. |
Cease ye from Man, whose | Breath is in his Nostrils, and |
Trust in the Ever Living God.

<p>37. Esther, Dau'r of Mr. Joseph and Mrs. Esther Locke, died March ye 25th, 1768, Aged 6 Months and 10 Days.</p>	<p>Ephraim Wilder ye 3d, & Mrs. Lucretia his Wife, who died May ye 14th, 1766, Aged 8 Months & 7 Days.</p>
<p>38. Abel, second Son of Mr. Josiah and Mrs. Esther Locke, died Oct. ye 13, 1766, Aged 2 Months and 1 Day.</p>	<p>21. 40. Abel, first Son of Mr. Josiah and Mrs. Esther Locke, died May ye 6, 1765, Aged 3 Months & 20 Days.</p>
<p>39. In Memory of Rebecca, Dau. of Mr.</p>	<p>41.</p>

42.

In Memory of
Mr. JOHN WARNAR,
Who departed this
Life, March the 27th, A. D.
1776, in the 41st Year
of his age.

To the, O Stone, We Recommend this Dust,
Commanding the in Faith to keep your trust.
Take this Body and secure it entomb
Until the Day of Resurrection come.

22. 43.

Here lies interred ye Body
of Col. OLIVER WILDER,
who died March ye
16, ADomini, 1765,
in the 71st year of
his Age.

The stroke of Death hath laid my Head,
Down in this Dark and silent Bed;
The Trump shall sound, I hope to rise,
And meet my SAVIOUR in the skies.

Col. Oliver Wilder was son of Nathaniel, and grandson of the first Thomas Wilder. He was a cousin of the first Judge Joseph Wilder. His home was in South Lancaster, near the house in which Mr. Heald now lives. He was a very prominent man, and stood high in military matters. At the time of the great alarm in 1757, when the French and Indians, having

captured fort William Henry, were rumored to be on their way through New England, towards Boston, Col. Wilder led a large detachment of volunteers to meet and repel them. He marched as far as Springfield, where it was found that the alarm was false. He displayed much vigor on this occasion.

<p>44. Here lies Buried ye Body of Mrs. Mary Wilder, ye Wife of Col. Oliver Wilder, Esq., who departed This Life, June ye 15, A. D. 1748, In ye 53d year of Her Age.</p>	<p>Harrington, who died June ye 16th, 1749, Ætat's 7 Months & 25 Days.</p>
<p>45. In Memory of Timothy, son of ye Rev. Timothy and Mrs. Anna</p>	<p>46. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. ANNA HARRINGTON, Ye amiable Consort of ye Rev'd TIMOTHY HARRINGTON, who resigned to the Will of God, and depending entirely on the Lord Jesus for Salvation, deceased on May ye 19, AD. 1778, Ætat's 62.</p>

47.

The Reverend
TIMOTHY HARRINGTON

Etatis 80,

Fourth Pastor of the Church in Lancaster,
Died December 18, 1795.

Endued with superior abilities, he happily
united the manners of the Gentleman, with
the unaffected gravity of the Divine, and was
especially distinguished for
benevolence of heart.

The sacred doctrines he taught
were enforced
by an uniform example in the practice
of the
domestic, social and moral
virtues.

A consistent and rational view of
the Gospel;
a faith in the Saviour of the world,
and a reliance on the mercy of God,
inspired him with a joyful hope

of a resurrection to
eternal life.

"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

Mr. Harrington is here called the *fourth* Pastor. Mr. Gardner was acting Pastor several years, but died before ordination and installation, and is therefore not counted in the list of Pastors.

<p>48. HENRY HOUGHTON.</p> <p>The name is on the head-stone, rough granite: and on the foot-stone is the following: Age 27 years.</p>	<p>54. HERE LIES BURIED YE BODY OF MRS. MARY CARTER, YE WIFE OF MR. EPHRAIM CARTER, WHO DIED MAY YE 30TH, 1738, & IN YE 21ST YEAR OF HER AGE.</p>
<p>49. HAZADIAH, THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY AND ABIGAIL HOUGHTON.</p>	<p>25. 55. Here lies Buried the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Joseph Osgood, who died October ye 9th, 1755, in the 34th year of her Age.</p>
<p>50. Stone without inscription.</p>	<p>56. .</p>
<p>51. In Memory of Mr. HENRY HASKELL, who died April ye 1st ADom. 1779, in ye 73d year of his Age.</p> <p>The sweet remembrance of the Just Shall flourish when they sleep in Dust.</p>	<p>26. No stone.</p>
<p>23. 52. John Swain, Æ 3¼.</p>	<p>27. 57. In Memory of The Reverend John Whiting, Second Minister of Lancaster, Killed by the Indians, September 11, A. D. 1697. This Stone in place Of one broken and decayed Is set by the Town, A. D. 1878.</p>
<p>24. 53. A stone with the number 30.</p>	

This stone has been placed where tradition says that the original monument of Mr. Whiting stood. Old, broken and almost illegible head and foot stones, bearing the name of

Mr. Whiting, stand between the graves of Rev. Messrs. Gardner and Prentice, (No. 66) where it is supposed they were set at a comparatively recent date.

58.	Abijah Houghton.	29 Day, 1684.
59.		[On the foot-stone. This is the earliest date in the yard.]
60.	John Houghton. [On the head-stone.] Deceased April	61. 62.

63.

In
MEMORY
of

Dr. Stanton Prentice,
who deceased on ye first of Dec'r.
Anno Domini 1769, Æt's
58.

This Life's a Dream, an empty show,
But ye bright world to which I go,
Hath joys substantial and sincere;
When shall I wake and find me there?

28. 64.

Here Lies Interred
The Body
of
Mr. Ebenezer Swain,
Who Deceased
August ye 22d
ADom. 1750
Æ 42.

65. Here Lyes Buried
ye Body of ye Rev. Mr.
ANDREW GARDNER,
Who Died October 26th,
Anno Dom. 1704, in ye
30th year of His Age.

66.

[Head-stone.]

Mr.
John ting,
Past of the
Church
Deceased

[Foot-stone.]

September
11 A. D.
1697.

[See No. 57.]

67.

Ye Rev. Mr. John Prentice,
 Pastor of ye First Church
 Of Christ In Lancaster,
 Died Jan. 6th, A. D. 1747-8.
 Ætat. 66. In His Doctrine
 He was Learned, Judicious,
 Plain, Seasonable and Unreprovable.
 In His Conversation, Steady,
 Sober, Temperate, Peaceable,
 Watchful, Instructive,
 Prudent and Blameless.
 In His House, Ruling With All
 Gravity; A Tender Husband,
 A Good Father, A Kind Master,

& Given to Hospitality.
 In His Public Character
 A True Gospel Bishop.
 In His Private Capacity
 A Gent'n, & An Exemplary
 Christian. His Memory is Precious,
 & His Praise In The Churches.

68.

Here Lyes the
 Body of Mrs. Mary
 Prentice, wife of
 ye Rev'd Mr. John
 Prentice, who
 Died March ye
 9th, 1718-19, in ye 35th
 Year of Her Age.

69.

In

Memory of

Mrs. Mercy, ye wife of Dr. Stanton Prentice,
 who deceased on ye 26 of October, AD.
 1756, in the 40th year of her Age.

In the Character

of a Wife, she was kind and faithful;
 of a Parent, tender, provident, and
 conscientious,
 humble and self-denying.

In Her

The Poor have lost a Benefactress,
 The Sick a skillful Assistant,
 and her acquaintance a much
 regretted friend.
 Her husband, he praiseth her,
 and her Children
 Rise up and call her Blessed.

70-76. There are seven little graves to the right of Dr. Stanton Prentice and his wife, where their young children were buried side by side, each in his narrow bed. The graves of the parents and children are on the border of the square, reaching into the square on the east, or 32. One can scarcely read the inscriptions now, after all the parties have been lost to earth more than a hundred years, without tears. The inscriptions follow.

70. Here lies Buried
ye Body of
Thomas Prentice,
Son of Doct'r
Stanton & Mrs.
Mercy Prentice,
Who Dec'd May 2d
A D. 1752, Aged

of Dr. Stanton
Prentice, and Mrs.
Mercy, his wife,
who died Oct.
6th, 1756, aged 2 years.

71. HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF
THOMAS PRENTICE
SON OF DOC'R
STANTON & MRS.
MERCY P
WHO DEC'D AUGUST
YE 17TH, 1745,
AGED 3 YEARS,
10 M AND 19 DAYS.

75. Here lies the
Body of Mercy
Prentice, Daugh-
ter of Dr. Stanton
Prentice, and Mrs.
Rebecca his wife
who died January
12th, 1759, aged 3 m's.

72. HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF MARY
PRENTICE, DAFT'R
OF DOCT'R STANTON
& MRS. MERCY
PRENTICE, WHO
DEC'D MAY 2D
A. D., 1749,
AGED 1 YEAR
& 3 M'S.

76. Here Lies the Body
of Peter Prentice,
son of Dr. Stanton
Prentice, and Mrs.
Rebecca his wife,
who died July,
1776, 5 years
and 6 months.

29. No grave.

30. 77.
In Memory of
Susanah Carter,
dau'r of Doct. James
& Mrs. Susanah Carter,
Who died July 28th
1795, Aged 2 years
& 17 days.

73. Here lies the
Body of Daniel
Prentice, son of
Dr. Stanton Pren-
tice and Mrs. Mercy,
his wife, who
died, Sept. 21st, 1756.

78. In Memory of Mr.
Thomas Sawyer,
who died March
ye 1st, AD. 1760.
Aged 22 years, 9
months, and 27
days.

74. Here Lies the
Body of Mercy
Prentice, Daughter

79.

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
EUNICE SAWYER, THE WIFE OF
BEZALEEL SAWYER, WHO

DECEASED THE 14 DAY OF
MARCH, 1712-13, AGED AB-
OUT 26 YEARS. ALSO THE BO-
DY OF HER DEAD BORN
INFANT.

80. In Memory of Mr. Bezaleel Sawyer, who died August ye 25th, AD. 1760, Aged 75 years, 3 Months and 2 Days.	84. In Memory of Elisha, Son of Capt. John and Mrs. Abigail Carter, Who was Stillborn.
81. No inscription.	31. 85. No inscription.
82. No inscription.	86. HERE LIES BURIED YE BODY OF ABIGAIL CARTER, DAUGH'R OF LIEUT. JOHN & MRS. ABIGAIL CARTER, WHO DEC'D DECEMB'R YE 25TH, A. D. 1746, IN YE 7TH YEAR OF HER AGE.
83. Here Lies Buried ye Body of John Carter, ye Son of Mr. John and Mrs. Abigail Carter, Who Dec'd, October Ye 18th, 1739, Aged 1 Year, 9 Months.	87. Here lies interred the Body of Col. John Carter, who deceased May ye 8th, Dom. 1766, Ætatis 53. Every Man at his best | state is altogether vanity. | Cease ye | from Man whose Breath | is in his Nostrils, and | trust | in ye Ever Living God.
82. No grave in this square.	34. 89. Caleb Townsend.
83. 88. L Bod Abo [Broken head-stone. The foot-stone has no inscription.]	35. 90. HERE LIES BURIED YE BODY OF YE WIDOW RUTH CARTER, RELIKS OF CAPT. THOMAS

CARTER, WHO DEC'D
DECEMBER YE 25TH,
ANNO DO. 1789,
AGED 55 YEARS,
7 M. & 16 D.

91. HERE LIES BURIED
THE BODY OF
CAPTAIN THOMAS
CARTER.

AS YOU ARE,
SO WERE WE;
AS WE ARE,
SO YOU WILL BE.

36. 92.

John Carter.

[A small stone, probably for a young child.]

93. HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF
MR. SAMUEL CARTER,
WHO DECEASED
AUGUST YE 22D,
ANNO DOM. 1738,
IN YE 61ST YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

94. Erected
In Memory of
Mrs. Elizabeth Temple,
Relict of Mr. Isaac Temple,
Who died Aug. 27th
1796, in the 78th
Year of her Age.

95. Here lies interred the
Body of Mr.
Josiah Ballard, jr.,
Who dec'd Sept. ye 17th,
A. D. 1771, in the 22d
year of his Age.

No age exempted from the grave;
No sex in Nature freed;
Her mouth wide open, gaping stands
For to receive the Dead.

Note.—At the head of Josiah Ballard's grave is an old broken stone, with the words:— Here | Lie | The Bod | of John.

96. .

Broken stone—no inscription.

97. Here lies interred ye
Body of Mr.
Roger Nichols,
who died June
ye 3d AD. 1765,
in the year of
his Age.

[On the foot-stone are the words and figures:]

Mr. Roger
Nichols,
1765.

37. 98.

In Memory of
John, Son of Mr.
John & Mrs. Anna
Ballard, who died
Nov. 7th, 1789, in
the 6th year of
his age.

99. In Memory of two
Sons of Mr. Thomas
and Mrs. Abigail Ballard.

John died March 3d 1792, aged 4 months.	John died August 20th 1794, aged 19 months.
--	--

100. In Memory of
Thomas, Son of Mr.
Thomas Kendall,
& Abigail his wife,
Died Oct. 25th
1756,
in the 1st year
of his Age.

38. 101.

Rebekah, Dau'r
of Mr. Philimon
& Mrs. Rebekah
Houghton, died

July ye 5th, 1765,
Aged 1 year, 5
months and 5 days.

39.

No stone in this square.

40. 102.

In Memory of two Children
of Capt. Daniel and Mrs. Eunice Goss.

Jonas Goss
died May ye
27th Anno Do.
1774, Aged
3 Days.

Anna Goss
died January
ye 17th, 1779.
Aged 3 Years.
8 Months, &
19 Days.

103. In Memory of Capt.
Ephraim Wilder,
Who died December ye
13th, AD. 1769, in ye 94th
Year of his Age.

O Death, Thou'st conquered me;
I by thy Dart am slain;
But Christ hath conquered thee,
And I shall rise again.

104. In Memory of Mrs.
Elizabeth, ye wife of
Capt. Ephraim Wilder,
who died May ye 28,
1769, in ye 89th year
of her Age.

The stroke of Death hath laid my Head,
Down in this dark and silent Bed.
The Trump shall sound, I hope to rise,
And meet my Saviour in the skies.

105.

In Memory of Capt.
Ephraim Wilder, jr,
who died March ye 7th,
AD. 1770, in the 63d
year of his Age.

Every man at his best state | is altogether
vanity. | Cease ye from Man | whose Breath | is in
his Nostrils, and trust | in the Ever-living God.

106.

Here lies interred
ye Body of Mrs.
Anna Wilder,
Consort of Capt.
Ephraim Wilder,
who died October ye 6th
AD. 1768, in the 67th
year of her Age.

The sweet remembrance of the Just;
Shall flourish when they sleep in Dust.

107. Here lies interred
ye Body of Mrs.
Anna Gates,
Wife of Capt. Hezekiah
Gates, who died April
ye 23d, Anno Do. 1779,
Aged 70 years.

Ye aged, awake, improve your short lived day,
Improve your time and talents while you may.

41. 108.

In Memory of Mr.
Joseph House, who
Died July ye 6th
1756, in ye 61st
Year of his Age.

Elizabeth, Daughter
of Mr. Joseph House,
& Lydia his wife,
Who Died in October, 1739, in
Ye 14th year of
her Age.

109. In Memory of
Nancy, (Dau'er
of Mr. Peter
& Mrs. Dorothy
Thurston,) who
died Sept. ye 25th,
1778, in the
5th year of
her Age.

110. Here lies interred
Ye Body of Capt.
Hezekiah Gates,
Who departed this Life
June ye 27th Anno Dom.
1777, in the 73d
year of his Age.

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till the last Trumpet's joyful Sound.

111. In Memory of Mrs.
Rebekah, wife of Mr.
Philemon Houghton,
Who died Febr'y ye 15th,
AD. 1766, Ætatis 26.

Now sleeps, God rest her soul, A vertuous wife
Her hopeless Husband's only Pride in Life,
Triumphant mount where Happy planets roll,
And open Paradise to her Immortal Soul.

<p>112. Broken stone. D</p>	<p>43. 114. In Memory of David Atherton, Son of Mr. Amos & Mrs. Elizabeth Atherton, who died July ye 14th, 1769, in ye 14th year of his Age. When this you see, Remember me.</p>
<p>42. 113. In Memory of Mrs. Martha Page, wife of Mr. Levi Page, who departed this Life, April ye 16th, 1785. In the 28 year of her Age.</p>	<p>died July ye 25th Anno Domini, 1784, Ætatis 71.</p>
<p>115. In Memory of Mr. Edmond Harris, who Died Dec. Ye 10th, 1726, in ye 53 year of his Age. Mrs. Elizabeth, his wife Died January ye 31, 1755, & in ye 73 year of her Age.</p>	<p>45. 118. Here Lies Buried The Body of the Honourable Coll. SAMUEL WILLARD, Esq., Who Departed This Life, November 20th Anno Domini, 1752, In ye 63 year of His Age.</p>
<p>116. Amos Harris, April, 4 Day, 1713.</p>	<p>[On the foot-stone are these words:] Honourable Coll. Samuel Willard, Esq., Anno Domi 1752.</p>
<p>44. 117 Here lies interred ye Body of ye Hon'ble ELISHA MARSH, Esq., (of Walpole in the State of New Hampshire,) who</p>	

The Hon. Samuel Willard, grandson of Major Simon Willard, was a man of distinction. Besides being prominent in business, and in all town affairs, he was a military officer of more than common abilities. He commanded a regiment at the capture of Louisburg, his son Abijah serving as captain under him. The rolls of the captain's company, containing many Lancaster names, and of the whole regiment are lost.

<p>46. 119. Wilder, Son of Mr. Thomas & Mrs. Abigail Gates, died July ye 20th, 1766, Aged 1 Month & 2 Days.</p>	<p>& Abigail his wife, Died Nov'r 27th, 1785, In her 16th year. Death with his warrant in his hand, Comes rushing on amain! We must obey the Summons & so return to dust again.</p>
<p>120. A broken stone.</p>	<p>123. Thomas, Son of Capt. John Thurston, & Beca his wife, Died Dec'r 14th, 1785, Aged 2 years, 5 Months & 8 Days.</p>
<p>121. John, Son of Capt. Thomas Gates, & Abigail his wife, Died Nov'r 24th 1785, In his 7th year. So fades the flower. Their third only son.</p>	<p>124. in memory of Miss Lucy Gates. Dau'r Capt. Thomas & Mrs. Abigail Gates, who died July 19th, 1797, in the 33d year of her age.</p>
<p>122. Anna, Daugh'r of Capt. Thomas Gates</p>	

47. 125. In Memory of Mr. Elijah Wheelock, Who died July the 27th, A. D. 1775, in the 35th year of his Age.

For though his soul now soars with wings on high,
Yet here his Body must forgotten lie;
And youre commanded, while he here dose sleep,
The silent Watches of the house to keep.

<p>126. Herè lies interred Ye Body of Mrs. ELIZABETH FAIRBANK, Ye Wife of Deac'n CYRUS FAIRBANK, who departed this Life, Oct. ye 1st, Anno 1778, in ye 39th year of her Age.</p>	<p>Cyrus Fairbank, who died Sept. ye 16th, 1776, Aged 36 Years & 8 Days. Likewise Ephraim, Son of the Deceased, stillborn, Sept. ye 1st, 1776. The small and great are here.</p>
<p>127. Here lies interred the Body of Mrs. LUCY FAIRBANK ye wife of Deac'n</p>	<p>128. Erected in memory of Dea'n CYRUS FAIRBANK, who departed this life</p>

Feb'y 28th, 1801,
Aged 63 years.

The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

48. 129.

Illegible stone.

49.

No grave.

51. 132.

In Memory of
THANKFUL FAIRBANK,
Wife of
Jonas Fairbank,
who died
May 15, 1795,
aged 81 years.

She looketh well to the ways of her household, and
eateth not the bread of idleness.

133. In Memory of
Lucy, Dau'r of Mr.
Cyrus & Mrs. Lucy
Fairbank, who died
March ye 1st, 1764,
in ye 3d month of
her Age.

134. Anna, Daught. of
Mr. Cyrus & Mrs.
Lucy Fairbank,
died July ye 17th,
1769, aged 3 Mon.
& 8 Days.

135.

E. F. on a broken stone.

50. 130.

Mr. Jonas Fairbank
Died Nov'r the 4th,
1792,
In his 89th year.

The Memory of the Just | is blessed.

131. In Memory of Mr.
ISAAC RUGG, who
Died October ye 14th,
Dom. 1758, in ye 38th
Year of his Age.

Thou hast by Death cut short his days,
But him, Immortal, Thou shalt raise.

136. In Memory of
Anna, (Daugh'r of
Mr. Cyrus &
Mrs. Lucy
Fairbank,) died
March ye 31st,
1773, aged 2
Years, 7 Monthis
& 20 Days.

137. In Memory of Lieut.
JABEZ FAIRBANK, who
died in March 1758,
Aged about 84 years.
Mrs. MARY, his first Wife died
in March, 1718, Aged 42 years.
Mrs. Elizabeth, his second
Wife, died May ye 11th, 1755,
Aged 80 Years, 7 Monthis.

Lieut. Fairbanks was born two years before the massacre and burning of the town, in king Philip's war, 1676, and his first wife was born in the year of the calamity. The

Lieutenant was a very efficient soldier and officer in the Indian wars. It was he who, in 1697, rescued his child, and bore him on a fleet horse to his home, in one of the frequent Indian raids.

138. HERE LIES THE BODY OF
 MARY FAIRBANK

139.	HERE LIES THE BODY OF GRACE FAIRBA NK.	52. 143. Illegible stone, lying on the ground.
140.	Stone illegible.	144. Illegible stone, lying on the ground.
141.	Stone illegible.	136½. Sally, Daugh'r of Deac. Cyrus and Mrs. Lucy Fair- bank, died June 9th, 1790, In her 18th year.
142.	Broken stone.	When this you see, remember me.

53. 145.

ERECTED
to the Memory of
WILLIAM DUNSMOOR, ESQ.,
who departed this Life
May ye 20th, 1784;
in the 51st year
of his Age.

Life how short, Eternity how long.
How lov'd, how valu'd once, avails thee not,
To whom related. or by whom begot,
A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
Tis all thou art, and all that die shall be.

Mr. Dunsmoor was an ardent patriot, and became very active and prominent in the early years of the Revolution. He was a member, and often chairman of the committees which were raised to carry on the cause of American independence.

146.

John Dunsmoor, Son of
William Dunsmoor, Esq.,
& Mrs. Hannah, his wife,
who died Oct. 29th,
1756, Aged 1 Year
& 8 Months.

Happy the babe, who privileged by fate,
To shorter labor, and a lighter weight,
Receiv'd but yesterday the Gift of breath,
Ordain'd to-morrow to return to death.

147. In Memory of
Mr. Darius Sawyer,
who died Aug't 13th,

1789, in the 69th
Year of his
Age.

148. In Memory of
Mrs. Deborah, Daught.
of Mr. Darius and Mrs.
Deborah Sawyer,
Who died Dec'ber ye
16th, AD. 1765, Aged
21 Years, 9 Months
& 26 Days.

Remember Death.

54. 149.

In Memory of a Father & 3 Children.

Doct. JOHN
DUNSMOOR,
Departed this
Life, Dec'br ye 7th,
1747, in ye 45th
Year of his
Age.

Eunice died
Sep. ye 9th, 1745,
in ye 3d year
of her
Age.

Olive died
Sep. ye 19th, 1745,
in ye 8th year
of her
Age.

John died
Sep. ye 26, 1745,
in ye 5th year
of his
Age.

150. In Memory of
Sylvester, Son
of Mr. Joel &
Mrs. Prudence
Phelps, who
died April ye 7th,
1765, Aged
2 Years and 1 Mon.

151. In memory of
EBENEZER ALLEN,
who died July 9th,
1790, Æ. 1794.

151½.
died Sept. ye 21st
1778.

152.
HERE LIES BURIED
THE BODY OF MRS.
SARAH ALLEN,
WIFE OF MR.
EBENEZER ALLEN,
DIED JUNE 15TH, 1755,
IN YE 71ST YEAR
OF HER AGE.

55. 153.

In Memory of
Mr. Phineas Phelps,
who departed this
Life, Augt ye 12th,
1770,
in the 37th year
of his age.

154. No inscription.

155. Stone illegible.

156. PHILIP
GOSS,
DECEASED

157.

JONATHAN FAIR-
BANKS AND HIS
DAUGHTER GRACE
FAIRBANKS.

[On the foot-stone are the following
words and figures:]

WHO DECEA-
SED, SEPTEM-
BER THE 11,
1697.

158. JONAS
FAIRBANKS.

[On the foot-stone we read as follows:]

WHO DECEA-
SED, SEPTEM-
BER THE 15TH
1697.

56. 159.

HENRY
FAIRBANKS.

57. 160.

In Memory
of Amos Sawyer,
died
Remember Death.

161. Illegible stone.

162. In Memory of Mrs.
ABIGAIL SAWYER,
ye wife of Mr.
Amos Sawyer,
who died Nov'r
ye 20th, 1753, Aged
65 Years, 7 Months,
& 13 Days.

58. 163.

In memory of
THOMAS ALLEN, Son of
Mr. Amos & Mrs. Rebecca
Allen, who died Jan'y
the 23d, 1793, aged 5
years, 7 months, and 16
days.

Who was his Father's Son, tender | and
well-beloved in the eyes | of his Mother.

164. Here Lies Buried
the Body of Mr.
John Prescott,
who died
Oct. ye 11th, 1749,
in ye 77th year
of his
Age.

According to this, Mr. Prescott was born in 1672, or four years before the massacre. The horrid sights and sounds of that awful day must have made a lasting impression on his mind. As the first John Prescott came here with a family in 1643, I think this John was his grandson. There are illegible stones lying on the ground near this grave, which

may have marked the resting-place of the first and second John Prescott. A plain but permanent monument would fitly indicate to future generations the grave of the first permanent settler of Lancaster.

165. Here Lies Buried
The Body of Mrs.
Dorothy Prescott,
ye wife of Mr.
John Prescott,

who died Sep.
ye 28th, 1749, in
ye 73d year of
her Age.

Mrs. Prescott was born in the year of the massacre, and her troubled childhood must have been familiar with thrilling narratives of terrible tragedies and hair-breadth escapes.

166. ERECTED
In Memory of
Mr. John Prescott,
who departed this life,
April 1st, 1791,
In the 79th year
of his age.

Death like an overflowing flood,
Doth sweep us all away;
The young, the old, the middle go,
To death becomes a prey.

P R E S C O
T T
D A S E S
E D
T H I S
L I F E
1 6 9 8.

169. No inscription.

167. ERECTED
In Memory of
Mrs. Mary Prescott,
Consort of
Mr. John Prescott,
who departed this life
Oct. ye 20th, 1788,
in the 66th year
of her age.

Forbear my friends to weep,
Since death to me is gain:
Those Christians who in Jesus sleep
Shall with the Lord remain.

170. Abijah Willard, Jr.,
Son of Capt. Abijah,
& Mrs. Elizabeth
Willard, died
December ye 12th,
1749, Aged 10
Months.

171. Here lies interred ye Body
of Mrs. ELIZABETH,
ye Wife of Capt.
ABIJAH WILLARD,
who died December
ye 6th, ADom. 1751,
in ye 29th year of
her Age.

59. 168.
E X P E R I E
N C E

172. In Memory of Mrs.
CATHERINE WILLARD,
Relict of

Levi Willard, Esq.,
 who died Jan'y 10th, 1791,
 Aged 56.

Illum'd by piety and grace divine,
 Through various woes we saw her sweetly shine;
 In every scene Omnipotence she view'd,
 And calm, and steady, virtuous ways pursued.
 For thee, blest shade, thy children oft shall weep,
 Till life is hush'd in death's eternal sleep.

173.

In Memory of
 LEVI WILLARD, Esq.,
 who died July ye 11th,
 AD. 1775,
 Aged 48.

Virtue and worth, with honour joined
 Enlarged, improved, and dignified his mind.

This gentleman was one of the three sons of Col. Samuel Willard, who resided in Lancaster, and gave so much of enterprise and worth to society. He was a merchant, and in partnership with Capt. Samuel Ward, carried on a large business, making this place a center of trade. After his lamented death, the business was continued by his partner. Mr. Willard's house was near the Mansion House.

174.

In Memory of Mr.
 John Willard,
 who died May ye
 1st AD. 1775,
 Aged 17.

Early this Youth the paths of virtue trod,
 And left with joy, this world, to join his God.

175.

In Memory of
 KATHARINE, Daught,
 of Capt. Levi &
 Mrs. Catherine
 Willard, who
 died Dec. ye 3d,
 AD. 1759, Aged
 5 Months & 14 Days.

died Oct. ye 14th,
 1756, Aged 9
 Months.

176.

Theodora, Daught.
 of Capt. Abijah &
 Mrs. Anna Willard,

177. Elisabeth, Daught.
 of Capt. Abijah &
 Mrs. Anna Willard,
 died Oct'r ye 6th,
 1756, in ye 3d
 Year of her
 Age.

What precious associations and memories were lacerated when Col. Abijah Willard left his home, never to return, April 17, 1775; but he doubtless, expected to come back, and lie down by the side of the remains of his beloved children.

60. 178.

DESAS-
ED DEC-
EMBER 11,
1704.

[There is nothing to tell who died on the 11th of December, 1704. Perhaps this is a foot-stone.]

[This was probably the first Thomas Sawyer, who came to Lancaster not far from 1650.]

180. In Memory of Mrs.
MARY SAWYER,
Wife of Lieut.
Moses Sawyer, who
died April ye 12th, AD.
1774, in ye 33d year
of her Age.

61. 179.

THOMAS
SAWYER
DEC'D SEP-
TEMBER 12,
1706.

181. Here lyes Buried
ye Body of Mr.
THOMAS SAWYER,
Who died Septemb'r
5th, 1736, in ye 89th
Year of his Age.

There can be little doubt that this Thomas was the second of the name, son of one of the first settlers. As he was born in 1647, he was brought hither in early childhood. In his old age he had the whole history of the town, from the beginning, in his memory. A single long life, commencing ten years before his death, or in 1726, would have connected him with persons now living in the town; and yet all reliable tradition of a thousand thrilling experiences in early times, is forever lost to mortal records.

182.

HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF
MR. JOSEPH SAWYER,
WHO DEC'D
JULY YE 10TH, 1737,
& IN YE 55TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

183. Here Lyes ye
Body of
Sarah Sawyer,
Wife to Joseph
Sawyer, Aged
37 years, Died
March ye 7th, 1717.

184. Here Lyes the
Body of Mrs. Priscilla
Beman, Wife to
Mr. John Beman,
Who dec'd Aug'st
6th, 1729, in ye 73d
Year of Her Age.

185.

HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF MR.
JOHN BEMAN,
WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE JANUARY
YE 15, A. D. 1739-40.
IN YE 90TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

This John was probably the son of Gamaliel Beman, who came to Lancaster in 1659, when John was nine years old. Like the second Thomas Sawyer, he was familiar with the history of the town for nearly all of the first century.

62. 186.

July
17 Day
1700.

189.—*Con.* Here Lies
Dorothy, The
Wife of Jonath-
an Prescott.
Who Deceased

187. S A R A H
P R E S C O T T,
H E R B L A S -
E D S O U L
A S C E N D E D
U P T O H E A -
V E N , J U L Y 1 4
1709.

[On the foot-stone is the following in-
scription:]

AGED
ABOUT
62
YEARS.

63. 190.

Here lies interred the
Body of Mrs.
DEBORAH WILDER,
Consort of the Hon'ble
Joseph Wilder, Esq.,
who departed this Life,
on ye 25th of April, AD. 1773,
in ye 65th Year of her Age.

191. HERE LIES
BURIED THE BODY
OF MRS. HANNAH
FLETCHER, THE
WIFE OF MR. JOHN
FLETCHER, WHO
DIED APRIL
THE 10TH, 1737.
IN THE 52D YEAR
OF HER AGE.

188.

Illegible stone.

189. Here lieth the
Body of Dorothy,
The Daughter of
John Prescott &
Dorothy His Wife.

192. Here lies interred ye
Body of Mrs. Rebecca,
ye Wife of Mr.
James Locke, who

Died March ye 9th, AD.
1769, in ye 28th year of
her Age.

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till ye last Trumpets joyful sound;
Then shall awake in sweet surprize,
And in my Saviour's image rise.

193. In Memory of
Peter and John, Twin
Children of Col. Joseph
and Mrs. Deborah Wilder.
Peter died January ye 1st,
1762, Ætatis 19.
John died on ye Day
of his Birth.

Death levels all, ye Wicked, and ye Just,
Man's but a Flower, and his end is Dust.

64. 194.

In Memory of Mrs.
Martha Sawyer,
(Wife of Mr. Paul Sawyer,)
who died May 10th
1794, Aged 31 years.

Behold and see, as you pass by,
As you are now so once was I;
As I am now so you must be;
Prepare for death, and follow me.

65. 195.

In Memory of Mrs.
Martha Joslin, Wife
of Mr. Nathaniel Joslin,
who died February
ye 13th, AD. 1768, in ye
37th Year of her Age.

The stroke of Death hath laid my Head,
Down in this dark and silent Bed;
The Trump shall sound, I hope to rise,
And meet my SAVIOUR in the skies.

196.

Broken stone.

197. In Memory of
Joanna Joslin, ye
wife of Capt.
Peter Joslin,
Who died Sept.
ye 24th, 1707,
in ye 44th year
of her Age.

198. In Memory of
Dorothy Joslin,
Daughter of Capt.
Peter Joslin, &
Joanna, his wife,
Who died April
20, 1732, in ye
18th year of her Age.

199. In Memory of Mrs
Hannah Joslin, ye wife
of Capt. Peter Joslin,
who died Aug. ye
14th, 1739, in ye
71st Year of
Her Age.

200.

Broken stone.

[Perhaps this stone marks the grave of
Capt. Peter Joslin, or Joslyn, son of one of
the first settlers.]

66. 201.

Here Lies Buried
Ye Body of
Rebekah Rugg,
Daughter of
Mr. John & Mrs.
Lydia Rugg.
Who deceased, July
ye 6th, 1747,
Aged 2 Years
7 Days.

67. 202.

To the Memory of
Mrs. Ann Austin,
wife of Mr.

Peter Thacher Vose,
and
daughter of the late
Hon. John Sprague,
died Sept. 10, 1834;
Æt. 58.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs
is the kingdom of heaven."

203.

A mound, but no stone in 1878.

204.

MRS. KATHARINE SPRAGUE,
the amiable Consort of ye
Hon'ble John Sprague, Esq.,
And a daughter of the late
RICHARD FOSTER, Esq.,
Died May 5th, AD. 1787,
in the 49th year of her age;
And is here interred.

Blessed are the pure in Heart, for they shall see God.

205.

The Remains
of the
Hon'ble John Sprague, Esq.,
Chief Justice of the Court
of Common Pleas, for the
County of Worcester,

who deceased Sept. 28, A. D. 1800,
Ætatis 61,
are here deposited.

Blessed are the peace-makers, for they
shall be called the children of God.

206.

In Memory of
SAMUEL JOHN SPRAGUE, A. M.,
Attorney at Law, only son of the
late honourable JOHN SPRAGUE, and
KATHERINE his wife,
who died Sept. 10,
A. D. 1805, in the
26 year of his
age.

"A safe companion, and an easy friend,
Unstain'd through life, lamented in thy end."

Mr. Sprague had just completed his legal studies preparatory to entering on the practice of his profession as a lawyer. He had moved his library into his office, which stood between the houses of Humphrey Barrett and Solon Wilder. Being fatigued with the labor of moving, near the close of the day, he mounted his horse for recreation. While near the George Hill school-house, his horse stumbled and threw him violently to the ground. The shock proved mortal and

he soon died. The high hopes of his family and many friends were buried in his grave.

On the easterly verge of the 68th square, near the fence, is a grave with the following inscription.

68. 207.

In Memory of
Amos, Son of Mr.
Amos and Mrs. Prudence
Sawyer,

Who died Nov'r
1st, 1792, Aged
3 Years, 2 Mon.
& 5 Days.

THE OLD COMMON BURYING GROUND.

The yard on the Old Common became a public burying ground about the year 1700, although there is reason for believing that some interments were made there before that time. Four or five years later the third meeting-house of the town was placed on the opposite side of the road, and the Old Common became the center of the town.

The oldest inscription in this yard has also the earliest date of any in the town; but the stone is of comparatively recent setting. The following is the inscription.

SACRED

to the Memory of
T H O M A S W I L D E R ,
from Lancaster in England,
who first settled at Hingham,
in 1641, and came to this Town,
July 1, 1659, and died Oct. 23,
1667, leaving three sons, viz.,
T H O M A S , J O H N and N A T H A N I E L ,
from whom are derived all
of the Name of Wilder in
this Town and vicinity.

The stone is of handsome slate and as said above, is modern. There is no proof that the first Thomas Wilder was buried in this place, aside from the stone itself. And that does not say "here lies buried," but "sacred to the memory." Thomas Wilder lived on the Wheeler place, [now Stratton,]

at the foot of George hill. Perhaps he moved to the Old Common, because two of his sons afterwards lived there; but it is uncertain. As the lot was not used for a burying yard for more than thirty years after the death of Mr. Wilder, it is not probable that he was buried here, yet it might have been a private family yard: It is probable however, that Mr. Wilder was buried in the first burying yard, and that the stone was set up where it now stands, near the burial place of his son Thomas, and other near descendants. Perhaps his remains were brought hither from the old yard.

The earliest date on an ancient, moss-covered stone, in this yard, commemorates the eldest son of the first Thomas Wilder. It is as follows.

<p>Here Lyes Buried ye Body of Capt. THOMAS WILDER who died August ye 7th, 1716, about ye 70th Year of His Age.</p>	<p>HON. JOSEPH WILDER, who died May ye 13th A. D. 1763, Ætatis 84. Hark, from the tomb a doleful sound, My Ear attend the Cry, Ye living Men, come view the ground Where you must shortly lie.</p>
<p>In Memory of the HON JOSEPH WILDER, Esq., who dec'd March 29th, ADom. 1757, Ætatis 74. He was enriched with strong Powers, and good accomplishments, which were exerted in his numerous public & private connections. He was pleasant in conversation, in Life exemplary, and a steady Friend to his Country, to ye Good, to the Poor, to Virtue and to GOD.</p>	<p>ERECTED In Memory of COL. CALEB WILDER, who died June 19, 1776. Æt. 59. Also of his wife Mrs. ABIGAIL WILDER, who died Oct 1, 1804, Æt. 92 And of their daughter, ABIGAIL SMITH</p>
<p>In Memory of Mrs. LUCY WILDER, Relict of ye</p>	

ERECTED
In Memory of
Mr. LEVI WILDER,
who departed this life
January 5, 1793,
aged 42 years.

How loved, how valued once, avails thee not,
To whom related, or by whom begot,
A heap of dust alone remains of thee,
'Tis all thou art, and all we soon shall be.

Here Lies ye Body
of Mrs. Prudence
Wilder, wife of
Mr. Josiah Wilder, Aged
33 Years, 1 M., with 4
of Their Children,
All Between 12 and 2
Years of Age, viz.,
Rufus, Martha,
Josiah and Sarah.
All Burned by Fire,
January ye 23d, 1739.

[This family lived, probably, in that part
of Lancaster which is now in Boylston.]

Sacred
to the memory of
MRS. SARAH WILDER,
who was transferred
from time to eternity
on the 31 day of Aug't
1819
Aged 66 years.

Hope wipes the tear from sorrow's eye,
While faith points upward to the sky.

Here lies Buried ye
Body of Mr.
Titus Wilder, son
of Mr. Thomas and Mrs.
Susanna Wilder,
who dec'd May ye 1st
A. D. 1749,
Age 25 Years,
and 4 mo.

Sacred
To the Memory of
Josiah Wilder, Esq.
who deceased on ye
20th of December, AD.
1786, in ye 45th year
of his Age.

Every man at his best state
is altogether vanity.

In Memory of Lieut.
Thomas Hooker,
Who died September
ye 18th, 1768, in ye
79th year of his Age.

When Death unto you calls,
Your Soul rejoined must
To God who judgeth all,
The wicked and the just.

HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF MR.
JEREMIAH WILSON,
WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE
MARCH 22,
A. D. 1743,
IN YE 77TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

TIMOTHY WHITING
Obt.
June 12, 1826,
Æ 67.

ABIGAIL,
Wife of
Timo. Whiting,
Obt. Oct. 1, 1798,
Æ 39.
Resurgamus.

LYDIA,
Wife of
Timo. Whiting,
Obt. Jan. 15, 1851,
Æ 75.

HERE LIES BURIED
YE BODY OF
COL. JAMES WILDER,
ESQ., WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE MAY
YE 13TH, A. D. 1739,
AND YE
59TH YEARS
OF HIS AGE.

In Memory of Mrs.
 ABIGAIL WILDER Relict of
 COL. JAMES WILDER, Esq.,
 Who deceased on ye 18th
 Day of Sept., A.D. 1761,
 Ætatis 80.

Oh Death, thou'st conquered Me,
 I by thy Dart am slain,
 But Christ has conquered thee,
 And I shall rise again.

Capt.
 JAMES CARTER
 who died
 July 15, 1800,
 Aged 79.

HERE LIES
 THE BODY OF RE-
 BEKAH WARNER,
 THE DAUGHTER OF
 JOHN WARNER, AND
 SARAH HIS WIFE
 WHO DECE-
 ASSED MARCH
 THE 30 DAY, 1718.

Here Lies Buried
 The Body of
 Mr. Elias Sawyer,
 Who Died November
 ye 20, A. D. 1752,
 In ye 63
 Year of His Age.

This was probably the Elias Sawyer who was carried captive with his father, Thomas Sawyer and John Biglo, in 1705. He was then sixteen years old, and was detained in Canada, when his father and Biglo were released, that he might instruct the Canadians in the management of mills. He was then dismissed with rich presents.

Five or six rods from the southeastern end of the yard is a row of seven graves, in which nine children of Dea. JOSEPH and Mrs. REBEKAH MOORS were buried. Three were laid in one grave, and have one stone. All the children were young, and died not far from the same time, about 1740.

Here Lies Buried
 The Body of Mr.
 JOHN PRIEST,
 Who departed this
 Life, May 29, A. D.
 1750.

Here Lies Buried
 The Body of Mrs.
 ANNA PRIEST,
 Wife of Mr. John
 Priest, Who Departed
 this life April 3,
 Ano. Dom. 1751,

In ye 67 year
 of her Age.

Memento Mori.
 In Memory of Mr.
 WILLIAM FIFE
 Who departed this life, May ye
 5th, 1790, in ye 74th
 Year of his Age.

Friends and physicians could not save
 My mortal body from the Grave;
 Nor can the Grave confine me here,
 When Christ shall call me to appear.

Memento Mori.

In Memory of Mrs.
 ABIGAIL FIFE
 Wife of Mr. William Fife,
 who departed this life
 April ye 30th, 1790,
 in ye 69th Year of
 her age.

Retire, my friends, dry up your tears,
 Here I must lie till Christ appears.

Here Lies Buried
 Ye Body of Mrs.
 Deliverance Fife,
 Wife of Mr. William

Fife, who dec'd
 November ye 4th.
 A. D. 1750
 Aged 37 years.

Here Lies Buried
 Ye Body of
 Mr. JOHN GOOS,
 Who Dec'd
 October ye 5th,
 A. D. 1747,
 Aged 30 years.

[Possibly he was a relative of the husband of the renowned "Mother Goose" who lived in Boston, and wrote the most popular nonsense-poetry in the language.]

Towards the northeast corner of the yard is a group of graves belonging to the Houghton family. These were of the second and later generations. The first John Houghton, and probably Ralph Houghton, were buried in the old yard, east of the railroad. The John whose epitaph follows, was clerk, esquire, conveyancer, and an honored servant of the public in many capacities. He gave the land for the meeting-house, opposite the burying yard. His own house was on the south side of the road, and it is supposed, somewhere east of the school-house.

HERE LIES BURIED
 YE BODY OF
 JOHN HOUGHTON
 ESQUIRE. AS YOU
 ARE SO WERE WE,
 AS WE ARE SO
 YOU WILL BE.
 WHO DIED FEBRUARY
 YE 5, ANNO DOM.
 1736-7, AND
 IN YE 87TH YEAR
 OF HIS AGE

HERE LIES
 BURIED YE BODY
 OF MRS. MARY

HOUGHTON, YE
 WIFE OF JOHN
 HOUGHTON, ESQUIRE
 WHO DIED APRIL
 7TH, ANO DOM. 1724.
 & IN THE 76TH YEAR
 OF HER AGE.

HERE LIES
 BURIED YE BODY
 OF CAPT. JONAS
 HOUGHTON, WHO
 DEPARTED THIS
 LIFE, AUGUST
 YE 15, A. D. 1739,
 IN YE 57TH YEAR
 OF HIS AGE.

Here Lies Buried
Ye Body of Lieut.
John Houghton
Who Died April
Ye 5th 1724,
Aged 51 years,

Here Lies Buried
ye Body of
Robert Houghton,
Who Died
November ye

A. D. 1723,
IN ye 65th year
Of His Age.

Here Lies Buried
ye Body of
Mrs. Rebekah,
Houghton, Wife Of
Mr. Jacob Houghton,
Died October ye
22d. A. D. 1752,
Aged 80 yrs, 10 M.
& 27 Days,

In the middle of the east end of the yard is a granite shaft, characteristic of the man whom it commemorates. This was the "immovable" Jonathan Wilder, firm enough to be the abutment of a bridge over the Nashua. His wife was a Prescott. His son Henry married a descendant of Major Willard. Henry Wilder and his wife, a daughter of Mrs. Anna Goodhue and granddaughter of Col. Abijah Willard, combined much of the "bluest blood" of Lancaster. Mr. Wilder had in his memory a large fund of family and town history, but failed to put it in writing.

JONATHAN
WILDER,
Died
Jan. 13, 1866,
Æ 80.

RUTH PRESCOTT,
his Wife,
Died
Nov. 19, 1826.

There are many head-stones which mark the graves of members of others of the old families of the town, as the Wheelers, Phelps, Gosses, etc., but the design of these notes is not to exhaust the yard of its epitaphs. Only a glance can be cast at the monuments of those who came later, such as the Saffords, Emersons, Danas, Clevelands, Hillers, Kings, Lanes and others, whose remains repose here. There is, however, near the middle of the yard, a sight which always awakens tender thoughts and emotions. It is a row of little graves, holding the ashes of three children of Sampson V.

S. Wilder, all under the age of four years. There are four stones, one of which commemorates a little child who died in Paris.

Among more recent interments in this yard, are those of a few persons who lived in Lancaster only a few years, but whose names are associated with something of historic or romantic interest.

Near the middle of the south side of the ground, there is an iron gate that opens from the road to a row of tombs. The iron door to one of these tombs bears the name of Packard. This was the Rev. Asa Packard, the closing years of whose useful life were passed in this town. In his youth he was in the army of the Revolution, as a drummer. Though a non-combatant, he incited others to fight, and received his share of wounds. In one action, his thigh was pierced by a leaden bullet, which he carried to his dying day. His body was laid in this family tomb, and many years since, his son-in-law, Rev. George Trask, when examining the remains, found the bullet embedded in the crumbling bone. This memento of the youthful hero's suffering in a noble cause, is still preserved by his descendants.

Just above and to the left of this tomb is a small monument of white marble, in the form of a pyramid, about ten inches in diameter at the base, and forty inches in height. The stone bears the following inscription.

Mrs. Ann Quincy,
Relict of Josiah Quincy,
Esq.,
Late of Braintree.
Died Feb. 17, 1805.
Ae 80.

Mrs. Quincy was the mother of Mr. Packard's wife, and it is supposed, the grandmother of the late Hon. Josiah Quincy, member of Congress, Mayor of Boston, and president of Harvard University. If this conjecture is true, she was the mother of Josiah Quincy, Esq., the young orator and patriot who died at the opening of the Revolution.

Around the base of the monument is the following epitaph. Two lines of it are on each of the four sides. It is not easy to decide which lines should come first, but perhaps the intention of the poet was to have the following arrangement.

A cheerful heart was hers, and free from guile;
 She showed that piety and age could smile.
 Religion had her heart, her cares, her voice.
 Twas her last refuge, as her earliest choice.
 Like a tired traveler, with sleep oppressed,
 Within her children's arms she sank to rest.
 Heaven did her life prolong to spread its praise,
 And blest her with a patriarch's length of days.

In the southeast corner of the ground is a tablet about six feet in length, and three feet wide, supported by six stone pillars, standing on a red sandstone base. The material is of marble and is well wrought. The lettering is done by an excellent workman. The inscription is in these words.

Here lieth the remains of
 Eloise Richards Payne,
 Who departed this life
 July 5, 1819,
 Aæ 31.
 She will be talked of
 but a little while,
 and
 forgotten by society,
 will survive only in a few hearts,
 where the memory of such a being is immortal.

Sink into dust
 frail covering of a purified spirit:
 Parent earth receive thine own:
 God in heaven,
 Take her soul to thee.

Miss Payne was the sister of John Howard Payne, author of the song: "Home, sweet home;" and is referred to on another page of this work, as a lady of extraordinary attainments and attractions. There is a whisper, faint by the lapse of time, that the tablet, with its expressive inscription, was placed by one who has since become distinguished as a divine and historian.

A few rods from the southwest corner of the cemetery, is an iron yard, enclosing a single grave. On the east side of the fence is a shield, bearing the family arms; a hand grasping a straight sword, pointed upward, and bearing a crown on its point, with this motto: *Virtutis gloria merces*. In the centre of the yard is a monument, having on one side this inscription.

In Memory of
 David Steuart Robertson,
 Second Son of the late John Robertson, Esq.,
 of Foveran House, Aberdeenshire.
 Born in Scotland,
 Educated at Rugby, in England,
 And at Geissen, in Germany,
 In which country, as well as in Sicily,
 He had spent several years.
 At the age of twenty three
 He came to America.
 Having, after various experience of the Old World,
 Acquired an ardent love for the New,
 He settled in this town of Lancaster,
 And became a citizen of the United States.
 Deceased on the twenty first of July,
 A. D. MDCCCXLIX.
 In the thirtieth year of his age.

On the opposite side are the following lines, from the pen of Dr. T. W. Parsons.

Here Steuart sleeps, and should some brother Scot,
 Wander this way, and pause upon this spot,
 He need not ask, now life's poor show is o'er,
 What arms he carried, or what plaid he wore,
 So small the value of illustrious birth,
 Brought to this solemn, last essay of earth;
 Yet unreprieved, his epitaph may say,
 A royal soul was rapt in Steuart's clay,
 And generous actions consecrate his mound,
 More than all titles, though of kingly sound.

Mr. Robertson was not only prized by his friends, but he earned the respect of the public by his taste and generous spirit. His death was sudden, by a violent fever. He owned the property east of the cemetery, which he left to a female friend, living in Boston; one who might have borne his name, if death had not parted them. It is several years since she followed him into the land of the unseen.

Near the middle of the north side of the yard, by the fence, is a new made grave, which contains the remains of one who died in July, 1851. Her name was Mathilde P. A. Siedhof, daughter of Dr. Carl Siedhof, a learned German scholar, who kept a private school in the Stewart house on the Old Common, now No. 5 of the Industrial school. Her remains were placed, at first, in the Lane family tomb, by permission. In the course of time, both families removed from the place, and the tomb was given to the town as a receiving tomb. It became necessary to put the tomb in order, and by the expressed desire of Dr. Siedhof, the ashes of his daughter were buried. This service was done tenderly and respectfully, as to a maiden stranger, by the Cemetery Committee, in the autumn of 1877. No stone marks the grave, but it can easily be found.

Here our rambles in this ancient burial place might come to an end, but there is, near the southwest corner, a group of mounds, marked by monuments of such simple elegance in form and such good taste in their inscriptions, as to attract and reward notice. They are as follows, beginning at the left or west, and going to the right.

[At the top a hand grasps a cross, with the words: ET TENEOR ET TENEOR.]

EDWARD PAYSON HUMPHREY,
Apr. 7 1865,
Aged 26 years.

THE LORD GOD GIVETH THEM LIGHT,
AND THEY SHALL REIGN FOR EVER
AND EVER.

[On the plinth are these words:]
Love stronger than death.

CHARLES
HUMPHREY,
Died
April 25, 1860,
Aged 52.

He walked with God, and
he was not, for God took
him. *

CLARA
HUMPHREY BUTLER,
Born to Earth, Sept. 24, 1846,
Born to Heaven, Sept. 23, 1872.

A dear wife, and a true Disci-
ple of the Lord Jesus Christ.

“Beyond the touch of time or ill.”

[The figure of a lamb at the top of
the stone.]

“I am the good Shepherd.”

MARCUS JUDSON AMES,
Son of
REV. MARCUS AND JANE A. AMES,

Drowned at Andover, May 27, 1874,
Aged 16 years, 16 days.

Christ Jesus is my only trust,
With Him I leave my worthless dust;
My soul He'll take to realms above,
To dwell with Him in joy and love.

THE NORTH LANCASTER BURYING YARD.

The next ground for burial purposes in the order of use, was in the north part of the town, though it does not appear in the Records so early as the Middle Cemetery by two years. At a meeting held April 7, 1800, Benjamin W. Willard, Col. Jonas Lane and Capt. Benjamin Wyman were chosen a committee to consider the expediency of appropriating a certain piece of land at the north part of the town, where a number of persons are buried, for the purpose of a burying field. From this time the "piece of land" where a "number of persons are buried," became one of the public burial places, and has been fenced by the town. The date of the first burials cannot be fixed, but it is believed by aged people that members of the Shaker family or settlement were among the first. If so, there may have been interments here as early as the year 1790. In the year 1804 the town bought a "burying cloth," or pall for this yard, and built a new fence which cost \$28.

The notion which has been prevalent that the yard was opened for the burial of inmates of the almshouse, is unfounded, because there was no poor farm at the time. The fact seems to be that the respectable families, of which there were many, in that section, eighty years ago, wanted the yard as a general convenience, and the inscriptions contain the names of persons belonging to those families. At first, few stones were erected, though it is supposed that quite a number of interments were made. Then came the period of slate monuments of which there are several, made from the quarry in that section of the town. Recently modest but handsome marble monuments have been introduced.

Great improvement was made in the yard in the year 1877. The ground had become covered with small brush, and large trees. It was forest-like. There was a double or triple row of pines on the road side. The Cemetery Committee, in compliance with the feelings of families residing in the neighborhood, had the trees thinned out, and the yard thoroughly mowed. They also entirely removed the hedge of trees on the front, and built a wall, well laid, with a gateway guarded on each side by granite posts. The planting of small trees or shrubs, or both, at the back of the wall, will complete the improvements for the present, and make this a pleasant and fitting sleeping place for the departed.

THE MIDDLE CEMETERY.

The opening of a lot for the burial of the dead in the north part of the town only supplied a local want. There was need of another near the center of population. Both the Old and the Old Common yards were nearly filled, though the latter has been used for new interments, in limited number, to the present year. But both were small, and entirely inadequate. Therefore in the year 1798, the town took measures to meet the never ceasing demands of death. At a meeting in May, the town chose a committee of three, who purchased of Rev. Mr. Thayer, and Judge John Sprague, one acre and thirty-four rods of land, midway between the Center and South Lancaster, or New Boston, as it was then styled. The lot was a parallelogram, and was laid out in sections eight by sixteen feet. Among the bills paid in 1800 was one of \$56 for the "new burying field."

In August, 1803, leave was given to individual inhabitants of the town to build tombs in the burying places, under restrictions. Under this vote tombs were built in the Old Common and the Middle yards at different dates. It is many years since the last was made, and it is hoped that many centuries will elapse before another is added to them.

At a town meeting, November 15, 1842, a committee of five was chosen to confer with Mr. Thayer, (son of the Dr.,) relative to the purchase of a piece of land for an addition to the burying ground. John M. Washburn, Henry Lincoln, John G. Thurston, Ezra Sawyer and Anthony Lane were the committee. They bought a parcel of land on the northwest side, and by moving the road some feet westward, the cemetery was enlarged. The new lots were fixed at ten feet by twenty, and the price for each was two dollars.

This cemetery, by constant use, has become crowded in the course of eighty years. It is rich in garnered dust. Stones of different material, form and size, mark nearly every available spot. The names of a large number of the families living in the town, from the first settlement, are found on these monuments. They are too numerous to mention, and selection might seem invidious. It would be well if some one could be found who would prepare and publish a correct plan of the lots and a full collection of epitaphs in this and all the other cemeteries of the town. Only a single specimen will be given here.

WILLIAM RUSSELL,

Born in Glasgow, Scotland

April 28, 1798,

Died in Lancaster, Mass.

August 16, 1873.

A graduate of the University
of Glasgow,

An Eminent Educator,
the Editor of the first Journal
of Education, and author
Of several works on Elocution

He established the first
Normal School

in New Hampshire, and was
Founder of the N. E. Normal
Institute in this place.

A man universally beloved and
respected for his many virtues,
Christian graces and scholarly attainments.

“The memory of the just is blessed.”

THE NORTH VILLAGE CEMETERY.

The Middle Cemetery seems to have been almost exclusively used from the time of its opening, and not being extensive, it soon began to fill up; and in a little more than a generation, as we have seen, it was enlarged. . . But more room was needed, though the lots were close together, and in 1850 there was a movement made to open two new burial places, one of which was to accommodate the growing village of Clintonville. But the project of forming a new town postponed the other question a few years. The immediate necessity was provided for by directing the selectmen to lay out vacant land in the cemetery, except in front of Dr. Thayer's tomb.

At length, in 1854, at the March meeting, the question came before the town in relation to buying new land for a burying ground. The subject was under consideration till the next year, when, at the November meeting, an appropriation was made to buy nearly four acres of land, and "put it in a condition for burial purposes." One hundred lots were marked, averaging nearly 24 by 15 feet; the lots were to be sold for two dollars each, except No. 61, which was four dollars. In 1858 the selectmen were directed to fence the new burying ground, and lay out the remaining portion of the land into lots. This was done with some exceptions on the border, and in the beautiful valley that crosses the yard.

This was the first cemetery in the town in which suitable regard was had to space. The lots were laid out nearly twice as large as in the addition to the Middle Cemetery, and more than double the size of those in the original division. Ample avenues and paths permit free passage, by teams or pedestrians, through the Cemetery and between the family lots. An iron gateway supported by massive granite posts, opens to the main entrance. The situation is one of the finest in the town; a high plain, of light soil, with a

charming valley north of the center, with a prospect, from the northerly summit, of the Ponakin intervale, and the hills and woods beyond. The only thing to be desired is that the space was much more ample, since most of the available room is already taken.

This cemetery is not old enough to give historical interest to the monuments, but there is one stone which marks the graves of two young men who bravely did their part in making history.

The monument is of granite, and is adorned with military emblems. It is crowned with an arch, under which is the motto :

PRO PATRIA

Beneath the motto are two marble panels, side by side, on which are the following inscriptions.

<p>FRANCIS WASHBURN BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL COLONEL 4TH REGT. MASS. CAV. DIED 22D APRIL 1865 OF WOUNDS RECEIVED AT HIGH BRIDGE VA. 6TH APRIL 1865 AGED 26 YEARS</p>	<p>EDWARD RICHMOND WASHBURN CAPTAIN 53D REGT. MASS. INF. DIED 5TH SEPT. 1864 OF WOUNDS RECEIVED BEFORE PORT HUDSON LA. 14TH JUNE 1863 AGED 28 YEARS</p>
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EASTWOOD CEMETERY.

This burial place, the sixth in order of time, is situated east of the Old Common, and extends into Bolton. The land rises from the plain on which the "State Industrial School for Girls" is located, towards the east, and overlooks the beautiful intervale of the Nashua for miles, while the Center, South Lancaster, George hill, and the northern forests fill the near prospect. Beyond are the noble domes of Wachusett on the west, and Watatic on the northwestern horizon. The towering head of the Grand Monadnock is also visible from several outlooks. The surface is variegated by swells of land, valleys and dells, and is mostly covered

with a natural growth of forest trees. The whole is well suited for a cemetery, a "sleeping place" for those who have laid down the cares of life, and is capable of fine effects in landscape gardening.

The origin of this cemetery is given in the paper read by Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, at its dedication, in 1876, as follows. "This ground," — the North Village cemetery — "was supposed to contain sufficient space to meet all the wants of the town for the next fifty years. On the reception of the generous donation of three thousand dollars by Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., to the town, in 1866, for the care and improvement of the several cemeteries, in compliance with the provisions of the deed of gift, the town voted that the interest arising from this sum should be expended under the direction and supervision of the Library Committee. When this committee entered upon its duties, and proceeded to make an examination of the different cemeteries, almost the first consideration forced upon their attention was the near necessity of additional ground for burial purposes. In the [North] Village Cemetery — the only one available for new lots — most of the desirable lots were already taken, and the limited space left was being rapidly appropriated."

The committee, without delay, began to make inquiries, and examine different locations, in order to find the best available ground. After various disappointments, the committee learned that perhaps the best situation in all the region was in the market. Two of their number, [Messrs. Bartol and Thompson,] took the responsibility of purchasing the lot of forty-six acres, "under the impression that with the near necessity of more ground, the town, when made acquainted with all the facts, would gladly take the land at cost." This the voters were not ready to do, and not till three years had passed, was the purchase made by the town, when it was to pay the original cost with interest added. The sum of \$1,000 was raised at the April meeting. The committee were now free to proceed with suitable plans for putting the ground in

order. In 1872 they made a contract with Mr. H. W. S. Cleveland, of Chicago, native of the town, a landscape gardener of high reputation, for a plan of the cemetery. The plan drawn by him, and approved by the committee, was adopted by the town, April 3, 1873, and the committee were authorized to carry on the work in Eastwood in accordance with it. The sum of \$500 was raised for the purpose of making the proposed improvements. "This money was expended under the direction of Mr. Henry Wilder, whose warm interest in the enterprise led him to give to it both time and labor, and the town is indebted to him for much of the grace and beauty now to be seen here."

The health of Mr. Wilder failed in 1875, and the care laid down by him, was by vote of the committee, devolved upon Dr. Thompson, who had been clerk and treasurer from the beginning. It should be stated that every member of the committee, but especially the chairman, felt a deep interest in the enterprise, and readily co-operated in all measures for improving the ground; but the chief supervision of the work in the field fell to the clerk. Speaking of the two years ending with February, 1877, the paper of Dr. Thompson says: "Within the past two years great changes have been effected. Much ground has been cleared from underbrush, and opened to view. Avenues have been completed, and new ones made. The main growth of woods has been thinned out; the entrance to the grounds leveled and graded, and partially supplied with flowering shrubs; while the appearance of that part devoted to lots has been greatly improved."

The lots in this cemetery are 16 by 24 feet, and the paths around them are four feet wide. Each lot is bounded by a brick post at the four corners, with the number of the lot plainly marked.

At the April meeting in 1874, the town accepted "Eastwood as a Cemetery," and adopted the following Rules for its preservation and improvement, as recommended by the cemetery committee.

SALE OF LOTS. — "The original conveyance of lots from the town to individuals, shall be evidenced by a certificate signed by the secretary of the Cemetery Committee, specifying that such a person is the owner of such a lot; and such certificate shall vest in the owner, his heirs and assigns, for the sole purpose of interment under the regulations adopted by the town. But no original certificate shall be granted to any person who does not produce proof from the town treasurer that he has paid for his lot in full; nor shall any person be the owner of more than two lots at the same time, unless by the unanimous consent of the committee; nor shall any transfer of a lot or part of a lot from an owner to a purchaser be valid until recorded in the secretary's books. The price of the lots is fixed for the present at \$5.00 each."

"All lots shall be held subject to the provisions following:

"I. No lot shall be used for any other purpose than as a burial place for the dead.

"II. The natural surface of the ground shall be preserved as far as possible; and no terracing, or walling, is to be done, except under the direction of the town by its committee. No curbing of stone shall stand above the surface of the ground. No enclosures or fences of any kind shall be allowed. Head-stones fronting the avenues shall be set back at least one foot and one half from the line.

"III. The proprietor of each lot shall have the right to erect any proper stones or monuments thereon; and to cultivate trees, shrubs and plants in the same; but no construction of any vault or catacomb other than a general receiving tomb shall be permitted.

"IV. If any monument, effigy, or any structure whatever, or any inscription be placed in or upon any lot, determined by the committee to be offensive, improper, or injurious to surrounding lots, or not in harmony with the character of the cemetery, it shall be the right and duty of the town to remove the same.

"V. All earth or rubbish accumulated by the owners of lots or their workmen, must be carefully removed as soon as possible, and be deposited in the place appointed for such material by the committee or their agents. Neither litter nor trash shall be left on the lots, or thrown on the avenues."

The cemetery was dedicated on the afternoon of the twelfth day of October, 1876, according to the following order of services.

Introductory remarks, by the Chairman of the Committee, Rev. George M. Bartol.

Hymn by a select Choir: "How oft beneath this sacred shade."

Scripture Selection, by Rev. Alfred Emerson.

Prayer, by Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, D. D.

Historical Sketch, by J. L. S. Thompson, M. D.

Hymn: "See the leaves around us falling."

Address, by Rev. Mr. Bartol.

Hymn: "Shall I fear, O Earth! thy bosom?"

Benediction, by Rev. Abijah P. Marvin.

The services were held in a pine grove, about fifty rods from the main entrance, on a hill-side sloping towards the Bolton road. The sun of the late afternoon shone pleasantly upon the scene; the many-colored leafage was beginning to fall, suggestive of a beautiful old age and a gracious departure; the faint hum from the villages in sight, told whence would come the future tenants of these quiet sleeping places; and the words of Scripture taught us to make life cheerful by the hope of a glorious resurrection through faith in Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead, and "ascended up on high, and led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men."

CHAPTER XXVI.

LANCASTER IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

THE voters of Lancaster were conservative in politics till the conservation of the republic imperatively demanded a change of measures and of men. It was found that slavery must be abolished, or the nation must perish. But this conviction was not willingly admitted by the majority of our citizens until it was forced upon them, and they were impelled by love of country to sever their ancient bonds of party, and enter into new combinations. In the fall of 1853, the town gave a large majority of votes for Hon. Emery Washburn, the whig candidate for governor. The vote stood : Washburn, 154 ; Bishop, democrat, 45 ; Wilson, free soil, 43. But this was the last of whig ascendancy, as the "know-nothing" wave swept over the town in 1854, removing all the old and new party landmarks. Henry J. Gardner received one hundred and twenty-eight votes out of two hundred and twenty-one. Another revolution came in 1856 when the republican party carried New England, and a majority of the free states. The presidential vote in this town was as follows : For John C. Fremont, 232 ; John Bell, (Union,) 10 ; S. A. Douglas, (democrat,) 35. From that time forward the town was firmly bound to republican and anti-slavery principles and methods.

The consequence was that when the rebellion broke out in the spring of 1861, the people of Lancaster were ready for the crisis, and at once rallied to the defence of the country. Fort Sumter was attacked by the rebels, under Gen. Beauregard, on the twelfth of April. It was surrendered by

Major Anderson on the morning of the fourteenth. The news came north with lightning speed, and awakened a tempest of patriotic wrath. The national flag had been insulted. A national fortress had been compelled to strike its colors by traitors. The unity and life of the nation had been smitten. The uprising was swift and terrible. Public meetings were held in town as well as city, all over the north. The pulpit summoned all, in the name of God, to defend the Union, and make it free. The press called upon all able-bodied men to rally round the flag, and fill the ranks of the army of freedom.

In the midst of this excitement the sixth regiment was hurried off for Washington. Its bloody passage through Baltimore, on the nineteenth of April, intensified the public feeling to the highest pitch. The bonds of party were burned like tow in the flames, and the people were united as one man. A public meeting was held on the evening of Monday, April 22, to devise means to aid the government. J. L. S. Thompson, M. D., was called to the chair, and Henry C. Kimball was chosen secretary. The "meeting was largely attended by all classes," says a manuscript of Dr. Thompson, "many ladies being present, proffering their aid and influence for the public welfare." An account of the meeting published in the *Clinton Courant*, states that the assembly was addressed by Col. Francis B. Fay, who after a few earnest and emphatic words proposed in a series of resolutions, that, "the citizens of Lancaster, old and young, rich and poor, abandon for the present all side issues, know no party but the Union, and recognize no guiding star but liberty and the constitution." The resolutions were "unanimously adopted, with tumultuous applause, every man rising to his feet."

Eloquent and patriotic speeches were made by many of the most influential citizens, after which thirty men were enrolled to form a volunteer company, with the prospect of raising twice the number. It was also voted to form a "home guard" to look after the families of such as might be called

into the service of the country. A vote was passed in favor of calling a "legal town meeting at the earliest possible moment," and Jacob Fisher and Charles L. Wilder were chosen a committee to prepare and present business for the action of the town. A committee to raise volunteers was appointed, viz., Woodbury Whittemore and C. A. Pollard.

The town meeting was held, April 29, and Solon Whiting, Esq., was chosen moderator. The meeting was large and spirited. The object of the meeting was to see if the town would raise money to defray the expenses of an outfit of the Lancaster volunteer company, and also grant aid to the families of said volunteers in their absence. The committee chosen by the citizens' meeting, in reference to raising a company of soldiers, reported in the words following: "The committee would recommend that a committee of seven be chosen by the town to take charge of such funds as may be voted by the town, and that said committee have full power to expend any portion, or all of such appropriation for the above purpose, as they may deem expedient. That the town pay each volunteer, from the time called for until discharged, thirteen dollars per month, and one dollar per day for each day devoted to drill — not exceeding thirty days — and not less than six hours to be considered a day. That the town treasurer is hereby authorized to borrow, on behalf of the town, any sum that may be needed for the above purpose, not exceeding five thousand dollars, subject to the order of the above committee." They also nominated for the general committee, the following. George W. Howe, George Dodge, John M. Washburn, John Bennett, Anthony Lane, J. L. S. Thompson, J. M. Damon. The town unanimously adopted the report, and added to the committee the names of Jacob Fisher and Charles L. Wilder.

The committee on outfit for volunteers reported an outfit, in part, for forty men, as follows :

Forty men, 2 shirts apiece, = 80 shirts at \$1.50 =	\$120.00
“ “ 2 flannel waistcoats, = 80 waistcoats at \$1.00 =	80.00

Forty woolen blankets lined with brown drill, \$1.00 =	160.00
“ India-rubber blankets, \$1.50 =	60.00
Eighty pair socks, .50 =	40.00
Forty light-colored soft felt hats, \$2.00 =	80.00
	<hr/>
Total,	\$540.00

The committee had canvassed the town, and about forty names of steady and able-bodied young men had been enrolled to serve in the volunteer militia, with the understanding that they were liable, at any moment, to be called into active service. It was hoped that enough men would join from Sterling to form a company. One hundred and seventy ladies had pledged themselves to prepare clothing and other necessary articles when needed. There “was a noble willingness to meet all demands and make all sacrifices.”

Another meeting was held by adjournment, on the eighth of June, when the proposition that the town should raise and equip one-half of the company, and arm it free of expense to the state, was, “after full and free discussion,” left to the discretion of the general committee.

After about twenty days spent in drill the men went into camp in Worcester, proposing to join the fifteenth regiment, Col. Devens. The commissioned officers were Capt. Thomas Sherwin, Lieuts. Woodbury Whittemore, William L. Cobb, Levi E. Brigham and Calvin W. Burbank. The company consisted of seventy-nine men, including officers. For some unknown reason the governor did not commission Capt. Sherwin, and the company being highly dissatisfied with having a stranger from Salem put over them, disbanded. In this action they had the sympathy of the whole regiment. Most of these volunteers joined other regiments, and did good service. Their names will appear in their proper connection.

The next public meeting of which any notice can be found, was on a special Fast day, September 26, in the Orthodox church, when the Rev. E. A. Lawrence preached an “exceed-

ingly interesting and appropriate discourse" to a large congregation, from Judges 6 : 13. "And Gideon said unto him, O my Lord, if the Lord be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all his miracles which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not the Lord bring us up from Egypt? but now the Lord hath forsaken us, and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites." Mr. Lawrence referred to the fact of the rebellion as a great calamity; and also to the reverses which had befallen the northern armies, as at Bull Run, and other places. These things showed that God had a controversy with us. Thence he inferred that our calamities were caused by our sins. These were many; but slavery, in which the north was implicated, was the "sum of villanies." Still he maintained that God was on the side of our government, though rebuking us. To the question, when will the war end? he replied, when slavery is ended. God will bring the administration to abolish slavery; then our armies will triumph. How completely this prediction was verified by the proclamation of Emancipation in 1862, and our subsequent victories, is matter of history.

And here it may be said that the pulpit of Lancaster spoke with no uncertain sound from the outbreak of the rebellion till it was subdued. Rev. Mr. Bartol, of the First church, and Rev. Mr. Lawrence, of the Evangelical church, not only preached repeatedly on the duty of upholding the government, and abolishing slavery, but they in common with resident ministers in the town, on many occasions, addressed the citizens in public meetings, and in all ways gave encouragement and sympathy for the soldiers in the field.

On the eighth of October a public meeting was held, over which Mr. Henry C. Kimball presided. Remarks were made by Col. Fay, Rev. Bradford K. Peirce and Rev. Milo C. Stebbins. A town committee was chosen as follows. Francis B. Fay, George W. Howe, Henry C. Kimball, Stowell Bancroft, John W. Barnes, Jonathan Buttrick and William J. Knight.

At the annual election, in November, the town went for Gov. Andrew by an overwhelming vote.

When the news came of the disaster at Ball's Bluff, on the twenty-first of October, the feelings of the people were deeply moved. Several of our men belonging to the fifteenth regiment were in the battle, and some of them lost their lives while in the fight, or in the endeavor to swim the turbulent Potomac.

At a meeting held November 14, presided over by Solon Whiting, Esq., the committee on military outfit made the following report.

Paid for drilling volunteers,	. . . . .	\$357.00
“ drill-master,	. . . . .	20.00
“ E. Ballard, for printing,	. . . . .	2.50
“ for swords,	. . . . .	60.00
“ committee of ladies,	. . . . .	31.42
“ for towels,	. . . . .	7.74
“ F. B. Fay for cash advanced,	. . . . .	250.00
Balance at expiration of ninety days,	. . . . .	241.50
Total,	. . . . .	<u>\$970.16</u>

In November a military company was formed, with one hundred names enrolled. They voted to supply themselves with guns. Col. Fay was chosen captain, and Solon Whiting, Esq., lieutenant. They declined, probably on account of age, when Dr. W. Barron was elected captain, and Lyman Moore, lieutenant. A. B. Collins was clerk of the company.

The Lancaster Independent Phalanx drilled, December 9, carrying seventy guns. These facts are given because they evince the spirit of the times. The martial spirit animated all, both young and old.

On the ninth of December, a meeting of citizens, called by Dr. Thompson and others, was held, to concert action in relation to “sending supplies of winter clothing to our soldiers.” G. Frederick Chandler was elected chairman, and

J. P. Wilder, secretary. A committee consisting of Dr. Thompson, and the selectmen, — Messrs. James Childs, Jeremiah Moore and Warren Davis — was raised to “ascertain the number of men in the service, and what they needed.”

Another committee, four ladies and five gentlemen, was chosen “to canvass the town, and solicit subscriptions of money and articles of clothing.” The committee were Miss Mary G. Chandler, Mrs. George Dodge, Mrs. C. F. McIntyre, Mrs. Joseph H. Dudley, Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, George Dodge, G. F. Chandler and Spencer R. Merrick. Mrs. Dodge and Mrs. McIntyre declining, Mrs. Emily Leighton and Miss Mary Humphrey were substituted.

It was found that thirty men were, or had been in the service. Those still in the field needed blankets, boots, towels, bedticks, etc. Most of the articles needed were purchased with money given by the citizens, amounting to \$166, in sums from a half dollar to ten dollars.

The first public event in Lancaster which marked the year 1862, was the celebration of the birthday of Washington. The town hall was filled with citizens who revered the “father of his country,” and who were resolved to preserve the free institutions for which he labored. Col. F. B. Fay presided, and Dr. Thompson acted as secretary. Prayer was offered by Rev. Amos E. Lawrence. The Farewell Address of Washington was read by Prof. William Russell, with all the effect which that consummate master of expression could give to it. Those who beheld his tall, dignified and commanding form, and the majesty of his noble countenance, almost felt as if they were in the very presence of Washington himself. The reading of the address was followed by patriotic and eloquent remarks from Revs. Jonathan E. Edwards, Quincy Whitney, Bradford K. Peirce and Amos E. Lawrence.

The month of July was a time of great activity in matters pertaining to the war. The army of the Potomac was near

Richmond, with alternating fortunes, one day beating the rebels, and the next giving way before them, but finally withdrawing from the Peninsula. The whole country was greatly agitated, and Lancaster shared in the excitement. Many meetings were held, and much was done to encourage the soldiers and sustain the cause of union and freedom.

On the eighth of July a citizens' meeting was held to take measures for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers. George W. Howe was placed in the chair, and Dr. Thompson chosen secretary. Spirited remarks were made by several gentlemen. A committee was appointed to raise money to be expended by the Sanitary Commission. The committee were Caleb T. Symmes, G. F. Chandler and George A. Johnson. Dea. George Cummings gave fifty dollars, and Mr. Nathaniel Thayer gave an equal sum.

The meeting was adjourned to the fourteenth, when many ladies were present, though it was a stormy evening. Seventy-five ladies had in the meantime been working upon articles which were needed by the suffering soldiers. Mr. Howe was chairman of the meeting. Mr. Symmes, from the committee, reported that the sum of \$360.73 had been raised. Of this sum, \$200 had been sent to the Sanitary Commission and the balance had been paid for two hundred and forty-seven yards of cloth. Spirited remarks were made by Rev. Milo C. Stebbins, Rev. J. E. Edwards, Col. Fay and Rev. Mr. Lawrence. Dea. Cummings urged the encouragement of enlistments, and offered \$100. Col. Fay made the same offer.

During this month came the call of Pres. Lincoln for a large addition to the army. The quota of Lancaster was seventeen. The citizens held a meeting, July 23, and undertook to raise \$1,700, and give each volunteer \$100 as bounty. The committee, in addition to the selectmen, for raising recruits, were Messrs. Lawrence, Stebbins, Burbank and Johnson. At a citizens' meeting held on the twenty-third, the committee reported that they had canvassed the town, and

raised the money. Four men had already enlisted. Speeches were made by Messrs. Edwards, Thompson, Stebbins, and Edmund C. Whitney, a young man who soon after went into the service.

A legal town meeting was held the same day, George W. Howe, presiding, when it was voted to assume the \$1,700 subscription, and pay the bounty to the volunteers; for each man, \$100. The sum of \$2,000 was raised for paying to families of volunteers the sums granted as "state aid." The recruits already at Camp Wool who should be accepted as a part of the quota were to have the bounty. A committee was chosen to act with the selectmen in procuring recruits. The men were speedily mustered into the service, and many of them joined the thirty-fourth regiment, Col. Wells.

At a meeting of citizens, July 24, a committee was chosen to provide for the wants of absent soldiers; and also to see that necessary work on their farms should be done at proper times. The committee to look after this service were Messrs. Howe, Thompson and C. A. Pollard. The hay of T. A. G. Hunting, a soldier, was cut and put in by B. B. Otis and J. Moore. Other citizens—names not recorded except in the "book of remembrance,"—in all parts of the town, volunteered to perform similar service.

Public meetings were held, July 26 and 28, and there was much enthusiasm, until the quota was filled.

On the ninth of August, there was a call for nine months men. In consequence a town meeting was held, August 25, when Mr. Whiting presided. It was voted to offer a bounty of \$100 for each man, provided the full quota of twenty-one was filled. The bounty was to be paid as soon as the men were mustered into the service. In the words of Dr. Thompson, written in a Diary at the time: "Some of our best young men, in the receipt of handsome salaries,—\$1,000 or more per year—relinquished their business, left their families and friends, and nobly gave their services to their country; and the news of their noble bravery came in due time—1863—from Port Hudson."

In the meantime the ladies had not been idle, but in their own graceful way had shown their ready sympathy with the men who had left home, and perilled all in their country's service. Under their direction, Shakespeare readings were given in the town hall, August 21, by Prof. Russell, Rev. Mr. Bartol, Mr. Henry C. Kimball, Mr. S. Hathaway, Miss Anna U. Russell and Mrs. Dr. Ware. The entertainment was varied with vocal and instrumental music under the care of Dr. Thompson.

In the month of September two war meetings were held by the citizens. One of these was addressed by Rev. Merrill Richardson, of Worcester; the other by Rev. Dr. Rufus Putnam, of Roxbury, and Mr. J. M. Washburn. These gentlemen spoke with great power, and did much towards filling the quota of the town. Relief for the sick and wounded was one of the objects of these meetings. The selectmen were requested to raise a relief fund by subscription, for the benefit of the soldiers and their families. One person gave \$300; and the sum was increased speedily to \$500. Weekly meetings were held,—Mr. Howe and Dr. Thompson acting as president and secretary, until the amount of \$1,300 was raised. There were more volunteers than the town was required to furnish by the call in September, but all in excess of the quota were credited to the town.

On the second of October the volunteers were presented with a copy of the Scriptures by the generosity of a lady.

At a legal meeting held October 15, Col. Fay was chosen moderator, and the town voted to give a bounty of \$100 to "those men who have enlisted, and who shall be mustered in and accepted by the United States service."

This closes the record of public meetings, whether legal or spontaneous, during the year 1862, but no such recital can give an adequate idea of the spirit of patriotic devotion and sacrifice which animated all hearts at the time. There was a constant stream of communication between the men in the army and their friends at home. Letters went to and fro,

some bringing tales of toil, danger and suffering in the field, from heat and cold, hunger and watching, marching and battling, hospital and prison; and others carrying sympathy, love and encouragement from home to dear ones in the service. Frequent visits were made to the different regiments and hospitals, where our men were to be found, by citizens who bore messages of kindness and more substantial tokens of good will from mothers, daughters, wives and children. The news of every defeat caused sadness, and the intelligence of every victory sent a joyful thrill through every family in the town.

There was no faltering on the part of old or young, and the conviction grew stronger that the rebellion must be subdued, the Union be preserved, and the cause of all the nation's existing trouble, slavery, be abolished.

The action of the town in the year 1863, in relation to the war, may be given in a few lines, as most of the work necessary to keep up the town's quota, or to supply the soldiers with comforts not provided by the government, was done through committees, and by the constant sympathy of patriotic women.

At a town meeting held September 19, George W. Howe was moderator. It was voted that the selectmen and treasurer should borrow, if expedient, such sums of money as might be necessary to pay the state tax for the reimbursement of money paid by towns to volunteers.

In October the quota for Lancaster to fill was fourteen men. In November, 23, a meeting was held to encourage the raising of volunteers, George W. Howe was in the chair, and Dr. Thompson was secretary. It was voted to invite Hon. A. H. Bullock and Col. James W. Kimball to address the citizens.

On the third of December Rev. Merrill Richardson, of Worcester, gave a thrilling address. The following rallying committee was chosen. Lieut. William L. Cobb, Dea. George Cummings, Rev. M. C. Stebbins, Col. F. B. Fay, G. F.

Chandler, Rev. Marcus Ames, Charles J. Wilder, Jonas Goss, James Childs, C. W. Burbank, Lieut. J. C. Ayres, B. B. Otis, Thomas Laughton, Calvin Holman, Levi P. Wood, jr., Levi Farwell, Barney S. Phelps, Sewell Day, G. S. Colburn, Charles L. Wilder, Samuel Rugg and Spencer R. Merrick. The town was in hot earnest to have the quota filled.

The committee called a meeting of citizens in the town hall, December 10, when it was voted to pay each volunteer one hundred dollars, in addition to state and national bounties. The money was quickly raised.

When the year drew to its end, though rebellion still held up its defiant head, yet it had received stunning if not mortal blows. The year had been signalized by the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and the victory of Gettysburg. The tide had turned, and the fortunes of the confederacy were ebbing. The nation no longer doubted its ultimate success. But much remained to be done before the last traitor should lay down his arms, and this town was called on to do its part. The duty was faithfully done.

At a town meeting held April 4, 1864, it was voted to abate the taxes of the nine months men who were in the service in the previous year. A bounty of \$125 for each man required of Lancaster to fill the quota under the last call of the president was voted. Then an additional vote was passed, giving a bounty of \$125 for each man under the present or any future call of the president before the first of March, 1865. Then the sum of \$125 was offered to any enrolled man, who should send an alien substitute, on any quota, between March 1, 1864, and the same date in 1865.

This action was followed up, June 22, by a vote authorizing the selectmen and treasurer to borrow the sum of \$2,000 for the purpose of refunding the money contributed by individuals for the purpose of filling the quotas of the town, under the calls for more troops by the president, October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864, provided the money [contributed] should be put into the hands of the recruiting commit-

tee for the purpose of procuring more troops. This was the last municipal action taken in the town for raising soldiers, and no more was needed, as the vote passed in the April meeting provided bounties for the year ensuing, by which time the rebellion was in its death struggle.

SOLDIERS IN THE FIELD.

It is now time to follow the soldiers into the field. The action of individuals, and especially of the ladies, in furnishing supplies, and in rendering sympathy and comfort to those exposed to the storm of war, will not be forgotten.

Twenty-three men of Lancaster belonged to the fifteenth regiment of volunteers, under Col. Charles Devens, jr. This regiment was in the battle of Ball's Bluff, October 21, 1861, and suffered fearfully in the action, and in the attempt to swim the turbulent Potomac. There was a deep personal interest in the fortunes of several members of company C, as they were townsmen and relatives. The narrative of the fight, and the perils of the river, brought the dread realities of war to many homes and hearts. The fate of the several soldiers will be given under their own names in the "Roll of Honor."

The twenty-first regiment, Col. Edwin Upton, left for the seat of war on the last day of October. Fourteen men from Lancaster were in different companies of this regiment. The destination was Roanoke Island, under Gen. Burnside. The regiment partook of the dangers of the voyage and landing, and of the battle which immediately followed.

On the fifteenth of August, 1862, the thirty-fourth regiment, Col. George D. Wells, left Worcester for the field of conflict, having eighteen soldiers from this town, in company H.

The fifty-third regiment, Massachusetts volunteers, was formed in the autumn of 1863, and contained twenty-six men of Lancaster in company I. Col. John W. Kimball was commander, and Edward R. Washburn was captain of

company I. On the twenty-ninth of November the regiment started for New York. The men suffered much the first week, being in camp with shelter tents only. They were then transferred to Franklin barracks, where they awaited transportation to the South.

These four regiments contained eighty-one men who formed part of the quota of this town. The remainder were scattered through various regiments and batteries, to the number of one, two, three or four in each. Some were in the infantry, and some in the artillery, the cavalry, or the naval branches of the service.

Returning to the four regiments already mentioned, we find that they all made an honorable record. The fifteenth, after the baptism of blood at Ball's Bluff, and of water in the cold and swollen river, was stationed at Harper's Ferry. In the early part of 1862 it was engaged at Yorktown, and in the summer, took part in the battle of Fair Oaks and the fight at Savage Station. Later it was in the service near Washington, and bore itself bravely in the battle of Antietam. In 1863, the regiment was in the struggle near Fredericksburg, and was hotly engaged in the second and third days of the great battle of Gettysburg. With the army, the fifteenth followed the rebels to Virginia, and endured all the hardships of the winter of 1863-4. In the spring it went through the successive struggles in the Wilderness, and was reduced to a platoon. Our men endured its hardships and enjoyed its glory.

Meantime the twenty-first regiment had not been idle. In 1862 it was in the battles of Newbern, Bull Run No. 2, Chantilly, Antietam and Fredericksburg, where its losses were heavy. Marches, camp duties and battles filled the long season with severe toils, and reduced greatly the number of men in the ranks. The spring of 1863 found the regiment in Kentucky, and engaged in the action at Blue Springs. Transferred to Tennessee, it fought bravely at the siege of Knoxville, and performed brilliant service during

the campaign. In 1864 the twenty-first was moved to Virginia, where it fought at Spottsylvania, passed the James river, and was in the "Mine." Twenty-three battles were fought under its flag.

Not less arduous was the service of the thirty-fourth regiment, Col. Wells. It proceeded to Alexandria in the fall of 1862, where it was engaged in the duties of the camp, and became eminent in drill. It was afterwards stationed at Harper's Ferry, in 1863, was engaged in a "smart fight" near Berryville, and escaped from the clutches of Early. In 1864 the regiment was in nine battles, including New Market, Piedmont, Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and the two conflicts at Cedar Creek. It was also at Battery Gregg, fighting to the last, and returned home with a high reputation for all soldierly qualities.

The fifty-third was a nine months regiment, but considering the brevity of its term, did much hard work, and was exposed to danger. It performed long marches in Louisiana, in extremely hot weather, and was engaged in frequent skirmishes and combats, as at Bayou Sara and Brashear City. The long contest before Port Hudson till the place surrendered, July 9, witnessed the heroic devotion, and the fearful losses of the regiment. In one assault, in the month of June, the loss was very heavy. "Of the three hundred officers and men who went in, seven officers and seventy-nine men were killed and wounded." It was here that Capt. Edward R. Washburn received the wound that finally cost him his life.

During all this time constant communication was kept up between the soldiers and their friends at home. Some were wounded, and returned to tell of the scenes in which they had been engaged. Some were killed, or died in the hospital, and their remains were brought back to receive the honors of sepulture in the family lot. These cases awakened universal sympathy. Letters were going back and forth by every opportunity. Frequent visits were made to the army

by relatives of the men, or by citizens deputed for the purpose. Boxes, barrels and packages, filled with clothing, food and delicacies for the well and the sick, were sent to the front, or the hospital, or wherever the soldiers might be found.

To accomplish this work of patriotic kindness, money was raised by vote, contribution, subscription, fairs, entertainments, and the nimble needles of the ladies, who were un-failing in their efforts to cheer and sustain the defenders of the Union and the cause of freedom.

Whenever the enlisted men left home for the field, if they went in squads, the occasion was one of marked interest; but less, certainly, than if they had gone in whole companies. Quite a number belonged to different companies of the fifteenth regiment, most of whom enlisted in the summer of 1861. Others joined at later dates. The names of those belonging to the fifteenth are as follows.

Alexander, Nathaniel,	Gray, James N.,	Lawrence, Willard R.,
Balcom, Charles H.,	Green, Gilbert H.,	Mann, George C.,
Copeland, Joseph,	Horan, Fordyce,	Moses, Robert R.,
Cutler, George W.,	Hosley, Henry H.,	Rugg, Henry H.,
Cutler, Isaac N.,	Johnson, A. W.,	Shean, George C.,
Davidson, Thomas H.,	Kilburn, Sumner R.,	Turner, Luther G.,
Ellis, Warren,	Kingsbury, Joseph W.,	Warner, James,
Farnsworth, Frank H.,	Kittredge, Solomon,	Willard, Edwin.

Four of our men enlisted in the sixteenth regiment, as follows:

Frank W. Barnes, George A. Barnes, George K. Richards and William Thompson.

In the twenty-first regiment were the following men, the larger part of whom belonged to company E.

Bigelow, William,	Mahan, Dennis,	Robbins, William H.,
Burke, James,	McQuillen, Charles E.,	Sawyer, Oliver B.,
Field, Edward,	Ollis, Luke,	Sinclair, Charles H.,
Fox, William L.,	Peirce, Frank E.,	Whittemore, Woodbury
Hardy, George H.,	Richards, Eben W.,	

The thirty-fourth regiment had twenty-one Lancaster men, nearly all of whom were in company H. Many of these enlisted on the last day of July, 1862; others in the following months. They were soon engaged in active warfare. These are the names.

Blood, Charles E.,	Damon, Daniel W.,	Fury, Michael,
Brown, Jonas H.,	Dillon, James,	Gray, Stephen W.,
Burbank, Levi B.,	Fairbank, Francis H.,	Hunting, T. A. G.,
Chaplin, Solon W.,	Farnsworth, John A.,	Matthews, D. W.,
Cobb, William L.,	Farnsworth, John E.,	Matthews, George W.,
Coburn, George,	Flagg, Charles B.,	Mellor, William H.,
Daley, James,	Fuller, Edward M.,	Wise, John P.

Here follow the names of those who enlisted in the fifty-third regiment, (nine months,) in the autumn of 1862.

Albee, John G.,	Harriman, Harris C.,	Rice, Walter C.,
Ayres, John C.,	Hills, Thomas A.,	Rugg, Henry H.,
Brooks, Walter A.,	Jackson, David W.,	Rugg, James,
Chaffee, George E.,	James, John,	Sawtell, Edwin,
Chandler Frank W.,	Keyes, Stephen A.,	Turner, Walter S. H.,
Cutler, Henry A.,	Moore, Joseph B.,	Washburn, Edward R.,
Fisher, William H.,	Nourse, Byron H.,	Whitney, Edmund C.,
Flagg, Albert,	Nourse, Roscoe H.,	Wilder, Charles H.
Frary, Oscar,	Patrick, G. Henry,	

The soldiers who went singly, or by two or three at a time, will be remembered in the Roll, with their term of service.

The following persons were drafted, but furnished substitutes, by paying \$300 each.

Brewer, Miron H.,	Harris, Frank,	Humphrey, Horatio D.,
Carter, O. W.,	Hosmer, E. W.,	Stowe, Henry,
Cutting, H. C.,	Howe, Eli E.,	Wilder, Charles L., jr.
Dodge, George E. P.,		

WORK FOR THE SOLDIERS BY LANCASTER WOMEN.

Under this head will be arranged a brief account of the aid rendered by the women of this town, to the soldiers who went out from their homes, some of them never to return.

At first there was no formal organization for this work, but the Ladies' Benevolent Society of the first parish sent, previous to September, 1862, the sum of \$30 in money to supply the soldiers of Lancaster with Bibles, and \$53.67 cash to buy clothing and hospital supplies. In addition they sent two boxes of quilts, blankets, clothing, etc.

The ladies of the Sewing Society connected with the Evangelical church sent two boxes of clothing, etc. Both societies united in sending supplies of which there is no record.

On the twenty-seventh of August, 1862, a Soldiers' Relief Association was formed by the ladies with the following officers.

President, MRS. HARRIET W. WASHBURN.

Vice-Presidents, MISS MARY ANDERSON, MISS MARY A. THAYER, MISS MARY WHITNEY.

Secretary and Treasurer, MISS ELIZABETH P. RUSSELL.

The reports of the secretary and treasurer furnish the interesting facts which follow. The receipts of the society from all sources, during the first year, were \$301.26. All but \$48.25 had been expended at the date of the first annual report, in the summer of 1863.

As showing the activity of the Association, the following list of articles made by the ladies, during about nine months, is appended.

Bed quilts, 19; sheets, 7; flannel shirts, 73; cotton shirts, 67; drawers, 20 pairs; flannel drawers, 4; socks, 139 pairs; dressing gowns, 17; handkerchiefs, 144; napkins, 260; towels, 66; pillows and cushions, 16; caps, 27; shoes and moccasins, 20 pairs; rolls and bandages, 753; compresses, 223; boxes of lint, 26; eye-shades, 43; arm-slings, 6.

The above does not give an adequate idea of the work of the ladies in the time under review. The report of the secretary says: "by setting a value upon the articles sent out by our Association, and comparing it with the receipts in *money*, we shall gain some idea of the aid we have derived from the contributions of *material*. We find that a moderate estimate of our ten boxes of garments, etc., gives us \$477.70,

upwards of \$200 more than the amount received in money. This estimate is not supposed to include the *work*, but only, or mainly, the material; neither does it include the supplies of food and delicacies sent separately, as three barrels of dried apples; and five boxes of wines, jellies, farina, etc., on which it is difficult to set a money value." Sixteen boxes, including one to the Christian Commission, were sent this year.

The Association had now become interested in the Sanitary Commission, and made that organization, to some extent, the channel of its bounty. Its work was not remitted as time rolled on, and the necessities of the soldiers increased. In a report made after the battles of July, 1863, the secretary writes: "to many of us, the sufferings and privations of the soldier, have been brought home, within the last three months, in a sense never known before, while the sympathies of us all have been quickened anew. And as we listen with pride, again and again, to the story of the bravery and heroism of our own Lancaster men, we can but feel kindled within us the desire to fulfill the part permitted us as faithfully."

From this date the reports were made quarterly, and were of such a nature and spirit that they would be read with interest now, if there were space for them in these pages. The hands of the women were as busy in the latter years of the war as in the earlier. Comforts and delicacies went to the soldiers in a steady stream. The summing up at the close of the war, in the report of August 30, 1865, is as follows.

The amount raised by public entertainments and private donations, was \$1,555.36. Of this amount, \$1,185.30 went to the Sanitary Commission, of which the Lancaster Association was an auxiliary. But boxes, jars and barrels went continually to the soldiers. A partial valuation of the supplies sent in this manner, gives the sum of \$2,271.50. Here are some of the items. Boxes and barrels of quilts, garments, etc., through the Sanitary Commission, 53; boxes of jellies, 7; barrels of apples, 2; do. of potatoes, 25; do. of dried apples, 5; do. of books and papers, 2; boxes of clothing, etc., to private

individuals for distribution, 5; and one box of clothing to the Christian Commission. The contents of boxes and barrels may be estimated from a few specimens. Quilts, 76; drawers, 211 pairs; socks, 99 pairs; slippers, 130 pairs; handkerchiefs, 444. These are part of the articles made in a single year. In all these estimates there is no value set on the labor of the ladies, which at ordinary wages, would have made a large sum. The total amount raised by the ladies in money and in articles at a moderate valuation, except about eighty-three dollars from gentlemen, by the hand of Mr. Symmes, was \$4,544.82.

FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETY.

The above is a brief statement of the work done by the women of Lancaster to aid and comfort the soldiers. At the close of the war, there was in the treasury the sum of \$370.10.

The society was reorganized into a "Society in Aid of the Freedmen," with the same officers, and the money on-hand was given to the new society. Mrs. Washburn, after faithful service, had resigned the office of president, and had been succeeded by Mrs. Mary G. Ware. She retained the office in the new organization.

There was an extraordinary interest felt for the newly enfranchised colored people, and great exertions were made to provide for their wants. The society operated in part as an auxiliary, and in part, directly through the agency of Miss Anna J. Knight. In reference to her the secretary's report says: "the society was so fortunate as to find among their own townswomen, a lady peculiarly fitted for the work by her own qualifications and attainments, and her heartfelt interest in the cause. She taught for four years under the auspices of the society, and continued the work for nearly a year after independently of any organization."

The amount of money raised and expended by the society was \$1,976.52, besides the balance from the soldiers' aid society, making \$2,346.62. This money was raised in various

ways. Some came from donations; some from work, some from levees, concerts, readings and lectures. Among the lecturers and readers were Mr. Murdock, the tragedian, Prof. William Russell, and Miss Anna U. Russell, Rev. A. E. Lawrence, Rev. Marcus Ames, Mr. Frank Fay and others. Mrs. Ware arranged a very pleasant entertainment at which the little colored girls in the State Industrial School sang many songs with great spirit.

The money raised by the citizens for the benefit of the soldiers, and for paying bounties, whether by voluntary subscription, or by the town in its corporate capacity, will be given on a following page.

THE ROLL OF HONOR.

In the following list of soldiers, the three years' regiments will be arranged according to number, and the names in each regiment will be placed alphabetically. Regiments of Massachusetts volunteers will be placed first. The date of enlistment, and of discharge for whatever cause, will be stated in all known cases. The names and dates are derived from the "Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers," corrected from personal recollections of soldiers in some cases. The remarks are drawn chiefly from a most valuable record kept by Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, during the war; and in part from the statements of surviving soldiers. No mention is made of advancement in rank since the close of the war. The decease of those who have died since the war, is stated in all cases which have been reported. Every man is to be honored as a faithful soldier, unless otherwise reported.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Alexander, Nathaniel; C; enlisted December 17, 1861. Termination of service by disability, October 15, 1862. Exposure rendered him unfit for duty, and after being in several engagements, he was honorably discharged.

Balcom, Charles H.; C; December 14, 1861; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, April 15, 1864.

Copeland, Joseph; D; April 29, 1864; transferred, July 27, 1864, to twentieth infantry.

Cutler, George W.; C; July 12, 1861; killed at Ball's Bluff, October 21, 1861. He was one of four brothers who entered the service of their country. Three of these at least gave their lives to the cause of freedom.

Cutler, Isaac N., brother of the foregoing; C; July 12, 1861; disability, March 24, 1863. He was wounded at Antietam through the ankle, and after being in several engagements, was honorably discharged.

Davidson, Thomas H.; A; July 12, 1861; disability, May 1, 1862.

Ellis, Warren; F; July 12, 1861; transferred to V. R. C. October 27, 1863.

Farnsworth, Frank H.; C; July 12, 1861; killed at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862. He was a good soldier, and was in the battles of Ball's Bluff, Yorktown, Williamsburg and Fair Oaks. He was a young man of much promise, and his early death was a serious loss to friends and acquaintances.

Gray, James M.; C; July 12, 1861; disability, February 11, 1863. Re-enlisted.

Green, Gilbert H.; C. Nothing has been learned respecting Mr. Green.

Horan, Fordyce; A; December 24, 1861. Enlisted in United States army, November 17, 1862. He died in the war.

Hosley, Henry H.; C; July 12, 1861. Enlisted in United States army, November 12, 1862. Credited to Townsend in "Mass. Volunteers."

Johnson, Adelbert W.; C; July 12, 1861. Discharged at unknown date.

Kilburn, Sumner R.; C; February 18, 1864. He had enlisted from Sterling, July 12, 1861. On re-enlisting he received a bounty of \$325. He died of wounds, June 10, 1864. He was in the battles of Ball's Bluff and Fair Oaks; in the seven days fight on the Peninsula; at Antietam and Gettysburg, in each of which battles he was wounded, but not severely. He was in the battle of Fredericksburg, and died two days after. Kilburn was the only child of a widowed mother, and so exempt from service, but he readily volunteered, joined in all the trials, hardships and glory of the old fifteenth, and gave his life for his country.

Kingsbury, Joseph W.; A; August 1, 1861. Disability, November 27, 1862.

Kittredge, Solomon; C; December 17, 1861; May 1, 1862.

Lawrence, Willard R.; C; July 12, 1861. Killed, October 21, 1861, at Ball's Bluff. He entered the service from a sense of duty, leaving a wife and two children, one in addition, being born after his enlistment. He was killed by a ball in the head. Lawrence was a man of steady and industrious habits, and was esteemed by all his acquaintance. His wife and three young children were left as a sacred legacy for his country's care and protection.

Mann, George C.; F; July 12, 1861; expiration of service, July 28, 1864.

Moses, Robert R.; C; December 17, 1861; died of wounds October 5, 1862. He was wounded in the battle of Antietam; the wound proved mortal. Mr. George W. Howe found him, gave him every care and attention, and after his death had him decently buried.

Rugg, Henry H.; C; July 12, 1861. Re-enlisted in the fifty-third, and then in a three months regiment; wounded in the shoulder while swimming the river, after the battle of Ball's Bluff.

Shean, George C.; C. Nothing farther is known of this soldier.

Turner, Luther G.; C; July 12, 1861; he was wounded at Ball's Bluff, and died in consequence, November 21, 1861, aged twenty-four years.

Warner, James G.; C; July 12, 1861. He was in the battle at Ball's Bluff, was seen on the bank of the river, but never after; was probably shot while swimming the Potomac. He left a widowed mother wholly dependent on him for support.

Willard, Edward H.; C; July 12, 1861. Expiration of service, July 28, 1864.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Barnes, Frank W.; enlisted, afterwards entered the navy; see under that head.

Barnes, George A.; C; corporal, July 2, 1861; was in battle, June 25, and also in all the battles during the seven days retreat in Virginia. He was wounded in the foot in the second battle of Bull Run, August 29, 1862, and discharged for disability in the following October.

Richards, George K.; C; November 25, 1861; transferred to V. R. C. August 11, 1863. He was engaged in the battle of Fair Oaks, and in the fighting of the seven days retreat; he was also in the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

Thompson, William; B; July 2, 1861. He was wounded at the battle of New Market, Va., a musket ball entering by the side of his nose, passing through his head, and making its exit at the back of the head. No one expected him to live, and when he plead for a chance in an ambulance he was told that he must die, and they could only take those not mortally wounded. He was left to die, and was reported as dead. But he lived and was transferred to Mass. Battery May 11, 1864. His term of service expired July 27, 1864. He has since died.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

Green, Frank W.; F; January 25, 1862; disability, Feb. 19, 1863. [Credited also to Clinton.]

TWENTIETH REGIMENT.

Burdett, Thomas E.; D; September 4, 1861; expiration of service, September 14, 1864.

Moeglen, Louis S.; A; August 29, 1861; disability, April 29, 1862. He died several years since.

TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

Bigelow, William. Nothing ascertained.

Burke, James E.; E; August 23, 1861. Killed at Chantilly, September 1, 1862. He was in the battles at Roanoke Island and Newbern, N. C., and in the battles before Richmond, Va., in 1862. He was a brave and noble soldier. He left a widow and three small children.

Field, Edwin F.; E; August 23, 1861, sergeant; December 18, 1862, second lieutenant.

Fox, William L.; E; corporal, August 23, 1861. Re-enlisted, January 1, 1864. Bounty of \$325. Supernumerary, September 24, 1864. He took part in the battles of Roanoke, Newbern, Camden, second Bull Run, Chantilly, Fredericksburg and Knoxville, and was never seriously wounded.

Hardy, George H.; D; August 23, 1861. Re-enlisted, January 1, 1864. [Credited also to Harvard and Leominster.]

Mahar, Dennis; B; August 23, 1861. Disability, January 16, 1863. [Also credited to Clinton.]

Macquillan, Charles E.; E; August 23, 1861. Transferred to U. S. Cavalry, October 30, 1862. [Credited also to Worcester.]

Ollis, Luke; E; August 23, 1861. Transferred to U. S. Cavalry, October 23, 1862.

Pierce, Frank E.; E; August 23, 1861. Transferred to U. S. Cavalry, October 23, 1862.

Richards, Eben W.; E; August 23, 1861. Killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. He was engaged in nine battles, including Roanoke, Newbern, seven days before Richmond, and Fredericksburg.

Robbins, William H.; A; August 23, 1861. Order War Department, August 11, 1862. He was constantly with his regiment and faithfully performed his duties. When the Bands were discharged he left the service.

Sawyer, Oliver B.; E; August 23, 1861. Disability, June 30, 1862, being sick with small-pox. Recovering, he enlisted in the fortieth regiment, company B, and became sergeant.

Sinclair, or St. Clair, Charles H.; E; August 23, 1861. Killed at Newbern, March 14, 1862. [Credited also to Leominster.]

Whittemore, Woodbury; D; August 21, 1861, second lieutenant. March 2, 1852, first lieutenant. July 27, 1862, captain. Resigned, October 29, 1862.

TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Lawrence, Sewell T.; H; October 5, 1861. Disability, August 11, 1862. [Credited also to Clinton.]

Sweet, Caleb W.; H; September 28, 1861. Re-enlisted, December 2, 1863. Bounty of \$325. Died of wounds, August 3, 1864, at Richmond. He was in the battles of Roanoke, Newbern, South West Creek, Kinston, Whitehall, Goldsboro, Wilcox Bridge. Finally he was wounded, taken prisoner and died, as above.

TWENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

True, George H.; A; October 8, 1861. Discharged by order of War Department, August 17, 1862. Member of regimental band.

True, James G.; A; October 8, 1861. Discharged by order of War Department, August 17, 1862. Member of the band. Like the preceding, he performed his duties faithfully, while in the service.

THIRTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Blood, Charles E.; H; December 19, 1863. Transferred, June 14, 1865, to the twenty-fourth infantry. He was a faithful soldier, ready for every duty, and was engaged in several battles.

Bridge, James A.; H; December 19, 1863; he was shot dead at New Market, Va., May 15, 1864.

Brown, Jonas H.; H; July 31, 1862; expiration of service, June 16, 1865. He was a good soldier.

Burbank, Levi B.; H; July 31, 1862. Disability, February 7, 1864. He was exempt from military duty by age, but determined to strike a blow for his country. After serving bravely and faithfully nearly two years, he was compelled by sickness to leave the army.

Chaplin, Solon W.; corporal; H; July 31, 1862. Killed June 5, 1864, at Piedmont, Va. He was a brave soldier, and was killed in battle.

Cobb, William L.; H; July 18, 1862, second lieutenant; August 23, first lieutenant; February 18, 1865, captain. Cobb gave his whole attention to duty. He was stationed at Washington a long time. When in command at Harper's Ferry he was wounded by a musket ball in the forehead.

Coburn, George B.; H; July 31, 1862. Discharged by order of War Department, May 16, 1865. He was in the battle at New Market, May, 1864, under Siegel. The general said the regiment was the best, and the best commanded, he had seen.

Dailey, James; H; July 31, 1862. Expiration of service, June 16, 1865, when he was at Fort Lyon, Va. A brave soldier and reckless of danger.

Damon, Daniel M.; H; July 31, 1862, first sergeant. May 15, 1865, second lieutenant. Expiration of service, June 16, 1865. He was in thirteen battles in the valley of the Shenandoah, and elsewhere, was never wounded but was taken prisoner. His record is honorable.

Day, Joseph N.; H; January 4, 1864. Transferred, June 14, 1865, to the twenty-fourth infantry. Wounded in the head.

Dillon, James; H; July 31, 1862. Disability, April 7, 1863. Died soon after returning home.

Fairbank, Francis H.; H; July 31, 1862. Died at Salisbury, N. C., January 5, 1865. He was first in the fifteenth regiment, was discharged, and re-enlisted in the thirty-fourth. He was in several battles and was a good soldier.

Farnsworth, George W.; H; January 4, 1864; order of War Department, June 8, 1865. Was shot near the right eye at the battle of Piedmont.

Farnsworth, John A.; H; July 30, 1862. He was a good soldier throughout the war.

Farnsworth, John E.; H; July 30, 1862; corporal; expiration of service, June 16, 1865. He was wounded in the leg in the battle of New Market. He was also in the battle of Winchester, and shot in the arm. He was also in the battle of Hatcher's Run, was at the surrender of Petersburg, and at the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House.

Flagg, Charles B.; A; June 16, 1862, corporal; expiration of service, June 16, 1865. He was in several battles, and was a good soldier.

Fuller, Edward M.; F; August 7, 1862, lieutenant; March 21, 1864, Major in United States Colored Troops. His record as a soldier and officer was highly honorable.

Fury, Michael; H; July 26, 1862. He was wounded at the battle of Piedmont, August 5, 1864, and discharged at expiration of service, August 5, 1865.

Gray, Stephen W.; H; July 31, 1862. Died April 2, 1864, at Martinsburg, Va. He was faithful to his duties.

Hodgman, Oren; C; was a Lancaster man, also credited to Sterling, July 31, 1862; taken prisoner at New Market, and died at Charleston, S. C. Of twenty-four taken prisoners at New Market, all but one died.

Hunting, Thomas A. G.; H; July 20, 1862. He was in the battles of Charleston, Va., New Market and Piedmont, where he was wounded in the small of the back. Discharged for disability, May, 1865.

Matthews, David W.; H; September 18, 1863. He was engaged in several battles; was transferred, June 14, 1865, to the twenty-fourth.

Matthews, George W.; H; September 18, 1863. Though but seventeen years old he was determined to serve his country. He was wounded in the leg at New Market, May, 1864; was taken prisoner in June, at Liberty, W. Va. He was in the prisons at Richmond, Salisbury, Charleston and Andersonville. Most of the time he was sick, starved and abused until his strength and courage almost deserted him. He had been wounded in the head, which added to his sufferings. At length he was paroled in December, 1864, and returned home. Being taken with typhoid fever the

horrors of prison life were repeated in the delirium of fever. He was then sent to the military hospital at Worcester. George lived till November, 1876, but never was a well man.

Mellor, or Miller, William H.; H; July 30, 1862; transferred, January 19, 1865, to Vetern Reserve Corps.

Sherry, Patrick; H; June 5, 1864; transferred, June 14, 1865, to twenty-fourth infantry.

Tisdale, Charles E; H; July 31, 1862; disability, January 8, 1863.

Turner, Horatio E.; F; August 2, 1862. Died at Andersonville, September 8, 1864. [Also credited to Clinton.]

Wiley, George E.; H; January 1, 1864; transferred, June 14, 1865, to the twenty-fourth infantry.

Willard, Henry W.; C; August 2, 1862; disability, February 26, 1863. [Also credited to Leominster.]

Wise, John P.; A; June 16, 1862; acted as company clerk; died at home, March 16, 1864.

FIFTH REGIMENT.—NINE MONTHS.

Wyman, Benjamin F.; E; September 16, 1862. He was in the battles of Kinston, Whitehall and Goldsborough, and did his whole duty as a soldier.

FORTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.—NINE MONTHS.

Weld, George D.; K; October 31, 1862. His comrades speak well of him as a soldier.

FIFTY-FIRST REGIMENT.—NINE MONTHS.

Nourse, Frank E.; C; September 25, 1862; expiration of service, July 27, 1863.

Otis, Edwin A.; C; September 25, 1862, corporal; expiration of service, July 27, 1863.

Plaisted, Simon M.; E; September 25, 1862; expiration of service, July 27, 1863. [Also credited to Worcester.]

FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT.—NINE MONTHS.

Albee, John G.; I; September 6, 1862. He was left sick at Algiers, La., in the advance of the army, April 8, 1863; subsequently sent to Bra-shear, convalescent, taken prisoner and paroled. He reported to his company, August 11, 1863.

Ayres, John C.; I; September 2, 1863; corporal, October 18, 1862. He reached the rank of first lieutenant, July 2, 1863. He was with the company throughout the campaign.

Brooks, Walter A.; I; September 6, 1862; corporal, January 22, 1863. He was left in a feeble condition at Memphis, the regiment being on its passage homeward. His death occurred August 22, 1863.

Chaffee, George Edwin; I; September 6, 1862; was in hospital in New Orleans and Algiers. He was in the fight at Brashear, and taken prisoner. Being released on parole, he returned to New Orleans.

Chandler, Frank W.; I; September 6, 1862. He was necessarily left behind when the army moved up the Teche country, but rejoined his company in time for the final assault on Port Hudson, although at that time hardly well enough to do active duty.

Cutler, Henry A.; I; September 6, 1862. He was a faithful boy, and was with his company until sent to hospital from Port Hudson. His death occurred July 9, 1863, at the age of 19.

Fisher, William H.; I; September 6, 1862. He was in the battle of Fort Brisland, April 13, 1863. Sent to hospital in New Orleans, where he continued until the regiment left for home.

Flagg, Albert; K; October 17, 1862. [Credited also to Sterling.]

Frary, Oscar; I; September 6, 1862. Frary was a good and faithful soldier, constantly on duty, acting as cook a large part of the time in the field. He died at Baton Rouge, July 28, 1863.

Harriman, Harris C.; I; September 6, 1862. He was in the battle of Fort Brisland, April 13, 1863, and in subsequent engagements at Port Hudson, where he received a wound in the leg, June 14, 1863.

Hills, Thomas Augustus; E; September, 1862. He was with the regiment till it returned, and was a faithful soldier, prompt to every duty.

Jackson, David W.; I; September 6, 1862. He was with his company during the whole campaign.

James, John; I; September 6, 1862. He was with his company until the final assault on Port Hudson, after which he was sent to Baton Rouge on account of illness.

Keyes, Stephen A.; K; September 6, 1862. Joined the Sterling company, but credited to Lancaster. He was a good soldier, ready for any service. His death occurred on board ship, while returning home, and he was buried at sea off the coast of Florida.

Moore, Joseph B.; I; September 6, 1862. He was constantly with his company, and probably was never off duty until wounded in the head, in the advance on Port Hudson, May 27, 1863.

Nourse, Byron H.; I; September 6, 1862. He was promoted to the rank of first sergeant, January 22, 1863.

Nourse, Roscoe H.; I; September 6, 1862. He was one of the company drummers, and did duty in the drum corps.

Patrick, G. Henry; I; September 6, 1862. He was incapacitated to do duty most of the time on account of disease.

Rice, Walter C., I; aged 45; September 6, 1862. He was company cook

for a time; then for a short period in the ranks; afterwards detailed as nurse and hospital attendant, in charge of the regimental surgeon.

Rugg, Henry H.; I; September 6, 1862. [See under fifteenth regiment.]

Rugg, James; K; September 6, 1862. He served faithfully till the termination of his enlistment, and suffered much in marching as well as in engagements.

Sawtell, Edwin; I; September 6, 1862. He was in active service, sometime; then detailed in the hospital department under the direction of the hospital surgeon.

Turner, Walter S. H.; I; September 6, 1862. He was on duty throughout the campaign, and was in all the marches and battles in which the company was engaged.

Washburn, Edward R.; I; September 1, 1862; first lieutenant; he was promoted as captain, November 8, 1862. The upper part of his left thigh was fractured by a musket ball and buck shot in the assault on Port Hudson, June 14, 1863. The bone was much shattered; but his courage did not fail, and he resolutely determined to preserve his limb and his own life. Notwithstanding the great heat of July, he succeeded, and was finally conveyed to his home in Lancaster, where he, to all appearance, fully recovered, with about one inch shortening of the limb. His life was doubtless prolonged by his own resolution, for, says Dr. Thompson, "if he had doubted," he would soon have died. The wound, however, proved too serious for human skill or will. In August, 1864, he began to have trouble with his limb, this increased, abscess formed, irritative fever supervened, and he died at his mother's residence, September 5, 1864. He was a brave and noble officer, kind and attentive to his men, and ever commanded the respect and esteem of his company, associates and friends.

Whitney, Edmund C.; I; September 6, 1862; corporal October 18. He was detailed for service in commissary department on board ship Montebello, December 16; reported for duty March 16, 1863; promoted sergeant in June, and second lieutenant, August 13, 1863. He was in the battles of Fort Brisland and Port Hudson.

Many of the following were strangers to the town, but were hired by the committee of the town to fill the quota.

SECOND MASSACHUSETTS CAVALRY.—Goodwin, John.

THIRD MASSACHUSETTS CAVALRY.—Bergman, Albert.

SECOND UNION INFANTRY.—Clinton, Joseph; Zahn, Peter.

FIFTEENTH UNION INFANTRY.—Copeland, Joseph.

TWENTY-SIXTH UNION INFANTRY.—Souvenir, Charles L.

TWENTY-EIGHTH UNION INFANTRY.—Smith, John.

THIRTY-THIRD UNION INFANTRY.—Dupee, John.

THIRTY-FIFTH UNION INFANTRY.—Krum, John ; Mayo, John ; Pierre, Edward ; Watson, George.

FIFTY-SEVENTH UNION INFANTRY.—Leroy, Frank B. ; Puffer, Charles ; Sykes, Edwin.

FIRST UNION CAVALRY.—Washburn, Col. Francis. [See next chapter.]

SECOND UNION CAVALRY.—Bell, John ; Coyle, John ; Langley, James ; Monyer, John ; Ross, William.

ELEVENTH BATTERY.—Fox, Thomas ; Tooley, John ; Valds, John.

THIRTEENTH BATTERY.—Davis, George W. ; Smith, William.

SECOND HEAVY ARTILLERY.—Kern, John ; Miller, Frank ; Neu, Louis ; Tracey, David H.

THIRD HEAVY ARTILLERY.—McCarron, William.

ENGINEER CORPS.—Elder, Henry H.

RECRUITS.

Several, if not all, of the following, had served faithfully, but re-enlisted.

Blood, Charles E. ; Bridge, James A. ; Day, Joseph N. ; Farnsworth, George W. ; Haynes, John C. ; Ollis, John ; Parker, Leonard H. ; Shorey, Patrick ; Wilder, J. Prescott ; Wiley, George E. ; Verett, John.

UNITED STATES NAVY.

Barnes, Frank Wallace. Having enlisted among the volunteers, and not finding immediate service, Barnes entered the navy, and was in active service about one year. He sailed with Capt. Harrison, in the *Minnesota*, to Hampton Roads, 1862, blockading ; off Wilmington, 1863.

Gould, John. Nothing has been learned of the service rendered by Gould.

Mackrill, Ephraim, like his brother, in the following notice, was faithful to the flag of his country, and encountered perils in her service.

Mackrill, William. Shipped August 12, 1862, at Charlestown, on gun-boat *Isaac P. Smith*, Capt. Conover. Captured in Stone River, S. C., February 1, 1863, when nine were killed and twenty-five wounded. He was in prison at Charleston and Richmond till March 1 ; sent to Norfolk hospital, and discharged, August 13, 1863.

DRAFTED MEN WHO FURNISHED SUBSTITUTES.

Brewer, Miron H. ; Carter, O. W. ; Cutting, H. C. ; Dodge, George E. P. ; Harris, Josiah ; Hosmer, E. W. ; Howe, Eli E. ; Humphrey, Horatio D. ; Stowe, Henry ; Wilder, Charles L. jr.

STATE RECRUITS.

There were five of these men credited to Lancaster in the navy, and two in the regular army. Their names and residences are not known.

The names of the following soldiers are found in the rolls of regiments belonging to other states, but they belonged to Lancaster, made a part of its quota, and did honor to the town.

THIRTEENTH ILLINOIS REGIMENT.

Nourse, Henry S., October 23, 1861, joined the fifty-fifth Illinois volunteers, and at the outset acted as regimental clerk and drillmaster. Here follows his subsequent record. March 1, 1862, adjutant of the regiment; commissioned as captain company K to date from December 19, 1862. The regiment was one of those composing Gen. W. T. Sherman's original division, and attached to the fifteenth army corps, followed his fortunes during the war. It was engaged in over forty battles and skirmishes, and in the sieges of Corinth, Vicksburg, Jackson, Atlanta and Savannah. It first met the enemy in battle at Shiloh, April 6 and 7, 1862, and out of six hundred and fifty men actually engaged, the regiment lost two hundred and seventy-three by casualties of war; eighty were killed or mortally wounded in the battle. Eight officers were wounded and two killed, out of a total of thirty-six.

The more important battle experiences of major Nourse, after Shiloh, were the following. Battle of Russel's House; Siege of Corinth; battles and assaults about Chickasaw Bayou, in 1862. These in 1863: battle of Arkansas Port; Champion Hill; assault upon Fort Pemberton; general assault upon works at Vicksburg; siege of Vicksburg; siege of Jackson; battle of Mission Ridge; Chattanooga. In 1864 were the following actions. June 27, assault upon fortifications at Kenesaw Mountain. After this date he was acting Major, the commanding officer having been killed in action. Battle of Atlanta; Ezra Chapel; assault upon fortified picket line before Atlanta; siege of Atlanta; battle of Jonesboro. After this he was senior officer commanding the regiment. March through Georgia; assault upon Fort McAllister; siege and capture of Savannah. November 4, appointed commissary of musters, seventeenth army corps.

In the early part of 1865 the army marched northward, and on the twentieth of March fought its last battle at Bentonville, N. C. After the surrender of Lee, rather than be mustered in as Lieut.-Colonel, and return to Illinois, Mr. Nourse came directly home, his term of service having expired a month before. Thus terminated a military career full of most faithful and honorable service.

Thurston, George L., captain of company B, fiftcenth Illinois volunteers. Thurston in his boyhood had great fondness and aptitude for the military. He was captain of a company of his playmates. In after years he belonged to various military organizations; among others, the Boston Tigers. He was captain of the Clinton company when he left Lancaster for Chicago a short time before the war. By desire of Col. David Stuart he was appointed adjutant of the Illinois fifty-fifth, October 31, 1861. On the first of March, 1862, he was appointed captain. Nothing less than the purest patriotism influenced him to enter the army, for his health was very frail, and a wife and young child claimed his care and support. At Shiloh, on the first day, his company, advanced as skirmishers, met the first onset of the enemy, and checked their advance so as to enable the regiment to occupy a strong position, whence the overwhelming forces of the rebels did not drive it until ammunition failed and night came on to cover the combatants. Capt. Thurston, far from well, led his company through the day, and lay with his men on the field through the drenching rain of the night. He was at the head of his command the next morning, but fatigue, exposure, and the loss of food and sleep during thirty hours were too much for his feeble frame, though his will remained undaunted. He was seen to stagger, and was helped fainting to the rear. From this shock he never recovered, but remained with his regiment until he received leave of absence from Gen. Grant, July 1, 1862, given on surgeon's certificate "that such absence is necessary to save his life." His comrades feared he would never reach the North alive. Arriving in Chicago, the tender care of friends gave him strength to reach home at last, where he gradually sank and ended his warfare, December 15, 1862. The foregoing has been chiefly made up from notes by his friend, Mr. Nourse. It should be added that captain Thurston was not only held in high esteem by his friends, but that feeling tributes to his memory came from different organizations of which he was a highly respected member.

EIGHTH NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Bancroft, Frank C.

THIRTEENTH NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Carr, William D.

ELEVENTH RHODE ISLAND.—Wiley, Charles T.

SIXTIETH NEW YORK.—Kelley, Martin.

NEW YORK TAMMANY.—Finnesey, James.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Thomas A. G. Hunting had two sons in the war. As the family moved into Lancaster about the time of the outbreak of the rebellion, the sons seem not to have been properly recognized in this town, or the town from which they came. One of these was Joseph W. Hunting, aged 22, who enlisted in company B, sixteenth regiment, July 2, 1861. He left at the expiration of his term of service, July 27, 1864. Since died.

Albert C. Hunting, aged 19, company B, sixteenth regiment; enlisted July 2, 1861. He was killed at Fair Oaks, June 25, 1862. [Both credited to Holliston, also.]

Henry T. Taylor, company A, fifteenth regiment; enlisted July 12, 1861. Disability, April 25, 1862. His eyesight was injured by a bursting shell which filled his face with earth. He was in the battle at Ball's Bluff, and swam the river. [Credited to Leominster.]

The following names are on the marble tablet at the rear of the Library Room in Memorial Hall. The date of the decease and the age of each soldier are given.

- GEORGE WRIGHT CUTLER, OCTOBER 21, 1861. 23.
 WALTER RAYMOND LAWRENCE, OCTOBER 21, 1861. 28.
 JAMES GARDNER WARNER, OCTOBER 21, 1861. 31.
 LUTHER GRAY TURNER, NOVEMBER 1, 1861. 24.
 FRANKLIN HAWKES FARNSWORTH, MAY 31, 1862. 19.
 JAMES BURKE, SEPTEMBER 1, 1862. 26.
 ROBERT ROBERTS MOSES, OCTOBER 3, 1862. 26.
 EBENEZER WATERS RICHARDS, DECEMBER 13, 1862. 37.
 GEORGE LEE THURSTON, DECEMBER 15, 1862. 31.
 HENRY MAYNARD PUTNEY, APRIL 26, 1863. 20.
 DAVID WILDER JONES, MAY 3, 1863. 46.
 JAMES DILLON, MAY 10, 1863. 26.
 CHARLES TIMOTHY FAIRBANKS, JUNE 19, 1863. 27.
 HENRY ALBERT CUTLER, JULY 4, 1863. 19.
 OSCAR FRARY, JULY 28, 1863. 27.
 STEPHEN ADAMS KEYES, AUGUST 10, 1863. 19.
 WALTER ANDREW BROOKS, AUGUST 22, 1863. 20.
 JOHN PATRICK WISE, MARCH 15, 1864. 19.
 JOHN CHICKERING HAYNES, MARCH 19, 1864. 30.
 STEPHEN WESLEY GRAY, APRIL 4, 1864. 32.
 JAMES ANDREW BRIDGE, MAY 15, 1864. 21.
 HENRY JACKSON PARKER, MAY 15, 1864. 28.
 SUMNER RUSSELL KILBURN, MAY 16, 1864. 21.
 SOLON WHITING CHAPLIN, JUNE 5, 1864. 40.
 WILLIAM DUSTIN CARR, JUNE 20, 1864. 40.
 SAMUEL MIRICK BOWMAN, JULY 26, 1864. 28.
 CALEB WOOD SWEET, AUGUST 3, 1864. 23.
 EDWARD RICHMOND WASHBURN, SEPTEMBER 5, 1864. 28.
 HORATIO ELISHA TURNER, SEPTEMBER 8, 1864. 20.

- WILLIAM SCHUMACHER, SEPTEMBER 13, 1864. 22.
 FREDERICK FORDYCE NOURSE, SEPTEMBER 13, 1864. 22.
 GEORGE WALTON DIVOLL, SEPTEMBER 21, 1864. 37.
 JOHN LOUIS MOEGLIN, SEPTEMBER 28, 1864. 53.
 OREN HODGMAN, SEPTEMBER 30, 1864. 21.
 LUKE OLLIS, OCTOBER 13, 1864. 21.
 FORDYCE HORAN, NOVEMBER 9, 1864. 21.
 FRANCIS HENRY FAIRBANKS, JANUARY 4, 1865. 30.
 EDWARD RUSSELL JOSLYN, APRIL 10, 1865. 21.
 FRANCIS WASHBURN, APRIL 22, 1865. 26.

The above is a brief and imperfect sketch of the services of the Lancaster volunteers engaged in suppressing rebellion, and making liberty the right of every person born or living in the United States. No one can regret the defects and omissions so much as the author, as no one else can have any adequate idea of the difficulties which must be encountered, and the labor and pains expended in trying to make the result approach to accuracy and fairness. The soldiers were actuated by a patriotic spirit, they endured almost incredible hardships, and they achieved grand results. Many gave their lives for the cause in which they were engaged; many more received wounds or suffered disabilities from which they never recovered, and all, with exceptions too few to be noticed, marched under the flag until their duty was done. They are held in honor, and their names will go down to distant generations as the heroes of the great era of union and freedom.

THE COST OF THE WAR.

Under this head will be included the sums expended by the town, and by citizens of the town, in carrying on the war from the beginning to the end. The statement will embrace bounties, state aid to volunteers and their families, military expenses, and voluntary subscriptions to supply arms, clothing, and many things conducive to the health and comfort of soldiers in camp or in the field. The total amount found in the books of the selectmen from 1861 to 1866, is eighteen

thousand seven hundred and nineteen dollars and seventy cents. This includes two thousand dollars which was reimbursed to citizens who had subscribed that sum for war purposes.

The amount raised by the men of the town, by subscription, exclusive of the above sum reimbursed, is believed by those who were conversant with matters at the time, to have been between two thousand five hundred and three thousand dollars. These amounts are generally understated, because many gifts are made to soldiers which are never reported. It will be safe to say three thousand dollars. To this must be added the benefactions of the ladies, which, as we have seen were four thousand five hundred and forty-four dollars and eighty-two cents. Putting the whole in figures, the statement is as follows.

Expenses paid by the town,	\$18,719 70
Contributions by citizens, mostly in money,	3,000 00
Gifts by the ladies,	4,544 82
	<hr/>
Total,	\$26,264 52

The money and other valuables given by the ladies for the benefit of the Freedmen, is not included in this statement.

What was done by the town and by individuals in honor of the soldiers, in the erection of Memorial Hall, has been recited already. Since the war closed, the town has been paying, annually, five hundred dollars, more or less, as state aid to the families of soldiers. This is really a town charge, because the state treasury is replenished by the taxes of the town. In addition, the people of this town, ever since the outbreak of the rebellion, have been paying their proportion of the interest on the public debt, either through the internal revenue or the custom house. The amount is large, though it cannot be accurately stated. With a great price was our national unity, and the freedom of all our people secured, but the cost, in money, was but a trifle in comparison with their worth.

DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

Just as the nation was beginning to rejoice in the prospect of the immediate suppression of the rebellion, came the overwhelming intelligence that Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated. Never was a people so suddenly and cruelly turned from the height of joy to the depth of grief. The people of Lancaster shared in the general sorrow, and joined in the services of the national day of fasting, and the universal funeral solemnities, at the times fixed by national authority. The town also in its corporate capacity put on record its sense of the great calamity. At a legal meeting held May 20, 1865, the Rev. Mr. Bartol offered a series of resolutions, two of which were as follows.

"Whereas, on the fifteenth day of April, 1865, Abraham Lincoln, the venerated and beloved president of the United States, was by an assassin, suddenly assaulted and slain, the blow by which he fell being aimed not only at his life, but, through him, at the life of the nation :

"Therefore, we, the citizens of Lancaster, assembled according to warrant, in our usual place of public meeting, for the purpose of expressing our sense of this calamity to us in common with all the people of the land in which we live, do hereby declare that while we recognize in this event an appalling crime which has filled us with a grief, astonishment and indignation we cannot describe, we also acknowledge it to be one of those visitations permitted by the Supreme Disposer, before which we bow in awe, with the prayer that it be overruled to the good of our whole country.

"Resolved, that in recording our tribute to the memory of the late president with profound sorrow for his loss, we do all, beyond all party prepossessions, own and bless in him an unselfishness of disposition and singleness of purpose, a gentleness, humanity and benevolence under great provocation, with an honesty of intention, an ardent patriotism, a fidelity to duty, and a growing mastery of the circumstances

of his position, which enabled him, with the blessing and favor of God, to fulfill and bring to a successful completion, a work almost unprecedented for difficulty; that in his removal at the moment in which his labors were being crowned with the triumph of the national authority and the evident approach of the blessings of peace, we see the completion of a career which the nation will ever look back to with thankfulness, and hold in tender and affectionate remembrance."

The meeting was fully attended, and the resolutions were adopted with entire and emphatic unanimity, while solemnity and sadness sat on every countenance. What was expressed in public meeting, was felt in every home and heart throughout the town. The common grief added a new fervor to the services of the sanctuary on the Sabbath, and inspired the people to look, in the day of their calamity, to the God of their fathers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WALKS ABOUT TOWN.

THE design of this chapter is to gather up some items of interest which could not be easily interwoven with the preceding narrative. The subjects will be partly biographical and partly genealogical, with such anecdotes and incidents as may be associated with places and persons.

Before proceeding, attention will be called to a point or two of some interest, such as the distribution of the early families in the town, and the incoming of persons of foreign birth during the last thirty years.

It might be supposed, at first thought, that the members of a family whose ancestors came into the town more than two hundred years ago, would be, by degrees, dispersed over the township; but this seldom appears to be the fact. The children live near the old homestead, or remove to other towns or states. The original proprietors of Lancaster obtained six or seven divisions of land, by lot, and in time, these fell to their children, but in most cases the children took the lots which lay in the towns which have been formed out of the mother town. Within the limits of the town, the families generally have been confined to narrow sections. For example, Major Willard had his home on what may well be called Willard Avenue, where Sewall Day now lives. His grandson Samuel occupied the same site, and probably built the present house. Three of Col. Samuel's sons lived on the avenue, one of whom, Col. Abijah, lived in the same house, as did his son, Samuel, and daughter, Mrs. Goodhue. The descendants of Henry Willard, son of the Major, have

lived on the Harvard road, from the place of Warren Willard towards Still river bridge, and in the northeast corner of the town, more than a hundred and fifty years; but none of the name, so far as appears in records and on old maps, have ever lived in other parts of the town.

Thomas Wilder bought the Wheeler place in the middle of the eastern base of George hill, and resided there. Two of his sons had homes on the Old Common, and a few descendants have lived in the southeastern part of the Center, but the Wilder family has been mainly confined to George hill, which they almost peopled, at one time, and the southern part of Clinton. A few have lived in South Lancaster.

John Prescott's descendants held the old place in South Lancaster, through several generations, but what is now Clinton soon became his headquarters, nor has the family, unless in rare instances, been found in other parts of the town. The same has been true of the Sawyers, who early intermarried with the Prescotts. The Sawyers took a bend towards Deers Horns as well as Clinton. Here and there one may have purchased in other localities, as the late Ezra Sawyer, father of Hon. Edmund Sawyer, of Easthampton, whose home was next to the Center railroad station. The Fairbank family, also connected by marriage, with that of John Prescott, took a similar direction. The name is not found, with few exceptions, in any other part of the town.

The Rugg family has been located more widely. The first of the name had a lot in South Lancaster, near where Alfred Heald now lives; and some of the descendants have been in the neighborhood till recent times. Others have lived on George hill, and on the Greenway road, and several families have had their homes on the pleasant plain east of Canoe brook, and both sides of the upper end of Ponakin brook. The Carter and Fletcher families once occupied nearly all of George hill north of the road which goes over the hill from the brick school-house, and some of them lived on that road, where they were wedged in by Wilders; but

neither of these families have lived, to any great extent, in the Center, the Old Common, the North Village, or the northern section of the town. They slid down hill, gradually, to South Lancaster and Clinton. Dr. Carter lived at the present town farm, and Sewell Carter kept store in the North Village, as Joseph and Gardner Wilder lived on Ballard hill, but these were exceptions to a general fact. In like manner, the Phelps, Wyman, Whitney, Damon, Farwell and other families, have been confined, to a great extent, to the vicinity of their original homestead.

The Houghton family is a noticeable example. Ralph Houghton held nearly all the land between Willard avenue and the new road from the Orthodox church to the Neck road or Eastern avenue; but this estate went into the hands of the Glazier family. John Houghton, his cousin, lived on the west side of Wattoquaddoc hill in Bolton, but moved to the Old Common, where his family resided during one or two generations. Neither branch of the family spread in Lancaster, with here and there an exception. The Houghtons now living here, — Silas and Edward — of the same old stock, came from other towns. Cases might be multiplied, but these are sufficient to exemplify a general fact.

In regard to in-coming of persons of foreign birth, it may be said that some of this class have come hither in every generation, not only from Great Britain and Ireland, but from Canada, France and Germany. The number, however, was small previous to about thirty years ago, when the building of the Worcester and Nashua railroad brought many upon the line as laborers, some of whom chose to abide here. Since then there has been a considerable increase of this class of our population. The opportunity to work in the factories, mills and shops at Ponakin, South Lancaster and Clinton, has also induced others to come hither, some of whom have become permanent residents and industrious citizens.

In 1855, when Dea. Charles Wyman took the census of the town, under the state law, he reported the whole population to be 1729. Of these 814 were males and 915 were females. Those of foreign birth were 248, or a little more than one in seven. About 194 of the foreign born were from Ireland, and the remaining 54, were from several countries.

On the list of voters in the town, in the autumn of 1878, were the names of three hundred and seventy-five men. About sixty of these were foreign born, something less than one in six of all the voters. Not far from fifty of these voters are from Ireland, and the remaining ten or twelve are of other nationalities.

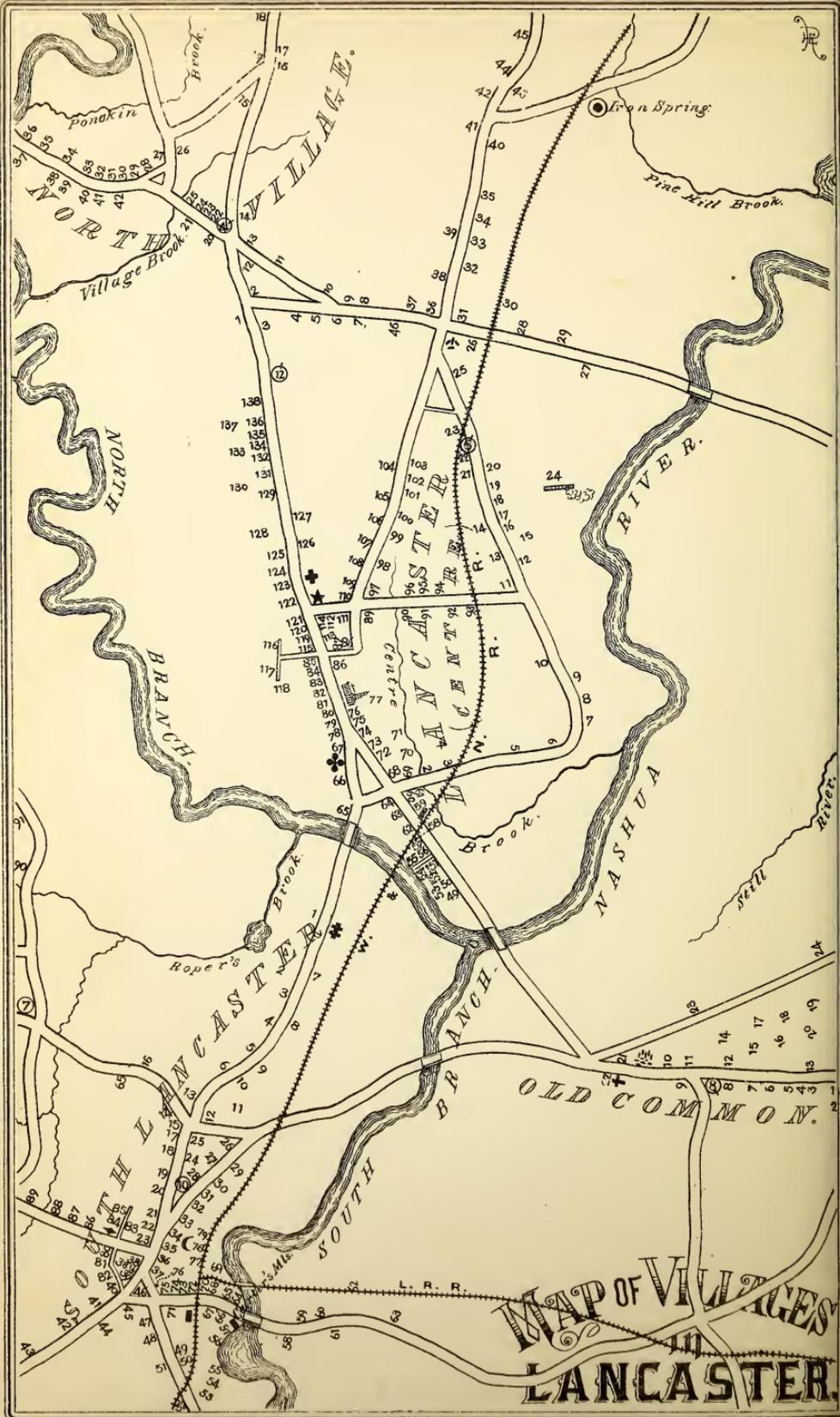
Judging from the number of male heads of families the increase has not been large in proportion in thirty-three years; but one or two facts should be noted. By the cessation of business at Ponakin and South Lancaster mills, there has been a decrease of foreign-born families, within a few years past. The other fact, and a most significant one is this. The children of foreign-born parents are numerous. In the two northern schools, Nos. 1 and 3, nearly all the children are of American parentage. All the other schools have a large infusion of the foreign-parentage element. In No. 7, or George hill school, not far from one-half belong to either class. At South Lancaster the primary school has had a large majority of children of Irish, French and other foreign parentage, several terms, within a few years past. In the upper room the division is more nearly even. At Deers Horns, the aggregate of children from Scotch, French and Irish parents includes the larger part of the school. In the primary and grammar schools at the Center the number of each class is about even. In the high school the number of foreign-born parentage is not far from one-fifth; but the proportion is constantly increasing. However, the scholars in all our schools are, almost without exception, natives of the soil, and heirs to all the blessings of our unrivalled privi-

leges of industry, education, liberty and religion. This is "their own, their native land," and as they advance to manhood, they may be relied upon to defend it against all foreign foes.

SOUTH LANCASTER.

In walking about town we will come first to the Prescott place, because this was the home and place of business of the first permanent settler. This point should be fixed, as there is some confusion about it even in the minds of those who are somewhat familiar with our early history. After John Prescott bought out the "trucking-house" business of Mr. King, the Watertown trader, he put up a store somewhere near the corner of Mrs. Ware's yard in South Lancaster. Where was the precise spot? On the supposition that the north and south road was then located as it now runs, some take it for granted that the store was either on the corner of the lot of Mrs. Ware, or across the road, near the corner of the lawn of Mrs. Fay. But the first road was west of the house of Mrs. Ware, and west of the ravine behind her house. According to Willard, the store was a "few rods northwest" of the house. This would place it about half way from Mrs. Ware's house to the house occupied by William A. Kilbourn. It was at the corner made by the road running northwest from Mrs. Ware's, intersecting the road extending towards the Center. The last road ran along the west side of the ravine some forty rods, then descended the hill, crossed the ravine, and ascended near the house of Alfred Heald. In a winding way it passed the "minister's garri-son," and reached the river about twenty rods up the stream, northwest of the Sprague bridge. It is not easy to locate Prescott's house, but there is reason to believe that it stood on the east side of the ravine, because we know that he lived east of the road. He owned the lot on the west as well as on the east side of the road, but that on the west was soon sold to another man. His own home was on the east range of lots,





MAP OF THE CENTER.

[See page 747.]

- 1 G. A. Johnson.
2 Henry Wilder,
H. S. Nourse.
3 Goodman Hall,
Richard Smith,
John Tinker,
Major S. Wil-
lard,
Cyp'n Stevens,
Philip Goss,
Simon Stevens,
Col. S. Willard,
Col. A. Willard,
Samuel Willard,
Mrs. Ann Good-
hue,
Henry Wilder,
Ephraim Avery,
Sewell Day
4 Mrs. D. Weld,
Mrs. A. Bliss.
5 Chas. L. Wilder.
6 R. Houghton,
Abel Wilder,
Mr. Whitwell,
Eben Torrey,
D. Whitman,
Mr. Moffat
7 Daniel Waldo,
Moses Carleton,
Dr. Baker,
H. Prescott,
L. A. Seymour,
D'l Bemis, Esq.
8 Jona. Whitney,
Eph. Whitney,
F. Nourse,
Hor'e Faulkner,
Ephraim Avery.
9 John Davidson,
Asa Bee.
10 Jonas Whitney,
Rev. Jonathan
E. Edwards,
Geo. W. Frost,
Nicholas Frost.
11 Mrs. Walton,
Rev. F. B. Doe,
H. Krüsi,
Mrs. P. Childs,
Rufus Childs.
12 John White.
13 John White,
Joseph White,
John White,
Sam. F. White,
Peter O'good,
David O'good,
E. Houghton.
14 Nath'l Wyman,
Benj. Wyman,
Chas. Wyman,
Mrs. N. Wyman,
B. F. Wyman.
15 Tenants.
16 John White,
John Taylor,
Samuel Jones,
Jona. Hildreth,
Jona. Locke,
Mr. Cornet,
Wm. Thompson,
N. C. Hawkins.
17 Site of malt
house.
18 Site of O. Hunt,
Abel White,
Benj. Rice.
19 Eli Stearns,
Mr. Kidder,
A. Barnes,
Jonas Wheeler,
Henry Howard,
Sam. R. Damon.
20 Wm. Chandler.
21 Patrick Glynn.
22 Mrs. J. Haskell,
Miss R. Haskell,
J. Farnsworth,
23 Phelps' tavern,
Wm. Phelps,
Gard'r Phelps.
- 24 J. White.
25 Jonas Lane,
David Osgood,
Tenants.
26 Site of ancient
house,
Brick-kiln.
27 Brick yard.
28 Old toll-house,
Paul Whiting,
Alvinza Lane,
John Glynn,
Levi Ball.
29 Mr. Carter,
Mrs. Gay,
Mr. Lancey.
30 Mr. Phelps,
Rob. Townsend,
W. Townsend,
Mr. Giles,
Oliver Carter,
John Lyon,
Emery White.
31 Pliny Newell,
Anthony Lane,
Thos. Gates,
Mrs. Mattoon.
32 Old Beman
place,
Jos. Beman,
Widow Aaron
Phelps,
Elijah Coburn,
Wm. S. Locke.
33 Joel Phelps,
S. Phelps,
Somes White,
David Barton,
Seth French,
A. J. Farns-
worth,
Mrs. Adams,
S. Houghton.
34 Sam'l Barrett,
Abijah White,
Widow Maquil-
lan,
Edward Wilcox,
Mrs. S. Cogswell.
35 George Phelps,
John Horsley,
John Richards,
Jno. R. Wyman.
36 Site of cabinet
factories.
37 S. R. Damon's
tenants.
38 Beman place,
Charles Safford.
39 Old Phelps
place,
Wm. Phelps,
Abijah Phelps,
Edw'd Phelps,
Wm. Phelps,
Jacob Phelps.
40 J. Hawkes, jr.,
P. Houghton,
B. Farnsworth.
41 Widow John
Hawkes.
42 Silas Willard,
Joseph Upton,
Carl Seleger,
John Wiley,
A. C. Putnam.
43 Aaron Phelps,
Seth Sargent,
W. Townsend,
Isaac Childs,
A. I. Stone.
44 Site of Phelps'
place,
Eben. C. Mann.
45 Dr. J. Hawkes,
B. Farnsworth,
sr.,
Miss D. Farns-
worth,
Miss L. Farns-
worth,
46 Wm. Damon,
John Hyde the
hatter,
Sylv'r Phelps,
- 46 John Lyon,
John Brooks.
N. Wyman.
49 Jeremiah Lyon,
Jas. Chandler.
50 Chas. A. Chick-
ering,
Mrs. M. Woods,
Mrs. Carter.
51 Henry C. Shaw,
52 John Waters,
Mrs. E. Patrick,
Rev. S. C. Ken-
dall,
James Russell.
53 Mrs. Edes,
Joel Wilder.
54 Ed. Hayes.
55 Wm. Russell,
Mrs. Russell.
56 Luke Bigelow,
Mrs. Bragg.
57 Arba Estey.
58 Palm leaf show-
bridge,
Mrs. Whitney.
59 Ezra Sawyer,
Joel Wilder,
J. Farnsworth,
Jonas Wheeler,
F. H. Thomp-
son, M.D.,
Chas. J. Wilder,
60 Deacon Wales'
store,
Grammarschool
house,
C. Carter, M.D.,
Dan'l Stowell.
61 Elias Danforth,
Miss Eliza Dan-
forth.
62 Aaron Mose-
man,
Horatio Bailey.
63 F. Andrews,
Matt. Woods,
Wm. Holder.
64 Joseph Breck,
J. Huntington,
C. T. Symmes.
65 Hon. John
Sprague,
Peter T. Vose,
S. J. S. Vose,
Rev. Alfred Em-
erson,
—
Cephas Rugg.
66 Elias Danforth,
John A. Shaw,
George Dodge,
Jos. C. Stevens,
A. E. Royce.
67 Mrs. A. Lane.
68 J. L. S. Thomp-
son, M.D.
69 Aaron Willard,
Levi Willard,
Gen. Greenleaf,
Dr. Greenleaf,
Hon. Wm. Sted-
man,
Tim. H. Carter,
Mrs Southwick,
Rev. M. C. Steb-
bins,
William A. Kil-
bourn,
Mrs. John G.
Thurston,
A. D. Edgecomb,
M.D.,
A. E. Vinal.
70 P. McLoughlin.
71 Old Bruce
house,
R. Cummings,
M.D.,
Frank Nullet.
72 Miss M. Whit-
ney,
Miss Angelina
Farnsworth.
73 Ancient house,
- 73 Rev. N. Thayer,
M. Smith, Esq.,
Benj. F. Tidd,
M. Carleton,
Mrs. Carleton.
74 Ezra Sawyer,
Lyman Moore,
Jos. Whitney,
Mrs. Whitney.
75 Brick Academy.
76 Town Hall.
77 Memorial Hall.
78 Old Whitcomb
house,
G. R. M. Whit-
ington, Esq.,
Mrs. Gordon,
C. A. Chickering.
79 Pocket book
shop,
G. A. Johnson,
Atkins & Dut-
ton,
Tyler Bigelow,
Asa N. Smith.
80 Charles Cobb,
S. Whiting, Esq.
Rev. W. DeLoss
Love, jr.,
81 H. Barrett,
Mrs. Bradley,
Miss Levantia
Bradley,
J. D. Butler,
LeRoy Z. Col-
lins.
82 Henry C. Brown.
83 Solon Wilder.
84 Col. J. Wilson,
Solon W. John-
son,
Almon D. Gibbs,
H. Barrett.
85 George Carter,
Rev. L. R. Paige,
Henry Lincoln,
M.D.,
Mrs. Lincoln,
Mrs. Eliza Dana,
Mrs. Almira
Hyde.
86 Hotel Lancas-
ter,
Mr. Elder,
Nath'l Rand,
Mr. Pierce,
Jos. Maynard,
George Fitch,
Mr. Heyward,
Ira Thompson,
Jer. Moore,
Elisha Taft,
Henry B. Gow-
ing, owner.
87 Club house, for-
merly a print-
ing office
down the lane;
used as stu-
dents' board-
ing-house,
Tenants,
Sam'l A. Burns,
Fred. Z. Farns-
worth,
E. J. Forbush.
88 Miss Deborah
Stearns,
Chas. A. Lyman,
Miss Lucy Puf-
fer.
89 Blacksmith
shop.
90 L. M. Harvey,
John Eagan,
91 Henry C. Shaw,
Jas. McLough-
lin.
92 Thos. Durwin.
93 Fardy Dolphin.
94 Michael Connor.
95 J. Windett, jr.,
Eben. Bragg,
Henry Hosley.
96 John Marrah.
- 97 Tenants,
Wm. Taylor,
Wm. Nowell,
James Watson.
98 John Daniels,
99 Samuel A. Hast-
ings,
N a z a r e n e
Houghton.
Jer. Mitchell.
100 Michael Eagan.
101 Eli Stearns' old
carpenter
shop; John
R. Wyman's
house and
beer shop;
Chas. Cobb's
pocket book
shop; Joseph
P u t n e y ' s
dwelling.
102 Chas. Wyman,
W. D. Whitney,
Jonas M. Dam-
on.
103 John Tracey.
104 Wm. N. Brown,
James Nourse.
105 Mrs. Peggy
Mitchell,
Mich'l Murray.
106 Mr. Briggs,
G. W. Matthews,
107 James Watson.
108 Aug. Thorning,
Mrs. Latan.
109 James McEvoy.
110 Martin Kelley,
Martin Lynch.
111 Jer. Moore,
Jonas Wheeler,
Jos. Fletcher.
112 Lemuel D. Saw-
yer,
Daniel Haverty,
Widow Savage,
Rev. A. E. Law-
rence,
Mrs. P. B. Edes,
113 Samuel A. Hast-
ings,
Tenants,
George A. John-
son,
E. Carter Fisher
114 Brick store,
Miss S. Brown,
115 Josiah Bridge
and Charles
Bridge, house
and store,
Tenants,
Nath. Rand,
Mrs. Rand,
Jer. Moore.
116 Wm. Parks,
Isaiah Moore,
Mr. Bennett,
Chris. Pollard,
Jno. W. Barnes,
117 G. K. Richards,
Mrs. Sally Mal-
lard,
Miss Hannah
Mallard.
118 Many tenants,
John Harford,
Frank Hadley.
119 Dr. J. L. S.
Thompson's
Drug store.
120 Old store,
Post office.
121 J. W. Hunting-
ton, Esq.,
Mrs. Hunting-
ton.
122 Moses Smith,
Esq.,
Rev. Asa Pack-
ard,
Rev. Charles
Packard,
Samuel True,
Jacob Fisher,

- 122 Mrs. Fisher.
 123 Lancaster bank.
 124 John Albee.
 125 Wilder S. Thurston, G. Cummings, Dr. H. C. Kendrick.
- 126 Merrick Rice, Esq., Gayton Pickman, Jas. G. Carter, Peter T. Homer, Solomon Carter, Rev. G. M. Bartol, Dr. H. C. Kendrick, Rev. George R. Leavitt, Mrs. E. M. Greene.
- 127 Rev. A. P. Marvin.
- 128 Rev. Amos E. Lawrence, Rev. George M. Bartol.
- 129 Moses Carleton, Henry Swift, Capt. Spalding, Capt. E. Greene, Mrs. E. M. Greene, Frank Brockway, Frank P. Breed, Green-house.
- 130 Peter Green, Mr. Wrifford, Moses Peasley, Gilman B. Parker.
- 131 Benj. Foster, Many occupants, Rebuilt in 1871, by Wright S. Keyes.
- 132 Mrs. Solomon Carter, Tenants, John Lyon, Capt. Obed Pulsifer, Jno. A. Haskell, Tailor shop, 20 or 30 hands, Mrs. Gwynn, Joshua A. Lane.
- 134 John G. Chandler.
- 135 Mrs. L. Whitney.
- 136 Old Joslyn place, Joslyns in succession, Capt. Hussey, W. J. Whittaker, W. L. Ward, Wm. H. McNeil.
- 137 Old Tavern, The Popkin house, Mr. Popkin, Sam'l Manning, M.D., Nath. Peabody, M.D.
- 138 Old Joslyn place, Joslyn descendants, Jacob Sweetzer, Mrs. Sweetzer, Thos. B. Warren, Fred. H. Johnson.
- 2 Nath. Thayer.
 3 Rev. T. Harrington, Rev. Dr. N. Thayer.
 4 Joshua Fletcher, Chas. T. Fletcher.
 5 John Goodwin, Esq., Eben Sawyer, Luke Bigelow.
 6 Luke Rugg, John Deane, Jas. Chandler, Tenants, Chas. H. Wilder, Alfred Heald.
 7 Joseph Sprague, Green-houses.
 8 Chas. H. Arnold, Joseph Scully, Geo. Michie.
 9 W. H. Newman, Henry Miller, Mrs. G. Howard, Walter H. Goss, Thomas Hickey.
 10 G. Newman, Mrs. L. Newman, W. H. Newman, Henry Haskins.
 11 Col. F. B. Fay, Mrs. Fay.
 12 Rev. J. Whiting, Rev. A. Gardner, Garrison house, Levi Willard, Mrs. Willard, Tim. Fletcher.
 13 Samuel Ward, Nath. Chandler, Mrs. M. G. Ware.
 14 Site of Prescott's shop.
 15 Rev. E. H. Sears, Geo. A. Tower, Professor S. H. Tenney, G. F. Chandler, Green-house.
 16 Old tavern, Samuel Locke, Mrs. Andrews, Torrey Fitch, Joseph Leach, Jas. Wise, Wm. Reed, New house, Lucius Farwell, Wm. A. Kilbourn.
 17 Josiah Flagg, Samuel Flagg, J. G. Thurston, John A. Rice.
 18 Store of D. K. Wilder, Eliphas Ballard, Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. J. Wilder, Wm. G. Wilder.
 19 Captain Wild, Joseph Bowers, Benjamin Holt, Mrs. Trowbridge, Daniel Goss.
 20 F. Plummer, George Fitch, Mrs. S. W. Fitch.
 21 Charles Sawyer, Rev. Dr. C. Robbins, Wm. G. Wilder, L. G. Cilley, Austin I. Phelps.
 22 Moses Sawyer, Mrs. Sally Case, Jos. D. Maynard, Rev. L. D. Mears, Wm. C. Warren.
 23 Joseph Bowers, T. Bancroft, S. N. Haskell, Miss C. Sweetzer, G. F. Haines.
 24 John Ballard,
- 24 Widow Ballard, Wm. Ballard, F. Plummer, George Howard, Daniel Howard.
 25 Elias Sawyer, Elijah Sawyer, Rufus Eager.
 26 Rev. J. Prentice, Israel Atherton, M.D., Luke Rugg, Chas. Humphrey, H. D. Humphrey.
 27 Stephen Gray, Rufus Eager, Patrick Burke.
 28 A. P. Fairbank.
 28½ Patrick Dillon.
 29 A. Houghton, Rufus Maynard.
 30 S. N. Haskell, Miss B. Golding, Michael Kelley.
 31 Sanford Wilder, Patrick Golding.
 32 Benj. Gould, John Rice.
 33 Geo. W. Howe, Albion K. Gibbs, George Weeks.
 34 Geo. W. Howe.
 35 George Stratton.
 36 Elisha Turner, Warren Wilson.
 37 Elijah Wilder, Col. John Wilson, John Swan, James Pitts, C. H. Lawrence, Peter Gordon.
 38 Old comb shop, John Townsend, W. A. M. Bailey, H. F. Hosmer.
 38½ Leander Rowell.
 39 Old house moved from Sandy Hill; became Leach's tavern, Austin Davis, Hollis B. Woods, Other landlords, Mrs. B. F. Rice.
 40 Simeon Bowman, S. H. Turner.
 41 Silas Sawyer, Anthony Sawyer, Anson Burton.
 42 S. Nurse, Mrs. Julia Fay.
 43 James Rugg, Mrs. Montgometry.
 44 Tim's Fairbank.
 45 Widow Thurston, Peter Thurston, Mrs. S. Sawyer.
 46 Joel Wilder, jr., Warren Davis, Hollis B. Davis, James Wise, Mrs. Wise.
 47 J. G. Thurston, Josiah Flagg, Samuel Flagg, Miss Sally Flagg.
 48 John Fuller, Edw. M. Fuller.
 49 Peter Fay, Mrs. Fay, Tenants.
 50 Levi Priest, Mrs. H. Coburn.
 51 Tenants, W. H. Hennesey.
 52 Chas. Stront, Henry R. Hagar.
 53 George Lowe, A. Olmsted.
 54 Walter C. Rice.
 55 Sydney Butler.
 56 Factory tenement.
 57 Mark Barrett,
- 58 Ephraim Fuller, Silas Allen, S. Bancroft,
 58 David A. Dean.
 59 Martin Kelley.
 60 Thomas Fayhee, Mrs. Fayhee.
 61 Bryan Golding, [north of the road.]
 62 T. Killfoil, J. T. Killfoil.
 63 Michael Fury.
 64 Mr. Fairbank, Chas. K. Barnes.
 65 Mr. Sawin.
 66 D. A. Carter, P. R. Mansfield, Geo. Sampson.
 67 Elias Bennett, Daniel Carter, Samuel Carter, Dan. A. Carter, Frank Carter, Porter J. Lewis.
 68 Boarding house, Tenement house, Frank Coughlin, Peter Roake.
 69 Charles Burdett.
 70 Old card factory, Asabel Tower, Simeon Bowman, Peter Joslin, Jno. W. Damon, Widow Heyward, Wm. Scrivener, Wm. Wood, Julius Wilder.
 71 Asabel Tower, Benj. Houghton, Ephraim Fuller, Henry Jewell, Ezra Burton.
 72 Peter Sawyer, Thomas Taylor, Tenants, G. W. Wellington, Carter Wilder.
 73 Levi Green, Ephraim Fuller.
 74 Newton Sweet, H. N. Sweet, Levi Green.
 75 John Bennett, John Edgarton.
 76 John Bennett.
 77 William Henry.
 78 — Nicholson.
 79 Chas. H. Wilder.
 79½ Mich'l Conway, C. D. Howe, David Snow, Mrs. W. A. M. Bailey.
 81 Lewis Priest.
 82 Austin Davis, Eli Howe.
 83 Mrs. B. F. Rice, Alonzo Ball.
 84 Mrs. Harris, Chapin Harris.
 85 Minard Wood.
 86 Dores Robinson, Chas. E. Palmer.
 87 H. A. Weston.
 88 George F. Richmond.
 89 Dennis W. Johnson, W. W. Lyman.
 90 Old Wilder place, David Wilder, Calvin Wilder, Anos Wheeler, Wright S. Keyes, Dr. H. V. Stone, H. B. Stratton.
 01 Mrs. C. S. Lake.
- OLD COMMON.
 [See page 737.]
- 1 Dea. Haven, R. Houghton, Hor'e Faulkner, E. W. Moore, Jas. Broderick, Jas. Fairbank, John Davidson.
 2 Silas Fairbank, Haran Eager, Samuel Eager.
 3 Paul Faulkner, E. Bathrick, Joshua Freeman.
 4 H. C. Harriman.
 5 William Targett, Adrian Nourse.
 7 — Moore.
 8 School-house.
 9 Old Tavern, T. Whiting, T. Whiting, jr., S. Jewett, Joseph B. Moore, Third meeting-house.
 10 Gen. J. Whiting, O. Carter, store, Mrs. Stillwell, Jona. P. Nourse, J. A. Messenger, Old Academy.
 11 Thomas Safford, Dr. D. Goodrich, D. S. Robertson, M.D., Miss A. Parks, Mr. Woodward, Rev. Marc. Ames.
 12 Abner Pollard, S. A. Hastings, Orice King, Supt.'s house.
 13 Old Store, Moses Emerson, — Perry, — Boynton, Dea. F. Whitney.
 14 Industrial school, No. 4.
 15 Industrial school, No. 1.
 16 Industrial school, No. 2.
 17 Chapel.
 18 Levi Wilder, Sir Robt. Carnes, Sir F. Seales, Benjamin Lee, Rich. Cleveland, Wm. Cleveland, Joseph Hiller, William Shaler, Madam Stillwell Industrial school No. 3.
 19 Jona. Wilder, Henry Townsend, Dr. Stewart, Dr. Carl Siedhof Industrial school No. 5.
 20 State barn.
 21 Dr. Parks' Tenants, John Taylor, Thomas Hickey.
 22 Charles Priest, S. Jewett, — Cutting, Mrs. Cutting.
 23 J. Broderick, jr., Jau.
 24 John Ollis.

SOUTH LANCASTER.

[See page 724.]

1 Hooker Osgood.

and next south of John Moor on the north. Thomas Sawyer was next south of Prescott's home lot, the east and west road running between. This being settled, the most convenient place for Prescott to live would be on the lot of Mrs. Ware. It would be near the store; moreover, his blacksmith shop, where his son Jonathan is known to have worked, was on Frederick Chandler's land, and this is another reason for supposing the house was near. Probably things remained in this condition, till the destruction of the town.

From that time the Records are missing for nearly forty years, or till about 1720. In the meantime the town had been again settled, and the roads had been altered at unknown dates. It was in this interval that the Ward corner was fixed where it is now, and the road thence to the Sprague bridge placed substantially in its present bed.

The road having been moved east, it is supposable that the store was moved also, and it will not be thought unreasonable if we locate it where it is known that a store was kept more than a hundred years ago, that is, near the southwest corner of the Fay estate. Levi Willard and Samuel Ward had a store there, it is believed, as early as 1768; and the presumption is that they occupied an ancient site.

Where then was the house of Prescott, or of his son, after the rebuilding of the town? Perhaps his home was near his mill in Clinton, but if so, his son occupied the homestead. What reason is there to doubt that it was erected on the old spot, that is the Ward place? For it should be remembered that the Ward or Ware property is not connected with the property on the west. The dividing line is now, as it was at first, the fence on the brow of the hill west of the ravine. Here, or very near this corner, was the homestead of the Prescott family, who did so much to shape the destiny of Lancaster and Clinton. Historians have noticed the fact that Prescott came near drowning in Sudbury river when moving his goods and chattels to this place, and have raised a query in regard to the change in results, if he had sunk to rise no

more. Then Col. Prescott of Louisburg fame, and the other Col. Prescott, of Bunker Hill renown, and judge Prescott, and Prescott the historian had never seen the light. Coming to a narrower circle of events, we may inquire what would have been the earlier fortunes of Lancaster? Doubtless it would have been settled, if he had been cut off, but his death would probably have retarded the settlement, and certainly would have been a most serious loss. His energy, his good sense, his wise counsel and his undaunted resolution, were greatly needed, and not less his great talent for business. His store, his shop, his farm and his mills connected him with all the enterprise of the new settlement; and he was also a firm supporter of the civil and religious interests of the people, as his mind worked clear of the notions of Dr. Child, and he saw his way to take the oath of fidelity, and finally to unite with the church.

So far as is now known, the first dwelling-house on the lawn of the Fay family, was built in 1789-90, for the minister, Rev. John Whiting. The history of this honorable transaction has been given in a former chapter. The land was bought and the house built, partly by the town and partly by subscription, and then made over to the pastor. After his tragical death, it was occupied by his successor, Rev. Andrew Gardner. If not at first, it was made into a garrison, and guarded by one or more flankers and sentry boxes. This was the second "minister's garrison," the Rowlandson house having never been rebuilt. Not far from this spot, Mr. Whiting was killed by the Indians in 1797, and on this spot Mr. Gardner was mortally wounded by one of his neighbors, by a sad mistake.

For some reason the next minister, Rev. John Prentice, did not occupy this house. Perhaps the associations were too sad for him, and for his wife, the widow of Mr. Gardner. Possibly the house, after the necessity for a garrison had ceased, was not so desirable as would be one free from a fort-like appendage. However that may be, Mr. Prentice lived on the

site now occupied by the family of the late excellent Dea. Humphrey. Here he lived till 1748, during a long and faithful ministry; and here lived the once celebrated Dr. Israel Atherton, in a later generation. His education was superior to most practitioners at that day, and he had the courage to open a house on Pine hill for inoculation for small-pox, which was the precaution before vaccination came into vogue.

Going back to the Prescott corner, now Mrs. Ware's, we look upon the house owned and occupied by Capt. Samuel Ward about fifty-six years. The age of this house cannot be ascertained. When purchased by him, not far from 1770, it was so old that he hesitated whether to take it down, or repair it. He chose the latter, and often said that he had regretted doing so ever since. Yet the house is in good repair to-day, thanks to the care of himself and his niece, Mrs. Ware. It is a fine specimen of the better class of houses erected in the early part of the last century. Square in form, built around an immense chimney, two stories and an old-fashioned Mansard roof in height, with such an addition of L and leanto as a large hospitality demanded, it suggests to the traveler the thought that here dwells a man of ample means and liberal housekeeping.

The occupant of this ample mansion from 1770 to 1826, was a remarkable man. Capt. Samuel Ward was descended from William Ward who came from England in the first half of the seventeenth century. With him came his son Richard, who married Mary Moore of Sudbury in 1661. He was drowned there, March 31, 1666. He had a son named Obadiah, who was married to Joanna Harrington of Watertown in 1693. He settled in Worcester in 1715, taking with him his son Daniel, who was born in 1700. This Daniel was the father of Samuel Ward, who was born in Worcester, September 25, 1739. The latter married Dolly, a daughter of judge John Chandler. Having no surviving children, he made his sister, Mrs. Dolly Green, wife of Nathaniel Chandler, his heir. Mrs. Mary G. Ware, the daughter of Mr. Chan-

dlar, is the present owner of the fine old homestead, which has been greatly improved by her good taste and judgment. It was by his intermarriage with the Chandler family, that Capt. Ward became a relative of his partner, Col. Levi Willard. Young Ward entered the army early in the last French and Indian war, in 1755, at the age of sixteen. He was a private in 1756, but rose to be adjutant in Col. Abijah Willard's regiment before 1760. He was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in 1759, and of Isle aux Noix and Montreal in 1760. The war being over, he commenced business in Groton, but moved to this town in 1767. Here he lived fifty-nine years, with ever growing respect and esteem, till the day of his decease, August 14, 1826, at the great age of eighty-seven years.

Mr. Ward is still remembered by aged persons, and they all unite in a chorus of eulogy. He was widely known for one in private life. Willard says that "his acquaintance was sought by all. No one who ever knew him, though but slightly, could forget him. His powers of entertainment were never exhausted; his hospitality was inexhaustible." If he had chosen public life he "would have been distinguished as a statesman." Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, who has known the greatest men of the country during the last forty years, places Mr. Ward in the same grade of intellect and weight of character. He was a man of wonderful sagacity and shrewdness. Free from trick or chicanery, he had singular success in carrying his points. The anecdote of his triumph in a town meeting during the revolutionary war, will be recalled. Doubtless he sympathized with the royalist party before actual hostilities began, but his foresight as well as his love of liberty early brought him over to the side of the patriots. When men whom he respected joined the king's party, he stood firm. It is related by Mr. Willard, in his sketches of the Worcester bar, that Ward met judge Sprague in Boston, about the time when the war broke out, and finding him in a doubtful mood, advised him to go home and take

his lot with his patriotic countrymen. He was a kind neighbor, and never failing in his benefactions to the poor.

An anecdote is told, which, true or invented, is illustrative of his exuberant hospitality. Having at one time his house full of company, he induced them, in pleasant ways, to overstay their time. At length they *must go* the next morning. When morning came their horses were found without a shoe, and they were obliged to remain till a tardy blacksmith could replace the shoes. The good humor of Mr. Ward was magnetic, and his guests readily acquiesced in their forced detention.

The clergy were always welcome to his bountiful table. On one occasion the Rev. Mr. Emerson of Harvard, father of the "sage of Concord," was among the guests at dinner. Amid the profusion of viands was a little plate of pickerel put on as a side dish. Mr. Emerson was in the habit of going into particulars minutely in his prayers, and being called upon to say grace, gave thanks for the fruits of the earth, and the fowls of the yard, and the birds of the air, and also for the fishes of the lake and stream. When he had closed, Mr. Ward pointed to the pickerel and with a twinkle of the eye said: "Very pretty little fish, but hardly worth praying about."

The following letter from the Hon. George Bancroft, sent with his "warmest wishes for the prosperity of the town of Lancaster," supersedes the necessity of all other notice of the subject of this sketch.

"You ask me to give you my recollections of the character and manners of Captain Samuel Ward of Lancaster.

"The trait that impressed itself most deeply on my memory, was his moderation, which, indeed, is the truest test of a well-ordered mind. He was in easy circumstances; but not rich, nor desiring to become rich. He lived within his income; but being of a generous disposition, very hospitable, and having no surviving child, he was not anxious to accumulate property. Cases of private distress—which admit-

ted of relief— were sure to be brought to his notice ; and in questions of importance in the parish he was always consulted. No one stood nearer than he to Dr. Thayer, the minister of that day, whom he habitually visited on Sunday evenings, even in winter, no matter how deep might be the snow, nor how biting cold the winds.

“He was a man of thought and reflection, and of some reading ; though not enough to be called a scholar. In his political principles he was a Federalist of the old school, but to no one would he utter a harsh word of a political opponent, or indeed of anybody else. He had an evenness of temper that I never once saw ruffled.

“He was always cheerful, serene and contented ; and as he grew old, the nearer approach of death had no terrors for him. He never found fault with the doings of providence ; and never fretted at encountering waywardness in his fellow-men. His wife being a confirmed invalid, nothing could exceed the never failing respect and regard and care for her, shown during the many long years of her infirmities ; and his own example formed the rule for his household.

“He was a keen observer, quick in his perceptions, and shrewd in his discernment ; but he never seemed to take to heart, that there were faults and imperfections in those who were nearest to him. He accepted his friends just as they were ; and no one could perceive from his words or manner that the thought ever passed his mind, that they might be better than they were. He delighted in a pleasant story, had an endless fund of good-natured humor, and with a half suppressed smile on his lips, he could rally a friend on a trait of character or an incident ; but he never uttered a word that could wound.

“It was one of his rules of life, that it is better to preserve one old friend than to gain ten new ones. Another was : that confidence is never to be violated ; no, not even of any enemy.

“He took an interest in all that was going on in the world, and when his newspaper came from the mail or the post rider, reeking with dampness, it went at once into the kitchen to be ironed on both sides by a hot flatiron, which gave smoothness to the page and clearness to the type. In the parlor, green hickory was burned; and to my boyish wonder and admiration, he was a master in the art of building up the fire on the broadest foundation consistent with the power of the chimney to carry smoke, narrowing upward to the top; to be sure of a circulation of air between every stick of the lofty pile, an iron wedge would be inserted here and there; and then the lambent flame curled through every part of the skilfully constructed fabric.

“I will mention one accomplishment, which perhaps no one alive remembers but myself. He was celebrated in early life for possessing a most exquisite tenor voice; and in his later years I have heard him sing snatches of old songs in a manner that showed what must have been its quality, in the season of its perfection.”

Mr. Nathaniel Chandler, the successor of Capt. Ward on the Prescott corner, was also a man of a pleasant humor, and many anecdotes and sayings of his are reported. But as the point of these depends much on tone of voice, and gesture, and surroundings, they lose their flavor in print. A single specimen may be hazarded. Lending his horse, one day, to some ladies, he went on in his pleasantry to specify the bad points of the animal; but, said one of the ladies: “how is he about stopping?” Quick as a flash came the reply: “Oh, he shines at that!”

Crossing the road again towards the east and passing the site of the old store of Willard and Ward, and of the garrison-house, under the great elms, near the well and pump, we are in presence of the stately mansion of Mrs. Fay, widow of the late Col. Francis B. Fay. As this gentleman passed nearly the last twenty years of his busy and useful life in this town, it is fitting that a brief notice of him should find

a place in this work. He was born in Southborough, June 12, 1793. As his parents were in limited circumstances, his means of education were only such as the schools of that early day could give one who only attended a few weeks in the winter months. Thirsting for knowledge, he borrowed books, and almost committed them to memory. He was employed in different families until his sixteenth year, when he became a clerk in a country store. At eighteen he "bought his time" of his father for \$80, and when he "came of age," had saved \$50. From this time he was engaged in different kinds of business in his native town, in Chelsea, and in Boston, until he had acquired a handsome property, and filled many places of public trust with honor. He was in the retail line part of the time, and then in wholesale business, being in the firm of Fay & Farwell, which for a number of years did the largest western produce commission business in Boston. Before this he had been deputy sheriff of Worcester county, and postmaster of Southborough during the administrations of Monroe, Adams and Jackson. He also represented Southborough two years in the legislature. He was fond of military exercises and associations, and rose to the position of colonel. In the years 1834, 1835 and 1840 he represented Chelsea, of which he was the first mayor, in the general court. In 1843 and 1845 he was senator from Suffolk county, after which he declined the office. He was elected to Congress in 1852 to fill out the term of Hon. Robert Rantoul, jr., and after settling in Lancaster, was, in 1868, elected to the state senate, being seventy-five years of age.

It is needless to state how many banks and other corporations he was connected with as director or president, for which positions he was much sought, as a man of energy and discretion. He was an honest, unpretending man, of simple manners, and great kindness of heart. In 1851 he gave to the town of Southborough the sum of \$500 for starting a public library for the young, on condition that the town should grant a like sum for the same purpose. The enter-

prise which occupied his mind chiefly during the last two decades of his life, was the "State Industrial School for Girls," of which he has sometimes been styled the "father." In October, 1854, Gov. Emery Washburn appointed him one of the board of commissioners to select the site and superintend the erection of the buildings. He was also appointed one of the trustees, and the treasurer. It was his deep interest in this institution which induced him to take up his residence in Lancaster. His official connection with the school closed in 1864, at the end of ten years of faithful and efficient service.

As Col. Fay was honest in business, always "paying one hundred cents for a dollar," so was he upright and independent in politics. It is related of him that he was at one time, in public meeting, called on to give a pledge as the condition of his election to the general court. He refused positively, and said that he would not give up his convictions for the sake of office or honors; that public life was not desirable unless the office sought the man, and left him free to serve the public as an honorable and self-respecting man. It was this course of action which secured Col. Fay universal respect and confidence.

It may be added that he was large-built and tall, with a commanding appearance. His features were those of a man of enterprise and energy, and expressive of vigilance, caution and sincerity. His manner of speaking inspired confidence, and gave weight to his words, in town meeting and other public bodies.

Leaving the Prescott corner, and going down the west side of Main street, at No. 17 on the "Map of Villages," is the site of the house and garrison of Thomas Sawyer. The spot is marked E on the "Map of Central Lancaster," and is northwest of the barn of George A. Rice. The road, in early times, was behind the houses on the west side of the present street. This was probably one of the "five places" which were attacked by the Indians in 1676, when the town

was destroyed. Willard could designate but three; but besides the garrisons at Prescott's place in Clinton, at Mr. Rowlandson's, and on Wattoquaddoc hill, there was another at Sawyer's and still another on the Neck, either near Dr. Thompson's, or at the John White place; probably the latter. It will be recollected that after the massacre, the remaining people, who had neither fled nor been killed, gathered into two garrisons, one on the north side of the river, and the other on the south. These garrisons were, in all probability, at the houses of John White and Thomas Sawyer. At all events, the Sawyer place is historical, and therefore has been designated on the maps. The Sawyer family has become numerous; it is widely scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and has furnished many enterprising and eminent men, in the walks of business and the professions. Their specialty seems to have been dams, mills and factories. Among the most distinguished of the name are Hon. E. H. Sawyer, of Easthampton, Mass.; Rev. Leicester A. Sawyer, D. D., formerly of New Haven, Conn., and Hon. Lorenzo Sawyer, of San Francisco, judge of the United States circuit court. Others equally eminent bear the name, but their connection with the Lancaster stock has not been traced.

The house near the same spot, occupied by Mr. Rice, is ancient, but was built long after the massacre. In more recent times it was the home of the Hon. John G. Thurston, who kept the largest store in the county. He was a man of superior ability in business and in public affairs. Besides holding many town offices, he was, during several years, a member of the general court, either in the house or the senate. His local influence was great. By his large fund of information, his intimacy with all the leading men of the town older than himself, and his hospitable spirit, he was very entertaining.

Benjamin Holt lived near the spot on which the house of Daniel Goss now stands. After long and successful service

as master of one of the best schools of Boston, he came here to spend his declining years. He was a friend of Lowell Mason and other composers, who did so much to elevate the science of sacred music in our country. As president of the Handel and Haydn society, his influence was extensive; and this was increased by his own musical compositions.

At No. 21, now occupied by Mr. Cilley, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D., made his summer home, for quite a term of years. His land extended back to the road at the foot of George hill. Dr. Robbins was highly esteemed here by all classes of people. He might properly be enrolled among Lancaster authors.

The house at the corner, No. 39, on the Map of Villages, formerly stood on Sandy hill, about a third of the distance from the brow to the house of Mr. Parker. It was moved down to its present location, and made a tavern. Over the L was a dancing hall. For many years it has been owned by Mrs. Rice, and the hall, until recently, was the meeting place of the Second Advent church. At one time the Young Men's Christian Association held meetings here on Sunday afternoon.

Coming north again, and turning into the west road, at No. 16, the residence of W. A. Kilbourn, we find a site which was long occupied by a tavern. Here a Mr. Andrews, Torrey Fitch, James Wise, and how many others cannot be recalled, kept a much patronized hotel. Here also lived the Locke family a hundred and thirty years ago. Samuel Locke of Woburn, married Rebecca Richardson, in 1730; he moved into Lancaster in 1742, and bought the house and lands of John Buss for £1,000. He kept tavern many years, and his house, says the author of the "Book of the Lockes," was a "place of resort for the principal men of the town, and where the fathers of the town were accommodated with their wines and other beverages, if the old account books in my possession are true." He was a man of "great business qualifications, and was respected as an intelligent and honorable man," says

the same authority. He died, April 13, 1775, aged 72, and his widow married Col. Joseph Wilder,—not the second judge Joseph, who died two years before—December 27, 1775. John and Joseph Locke, her sons, married two daughters of Col. Wilder. The most eminent son of Mr. Locke, was his son Samuel, whose early education was guided by Rev. Timothy Harrington. Here he fitted for Harvard college, of which he became president in 1769. He resigned in 1773 on account of alleged "domestic infelicities," and returned to Sherborn, where he had formerly been the minister. He was respected by his townsmen, and his memory is there held in honor to this day. From the reports of John Adams, his classmate, and Pres. Styles of Yale college, he was a man of great and varied abilities and of prodigious learning.

The ancient house occupied by the Locke family and their successors in the tavern, has been replaced by a new one, and now, with all the lands north to the river and west to the back road, belongs to the estate of Mr. Thayer.

Returning to the main road, and coming towards the Sprague bridge, we pass the ancient house of Col. Oliver Wilder, between Nos. 5 and 6, on the "Map of the Villages," and come to No. 2, the residence of Mr. Thayer. Between this house and the road, was the very ancient house of Rev. Mr. Harrington and Dr. Thayer. It was a fine old house, in the style of the early part of the last century, and its removal to make way for the new and more spacious residence was regretted by many; but by none so much as the present owner. His purpose was to repair and preserve it, but examination showed that it was decayed beyond repair, and it was reluctantly taken down. A good sketch of it, drawn and painted by Major Fabius Whiting, is kept in the new house, and would be an ornament to this work if all pictures of private houses had not been excluded. The house is in the general style of the residence of Judge Sprague, now occupied by Mr. Vose. It is supposed to have been built long before Mr. Harrington came to Lancaster, but by whom

is unknown. The splendid elms were set out by Mr. Harrington. The walnut tree, near the old well, stood but a little way from the back door of the house. In this house was reared the late John Eliot Thayer, whose capacity for business placed him in the front rank of the solid men of Boston.

Half way from this locality to the river was the Rowlandson garrison-house. On the south bank of the river, just opposite the house of Mr. Vose, was the house of Hooker Osgood, senior or junior, or both. Mr. Osgood was driven from the site by one of those occasional floods, like that on the eleventh of December last, which surpassed any remembered by the "oldest inhabitant." The cellar, some eight rods west of the bridge, is not yet entirely filled. At one time Hooker Osgood lived nearly opposite the Middle Cemetery, and perhaps in a house built on the Rowlandson or Kerley estate after the burning and massacre.

THE OLD COMMON.

Instead of coming over the Sprague bridge, and perambulating the Neck or Center, we will follow the people, who built their third meeting-house on the Old Common in 1705. This now became the center of the town, Harvard and Bolton still belonging to the township. Though there has never been a time when many families lived here, yet quite a number of these have been above the average in education and respectability. One branch of the Wilder family had a seat here during several generations. The "Book of the Wilders" supersedes the need of going into the genealogy of the family at length, but a few items will be of general interest. Thomas and John, sons of the first Thomas Wilder, lived on the Old Common, and on the land now occupied by the Industrial School buildings. The sons of the second Thomas were Col. James and the first Judge Joseph. By Gardner, one of the sons of James, came many descendants in Leominster and other places.

The sons of Joseph, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas from 1731 to 1757, were Thomas, Andrew, Joseph and Caleb. Joseph was a judge of the same court as his father, from 1762 to 1773, when he died. He and Col. Caleb, his brother, were the first who established pot and pearl ash works in America. Their place of manufacture was on the northern slope of the Old Common, descending towards the intervale. Aged willow trees still mark the place. They had another establishment in Leominster. Their brother Thomas settled in Leominster, and was captain of a company. One of his descendants was the Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon, a model man.

Levi Wilder, a descendant of Thomas, began to build the Stillwell house, so called, now in ruins by fire, in 1776. He was the father of Sampson V. S. Wilder.

John Wilder's sons were John, Thomas and Ebenezer, whose descendants are settled in many towns and several states. David was a representative many years. Col. Wilder of Sterling was another of his stock. Jonathan, the grandson of John, had eleven sons, of whom the following lived to man's estate, viz.: Jonathan, David, John, Luke, Cephas, Prescott, Lewis, Henry, lately deceased, and Frederick, who died much lamented, when young. Charles L. Wilder is of the family of John. The "Six Nations" of the south part of the town, in former times, were of the same family.

Nathaniel, third son of the first Thomas, lived on George hill. He was killed by the Indians in 1704, as was his son Jonathan in 1707. His son Ephraim represented Lancaster in the general court for a number of years, and died in 1769, aged 94 years. Col. Oliver, the owner of the South Lancaster water power, was another son. Ephraim had a son of the same name, who died in 1770, aged 68. He also had a son Ephraim, who was one of the seven delegates from Worcester county who voted for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. He lived in Sterling. His

wife was sister of Pres. Locke. Deacon Joel Wilder of Lancaster, and father of the present aged citizen of the same name, was his son. Samuel Locke Wilder, Esq., of Rindge, N. H., was another son of Ephraim. The Hon. Marshall Pinckney Wilder, of Dorchester, whose honorable fame is as extensive as the country, is one of the sons of the aforesaid Samuel. The Rev. Moses Hale Wilder, author of the "Book of the Wilders," is a descendant of the Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon.

A careless reader of our Town Records and Annals, will often confound Judge Joseph Wilder, the younger, and Col. Joseph Wilder. They were contemporaries, and their names occur in such a manner as to confuse the reader. Rarely are they mentioned at the same time. If they were, the distinction would be evident. But the evidence of their separate identity accumulates by degrees. Judge Joseph was the son of the first Judge Joseph. Col. Joseph is not mentioned in Willard's notes respecting the Wilders, and it is hard to trace his connections in the Book of the Wilders. But he lived here, owned the Ponakin mills, had a son named Gardner, known as Major Gardner Wilder, who owned the large house on Ballard hill, now occupied by the family of the late Mr. Noah Worcester. Capt. John Maynard was son-in-law to the Major, and had the mills in right of his wife. It may be noted here that among the signers of the Church Covenant at the settlement of Mr. Prentice, in 1708, are the names of two Joseph Wilders. One of these is styled "jr." This junior could not have been the second judge Joseph, because he was born in the year 1708. Here is room for conjecture; but it seems certain that there were two Josephs in the time of the first judge, and also in the time of the second judge. Col. Joseph carried on the mill business at Ponakin, while a distant relative, Col. Oliver, owned the mill or mills at South Lancaster.

Another family long seated on the Old Common, bears the name of Houghton. Ralph Houghton lived on the Neck;

but the property passed into other hands long ago. His cousin John seems to have first settled in the southwest section of Bolton, but not long after, he made his home on the south side of the Old Common. The house, supposed to have been a garrison at one period, was in the field, perhaps twenty rods south of the road, and half way between the two roads which run southward from the main street. This John is sometimes taken for John, son of Ralph. John Houghton was born in Lancaster, England; came to this place in 1653, and died in 1684. The oldest inscribed stone in the first burying yard, bears his name. The name of his wife was Beatrix. His sons were Benjamin, William, Robert and John, jr. The latter was born a year or two before his parents left the old country. He held an elegant pen, like Ralph, his father's cousin. Between 1693 and 1724 he was a delegate to the general court fourteen years. He seems to have been the only magistrate in the town for many years after the rebuilding. During nearly a generation he was a leading man, not only in the town, but in all the region. According to Mr. Willard, who, as a lawyer, had special means of knowing, he was a very skilful conveyancer, and had much employment in that business. The land for the meeting-house, as stated in a former chapter, was given by him. He was the leader in the movement which took the place of meeting from the spot where the first and second houses stood, to the Old Common. Fifty years ago "three aged pear trees, planted by himself, stood in front of the site of his house." All traces of house and trees are gone. He was afflicted with blindness in his old age. His death occurred, February 3, 1737, when he was in his eighty-seventh year.

His son Jacob was born in 1674. Jacob, jr., in 1696. Abraham, son of the latter, was born in 1725, and died in 1815 in Leyden, Vt. His son William was born in Bolton, March 23, 1774, and died in 1863, aged eighty-nine. Several epitaphs of this family will be found in the chapter on

cemeteries. Mr. H. O. Houghton, senior partner of the firm of Houghton & Osgood, is a son of the aforesaid William. Gen. J. F. Houghton, and the Hon. S. A. Houghton, who has represented California in congress, are of the Lancaster stock. The family has had but few representatives in this town, for several generations. Dea. Houghton and Benjamin Houghton, are found often in the Records, midway in our history.

The large wooden house belonging to the State school, No. 5, —marked No. 19, on the Map of Villages— which is the northeast building on the grounds, was built by the first Jonathan Wilder. His son Jonathan, father of the late Henry, was born there. It has been handed down, by word of mouth, that the elder Jonathan, in his early manhood, sought the hand of a damsel who was averse to marriage at the time. He married another, had children, and lost his wife. His former suit was then renewed, but declined for the same reason as before. He married a second time, and again was bereaved. Then he turned again to his "first love," who was now past middle age. She consented, and to her surprise, was blessed with an heir. Then in due time, came twins, causing increased wonder. Finally she bore triplets, when she is said to have uttered the following prayer :

"O Lord, give me no more by twos and threes,
But one to time as often as you please."

Jonathan, jr., was the "immovable" man; but in this regard was only a fair representative of the family, who were characterized by an ancient wit of the town as the "wilful Wilders." Firmness, tenacity, perseverance belong to them as a race. The late Henry Wilder was an intelligent and honorable man, but when his mind was made up, he could not be driven from his purpose.

The house passed from the Wilders into the hands of David Stewart, an intelligent but eccentric Scotchman, and a friend of Dr. Steuart Robertson. After him came Dr. Siedhof, the German, who had a private school several years.

The property came into possession of the state when the School for Girls was established.

The Wilder garrison was probably near the "Stillwell house," so called, or No. 3 of the school buildings, and marked No. 18 on the map. Here, as is believed, lived Col. Caleb and Judge Joseph Wilder, one or both, when engaged in the potash business. The great iron boiler used by them is now to be seen by all travelers from Lancaster to Bolton, in the shape of a watering trough, midway between the house of Jonathan Forbush and the meeting-house.

The Stillwell house was begun, as said above, by Levi, father of Sampson Wilder, in 1776. This house has a history in connection with its successive inmates. Perhaps no one of these has been so widely or favorably known as the son of Levi, viz.: Sampson V. S. Wilder, who was at one time, consul general, and acting minister at Paris; at another, one of the greatest business men and largest operators in cotton in the country, and in the latter half of his life, very prominent in all moral and religious enterprises. But the interesting Memoir of his life and character, by his daughter, precludes the need of dwelling upon his career in this place.

The house begun by Levi Wilder, in the first year of the American revolution, was bought by a man named Carnes, an Englishman, who finished it. The house was spacious, and was well built of brick, with good finish inside. There were large barns, long since removed, and a farmer's house, not far from the mansion. The farm house, looking like an old-fashioned, neglected meeting-house, now stands on the south side of the street, and is numbered 8 in the Map of Villages. Carnes had a deer park, and kept a pack of hounds. He lived in the style of a well-to-do Englishman, and was styled, in common parlance, "lord Carnes."

His successor was Sir Francis Searles, another Englishman, who was a noted farmer and kept up the English style of living. Another Englishman, named Benjamin Lee, came

after Sir Francis. Otis Hunt was the manager of the farm for the next owners, and lived in the farm house.

Early in this century two brothers by the name of Cleveland, came from Salem, and took up their residence in the old mansion. William Cleveland was a respected citizen, and represented the town in the general court. Capt. Richard J. Cleveland was the celebrated "captain Cleveland," who was in those times, known as one of the bravest and most enterprising officers that ever sailed from the port of Salem. He went to all parts of the world, engaged in mercantile business of every variety, made great ventures and gains, and met with ruinous losses. His Narrative in two volumes, went through several editions, and is still vital with interest. Miss Peabody, on a former page, speaks of him as a noble and chivalrous character. Here his three sons, all bright with promise, were educated for college, or for business. One of these sons fell from the tower of the brick church, and was taken up for dead, but recovered. This made a deep impression on the heart of the father, and in a letter written in his old age, in 1853, he refers to the event with the liveliest sensibility, and with touching gratitude to a kind and fatherly providence.

The brothers Cleveland married sisters, two daughters of Major Joseph Hiller, also of Salem. The major occupied the house, with the families of his daughters, several years. There was life in the mansion in those days, as has been well set forth in the letter of Miss Peabody. Study, the education of children, discussion of the best methods of training, reading the best authors, music, a hospitable table and entertaining conversation, filled the day and evening.

Next the property came into the possession of William Shaler, Esq., a friend of the Clevelands. He had been consul at Algiers, and had rendered a great service to our sailors who were exposed to the violence of the pirates on the African coast. He had also been consul at Havana, and was a man of extensive information and agreeable manners. At

his decease the property fell to his sister who was generally styled madam Stillwell. She with her family occupied the house until it was purchased by the state. The fire which ruined the house, was set by two girls, members of the school, in the month of March, 1876. The blackened and broken walls make a grand ruin, but the grounds would be greatly improved by razing it to its foundations, and still more by erecting a new building.

While Mr. Shaler resided here, two other gentlemen, with consular title, became familiar with the scenery and the society of Lancaster. One was William Lee, Esq., of Boston, formerly consul at Bordeaux, who made his home in the town for a while. The other was Mr. Manners, then British consul at Boston, who sought a summer residence for his family, remarking that he was induced to locate in Lancaster, because his government had found that people did not die in this salubrious place. He had in mind certain long-lived pensioners of the British crown. Says a writer, supposed to have been the late Capt. George Thurston: "they passed several summers here in social intercourse and enjoyment, finding ample means for indulging in refined tastes and recreations. Delightful drives were daily enjoyed through the cool and shady groves which abound in the vicinity, and which were a constant theme of praise. The hills and woods were ranged for game, the Nashua river and our numerous well-stored ponds, were frequently laid under contribution to supply the tables with substantials for a chowder party of thirty or forty friends, who were gathered in a delightful grove on the margin of some beautiful pond, to do justice to unsurpassed cookery, and sing the praises of old Lancaster, to whom nature has been so bountiful in her gifts."

All these worthy and interesting families seem to have been a transient colony, rather than a constituent part of the town. Though they mingled, to some extent, in local society, and felt an interest in civil and religious affairs, yet they took no root here, and they have no living representatives in the town.

That brilliant society of men and women,—officials, sailors, teachers, scholars, authors,—have all passed away. Only a few still linger on earth, but several of them have made their names illustrious.

An ancient family, though not among the earliest, was that of Timothy Whiting, Esq. What his relationship to the Rev. John Whiting was, is not known. He came many years after the death of the minister, and yet a long time ago. His house stood on the corner now occupied by Joseph B. Moore, and was a tavern so far back that the mind of no Lancaster man runneth to the contrary. Mr. Whiting became conspicuous in town affairs. Two of his sons were Timothy, jr., and John. The former lived in the hotel, and followed the calling of his father. He was also a prominent man in the town, and was a justice of the peace when the mere holding of the office was an honor. The other son, known as Gen. John Whiting, owned and occupied the house,—No. 10—where John A. Messenger now resides. Afterwards he became possessed of the property known as the Whiting place, next north of the house of Frederick Johnson, beyond the old brick-yard. It is numbered 1 as the first house in North Village, and is now owned by William A. Powers. Here grew up his family of sons and daughters, remarkable for beauty and accomplishments. One became Gen. Henry, and another Major Fabius Whiting, of the regular army. Caroline Lee, known as Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, was a very popular author, in her maturity. The family became widely scattered from Maine to Florida.

“They grew in beauty side by side,
 They filled one home with glee;
 Their graves are severed, far and wide,
 By mount, and stream, and sea.”

The last surviving son, Solon Whiting, Esq., has recently moved to Andover, and thus another old family ceases to have a representative where the name has been familiar more than a hundred and fifty years.

The house and store of Moses Emerson, when he was flourishing as one of the most extensive traders in the county, was at No. 13, the last house on the north side of the road to Eastwood Cemetery. It is now occupied by Dea. Frederick Whitney, and belongs to the Industrial School. Mr. Emerson was a man of great size, growing corpulent with age. Retiring from mercantile business, he bought a farm of two or three hundred acres, including the old Allen place, now held by Mr. Currier, on the Clinton road. The romantic place at the bend of the river, called Emerson's Bank, was in his farm. He had four wives, two of whom were sisters of Moses Carleton. Sometimes he employed ten or a dozen men on his farm in the busy season of the year.

Emerson was preceded as a merchant on the Old Common by Oliver Carter, who built the house No. 13, which is one of the ancient houses of the town. He was a son of one of the Ephraim Carters, of whom there were several, named after the first settler bearing the name. Oliver married Emily Harrington, granddaughter of the minister. He did a large business at No. 13, and afterwards in the Whiting house, No. 10, where he used an L part for trading. Here he kept everything needful for starting a family in house-keeping, and for supplying the wants of a country neighborhood. The sons did honor to their parentage. Their names are Horatio, George, Timothy Harrington, Charles and Richard, some of whom are still living. During a large part of the eighteenth century, the name of Carter makes a conspicuous figure in the annals of the town. The Carters were moderators, selectmen, delegates to the general court, and generally stood high in the records of town and church. The sons of Oliver Carter were engaged in the printing and publishing business here fifty years since. Other branches of the family will be noticed in our Walks.

Opposite the Emerson store lived Dea. Haven, at No. 1, and also Mr. Paul Faulkner, — at No. 4 — father of Horace

Faulkner, formerly of Clinton, but now residing in Groton. He still retains his connection with the Orthodox church in Lancaster, from cherished recollections of the past.

Capt. Orice King was another notable of the Old Common. He was a sea captain, and a man of wealth and consequence. He lived on the old Pollard place, — No. 12 — named from a respectable family which formerly resided there. His house was the one now occupied by the superintendent of the Industrial School. Capt. King was a man of public spirit, and was held in esteem. One of the tombs in the cemetery bears his name.

The house numbered 11, and lately occupied by Rev. Marcus Ames, was formerly the Safford house, where lived Thomas Safford, grandfather of Charles Safford. He was a man of respectability, but was subject to fits of mental aberration. Subsequently the house passed into the possession of David Steuart Robertson, whose remarkable monument and epitaph are noticed in the chapter about cemeteries. Mr. Robertson was a scholar, of gentlemanly manners and tastes. He was an ardent admirer of our republican institutions from principle, and his preference for them was, perhaps, increased by the fact that the law of entail, in the old country, gave the bulk of the family estate to his eldest brother. He inherited only from his mother. Though formed for society, and genial with particular friends, yet he lived a retired life. He had however a peculiar fondness for the company of young people, and delighted to form a party with boys and girls for a walk or a pic-nic. It is about thirty years since his sudden death, but he is often mentioned kindly by surviving friends.

THE CENTER, OR NECK.

In early times the present center of the town was called the Neck. It did not become, in fact or name, the Center, until after the incorporation of Harvard, Bolton and Leominster. In 1743, the meeting-house on the Old Common

was abandoned, and the fourth house of worship was erected on the brow of the hill, near the road, between the houses of A. E. Royce and Mrs. Abby Lane. It was not until the town was a hundred years old that the Center was established where it ought to have been fixed at the beginning. The Neck with its broad expanse between the north branch and the main river, is the place pointed out by nature, for the center of the region round about. The town has suffered much in all its material interests from the mutability of its center. If this had been fixed at the first settlement, the nucleus formed here would have grown, and have been able to give unity and stability to the town, without which no town can have influence with other towns, or harmony with itself. The main bond of union in Lancaster from the beginning till the decease of Dr. Thayer, was the First church and parish. Since then, as a general fact, the want of unity has been aggravated. Though there is little antagonism between sects or villages, yet there is a failure to draw together in favor of any measure to promote the business interests of the town, or provide creditable edifices for the purposes of education. Formerly Lancaster had its judges, senators, sheriffs and a representative in congress; but during forty years, with brief exceptions, the town has had no prominence in state or county. The same spirit that prevented the town becoming the center of a county, in the last century, and in this, discouraged the building of a great railway through the town to Boston, has hindered the development of natural advantages, and forced the enterprising youth to seek for business in other towns and states.

If, on the other hand, the center had been fixed in the beginning; if the old Concord road had been kept up across the Nashua river and intervale direct to Bolton; if the road which formerly went from the Sprague bridge, across the intervale, west by north, and over George hill, by Frank Taylor's, to Sterling and Leominster, had been continued; if the meeting-house, stores and shops had been permanently

located; if the offer of a shire or half-shire court-house had been accepted, the fortune of Lancaster would have been secured. Everything else would have followed as a natural consequence. Business of every kind would have increased, the great water power would have been utilized; railroads would have secured direct connections with marts of business in all directions, and a large and beautiful city would now cover this splendid site for a capital.

What is lost cannot be recovered, but even now, if a spirit of unity can be developed, and the minds of the people can be induced to combine in useful enterprises, Lancaster can at least keep pace with the growing towns in the vicinity. If not, it must, by degrees, take a lower relative rank, until its children can only take pride in its past history. These lines are not written for the sake of reproach, but in the hope that the inhabitants of the town may be awakened to the importance of uniting in every feasible measure to promote all the interests of this fair and noble heritage.

But we must resume our walk, and for convenience, will begin at the minister's lot of land, which lay in front of Charles L. Wilder's house. It was bounded on the south by the North river, east by the Penacook, part of the way, and by Knight's pasture, west by the land of Richard Smith, and north by east, by the Concord road, or Willard Avenue. The west line-fence which was between the Rowlandson and Smith lots, stood where the present fence stands. In the minister's lot were thirty-nine acres; thirteen of upland and twenty-six of intervale. The land on the north side of the road belonged to Ralph Houghton. The minister's son, Joseph, sold the land to Philip Goss of Boston, merchant, in 1687. The lot west belonged to Lawrence Waters, and reached to the North river, but he sold a part of it to goodman Hall, after having built a house upon it. The line between Hall and Waters cannot be defined on paper, but Waters still held the part near the river, including the site of Mr. Vose, Mr. Symmes, and some others. Hall sold to

Richard Smith; he to Mr. John Tinker, merchant, and he to Major Simon Willard when that Christian soldier settled in the town. In 1673, having moved to Nonacoicut, now Ayer, he sold to his son-in-law, Cyprian Stevens. Philip and John Goss were the next owners, in 1714; they sold the place the same year to Simon, son of Cyprian Stevens. The next purchaser was Simon Stone, who sold, in 1726, to Col. Samuel Willard, grandson of the valiant major. From that time till the death of the first wife of the late Henry Wilder, excepting the interval when the estate was confiscated, this property has been in the possession of the Willard family. Through Mr. Wilder it goes into the ownership of the New Jerusalem Society.

Nothing more needs to be said of the Willards who formerly lived on the avenue, but a brief reference must be made to three of the children of Col. Abijah Willard, who occupied the homestead after the revolution, the property having been purchased of the government. These children were Samuel Willard, Mrs. Dea. Wales and Mrs. Anna Goodhue. The son was born in 1759, and died in this town in 1856, aged ninety-seven. The second, Elizabeth, the wife of Joseph Wales, was an excellent woman, whose memory is still fragrant, though she died in 1822. The youngest child was Anna, born August 20, 1763, and baptised the day following. In November, 1804, she was married to Hon. Benjamin Goodhue, a distinguished merchant of Salem, and one of the first senators in the congress of the United States. He was a man of high character and great influence. His death in 1814 was probably the occasion of her returning to Lancaster, where she lived to the great age of ninety-five years, less eighteen days. These three children of Abijah Willard were born in the house now occupied by Sewell Day. Two of them, Samuel and Anna, lived in the same house in their later years, and there breathed their last. It was written of Samuel Willard, in 1854, that though in his ninety-fifth year, he was in the "full enjoyment of his mental faculties." He

still wielded a "pen readily and with vigor," and sought enjoyment in society, reading or a game of whist. The same writer — Mr. George Thurston — speaks of Mrs. Goodhue in these words, when she was in her ninety-first year: "She retains her youthfulness, and all her faculties, except hearing, to a remarkable degree. Her beautiful auburn hair remains unsilvered; she is still an interesting correspondent, and her chirography is round and fair, — almost unchanged in three quarters of a century. Her eyesight remains perfect, and the most exquisite specimens of her needle work and embroidery are not unfrequently presented to her friends." She was "always cheerful and fond of society," and in her conduct an "exemplification of all the Christian virtues."

Mrs. Goodhue is still remembered by many who knew her in her "green old age," and they all speak of her in terms of admiration. She is represented as a woman of great efficiency in her home, and in society. The poor found in her a sympathizing neighbor, and it was her pleasure to do kindly things for her friends. Joseph Willard, who was intimately acquainted with her, wrote in 1858, just after her decease, as follows: "her life was on the whole eminently happy. It was made so by a cheerful, affectionate temperament; by great good sense; by unwavering Christian faith; never murmuring or complaining, but placing herself in position on the bright side of events; always endeavoring to do her duty in her sphere, and seeking to promote the happiness of all with whom she was in any way connected. Hence she acquired 'troops of friends,' who were always welcome to her hospitable mansion, and never left without an increase of esteem and loving regard. Her presence was a benediction, while her winning smile revealed the beauty of the spirit within." It is pleasant to know that such women, — inheriting the strength and beauty, the brightness and sweetness of the old Puritan stock — once walked these streets, and looked upon this scenery. Though they pass on to brighter scenes, they leave a benediction to all coming time. The air seems

more fragrant, the verdure more vivid, and the blue of the arch above us more full of the love of God.

It should be noted that the Willard house is not on the original lot of Mr. Rowlandson, as that was south or east of the road. Major Willard lived on what was the lot of Edward Breck, and we may suppose that he bought it as a better site for a house than could be found on the south side of the street. The major had large possessions in other parts of the old and undivided town.

The Waters place lay along the east side of North river, above and below the Sprague bridge. His line on the east, ran from near the west line of the Henry Wilder garden, south by west to the river, which it reached somewhere behind the house of James Chandler. We will not stop here except to pay a tribute of deserved respect to a citizen who came to Lancaster nearly a hundred and forty years after Waters began to plant and sow his beautiful intervale and upland. The Hon. John Sprague was a citizen of the town from September 1, 1770, to the time of his death, September 21, 1800. He was born in Rochester, Plymouth county, July 2, 1740. His ancestry was highly respectable on the side of both father and mother. The latter was descended from Elizabeth, sister of admiral Penn, one of Cromwell's indomitable captains. Mr. Sprague graduated with honor, at Cambridge, in 1765. He taught for some months, and then studied physic with a view to the medical profession; but in May, 1766, he entered as a clerk in the office of Col. James Putnam, an eminent lawyer, in Worcester. Two years later he was admitted an attorney of the court of common pleas. After a few years' experience in Newport, R. I., and Keene, N. H., he came to Lancaster in 1770, and entered into partnership with Abel Willard, Esq., a counselor at law, of good repute in his profession, and as a peace-maker among his townsmen. In 1772 he was married to Katharine, ninth daughter of Richard Foster, Esq., sheriff of Middlesex county. By her he had one son and two daughters.

His practice soon became extensive, but was broken up during the revolution, when private questions gave way to the mighty quarrel with the mother country. At this time he bought a small farm, and labored upon it with his own hands. He put off his "linen and ruffles and other appropriate habiliments, and assumed the garments of labor, which were then the checked shirt and trowsers." Such is the description of Willard, from whom this notice is drawn. After the war legal business revived, and Mr. Sprague rose by degrees to the rank of one of the most "safe, discerning and upright counsellors" in the state. Though not eloquent, he was an impressive and convincing advocate. He divided the business, the profits and the honors of his profession with such lawyers as Gov. Strong and Judge Strong, of Northampton, and the first Levi Lincoln, of Worcester. His practice reached into New Hampshire as well as into Middlesex, Worcester and Hampshire counties.

In town affairs he took commendable interest, and was a safe adviser and faithful officer. He was frequently a member of the general court, in the house or the senate; in 1786 he was chosen by the government as the law adviser of Gen. Lincoln, when sent with military force to suppress the Shay's rebellion; and in 1788 was a member of the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The town was opposed to the Constitution, and through a committee instructed him to vote against it, yet leaving him to act according to his discretion. But he looked at the subject with the eye of a statesman, rose above popular clamor and local prejudice, and gave his vote for the ratification, though only six other delegates from the county voted with him.

In the same year he was appointed sheriff of the county, but having reduced the administration of the office, (which had become subject to irregularities,) to order and system, he resigned in 1792. Renewing and enlarging his practice, he was appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas for Worcester county in 1798, in which station he presided with honor to the time of his decease.

Though a lawyer, he was not a fomentor of litigation ; but rather a lover of peace. In him was mingled a high sense of justice and a happy faculty for reconciling jarring inclinations and discordant wills. On this account he was often employed as a referee or arbitrator, before he was elevated to the bench.

In his time there were no law schools, and candidates for the bar studied under the eye of eminent practitioners. Judge Sprague had many such young gentlemen in his office in the course of his public life. It may be safely said that no citizen of Lancaster, in all its generations, has surpassed Judge Sprague in the combination of elements which make a great, useful and honorable man.

The words of Willard may be quoted in conclusion. "In his domestic relations he was faithful and affectionate ; a good neighbor, unostentatious in his professions of friendship, but manifested his sincerity by kindness and beneficence, and untiring efforts to do good. He was a lover of order, and ready at all times to promote the interest and honor of the town. His charities, hospitality and benevolence are by many still remembered. The writer — Mr. W. — of this memoir, who was his neighbor, and by his desire by his bedside the last twenty-four hours of his life, witnessed his calmness and resignation at the approach of death, and his faith in Him who giveth the victory." On his grave-stone are the words of the Saviour : "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

The house occupied by his grandson, Mr. Vose, — No. 65 — and for several years till recently, by Rev. Alfred Emerson, who married a granddaughter, was built for Judge Sprague by Eli Stearns and Jonathan Whitney, thoroughbred carpenters. It is perhaps the finest specimen of the better kind of dwellings erected here towards the end of the last century. It is well built and very spacious, with considerable of the old-fashioned carving which adds so much to the amenity of ancient interiors. Dr. Dwight, president

of Yale College, in his travels through New England, went through this town near the opening of this century, and he probably had in his mind such people as Judge Sprague, Mrs. Goodhue, Dr. Thayer, Capt. Ward, and others of that stamp, and such mansions as the houses of Levi Wilder, and the Stillwell house on the Old Common; the houses of Daniel Bemis, built by Judge Sprague, and sold to Hon. Daniel Waldo, of Worcester, who lived here a few years, Mrs. Goodhue, Mrs. Carleton, Major Rice,—Mrs. Greene's—and Judge Sprague in the Center, and those of Dr. Thayer, Capt. Ward, and one now gone, Dr. Atherton, in South Lancaster, when he wrote as follows: "Lancaster is a beautiful township. The surface is extremely pleasant, and even elegant. It consists of hills, valleys, and plains, finely interspersed with groves and orchards, and a succession of intervalles. The houses in Lancaster are, in many instances, very good; and appear obviously to be the habitations of gentlemen. A greater degree of taste is conspicuous than in various other places, where the buildings are equally expensive. A number of polished people have always resided here; and the inhabitants at large have been distinguished for industry, sobriety and good order."

The house of Mr. Royce, though recent, stands on an ancient site, and an old well was found on the premises when the house was erected, in 1833. Richard Linton was probably the first owner, because his lot extended from the road which was then west of the present house, to the Penacook river, before it was divided in half with Ralph Houghton. There is reason to believe that Robert Breck, whose lot extended along the road west of the town hall, was the next owner. The horse sheds behind the meeting-house, reached from the house of Mr. Royce, along the bank, to the house of Mrs. Lane, and perhaps beyond. The Royce house was built by Elias Danforth. He sold to Capt. John H. Shaw, a retired ship-master who became a public-spirited citizen. He was a man of intelligence and pleasant manners,

but being a democrat, and finding the whiggish temper of the place too hot for him, sought more congenial society. George Dodge, the merchant, came next, and with his family, filled the house with life. More recently Gen. Joseph Stevens purchased the house and farm, and made it the abode of taste and hospitality. Mr. Royce came into possession two or three years since. It has been the summer home, the last two years, of Mrs. Bishop Eastburn.

The origin of Mrs. Carleton's house has not been traced by the writer. It is certainly very ancient, though well preserved. It was an old house when Mr. Thayer moved into it, about the time of his settlement in 1793. Moses Smith, Esq., lived here at one time. It has been occupied by Mr. Tidd, Mr. Carleton, and Mrs. Carleton, the widow of both, a long term of years.

The "Homer house," so called, and by several other names, — No. 126 — now owned by Mrs. Elmina Greene, was erected near the beginning of the century. Major Rice, a lawyer, built and occupied it, but failing to persuade the young lady for whom it was made, to grace it as his wife, he finally sold it and left town. The house was considered the best in the county, as before stated, and is still in good condition. It has had many owners, and more occupants. A Mr. Pickman, of Salem, bought it, and his son Gayton occupied it. Hon. James G. Carter dwelt there many years, when it was owned by his father-in-law, Rev. Asa Packard. Dinner parties and musical parties were entertained there in those days. The arched "blue room" was called the music room. Peter T. Homer, of Boston, was another owner, who occupied it several years. Jonathan Forbush then purchased it, but still resided at his mansion in Bolton. Among his tenants were Rev. Messrs. Lawrence, Bartol, Leavitt, Marvin and Dr. H. C. Kendrick.

Another occupant was Solomon Carter, son of one of the Ephraim Carters. The father lived at the Frank Taylor place, where a tannery was once worked by a Carter in early times.

The children of this Solomon, who lived in the Homer house, and at other places, were Solomon, of Boston, William, of Chicago, George P., of Cambridge, and James Cooledge, of New York, a lawyer who has achieved wealth and eminence in his profession. The daughters were Elizabeth and Martha, wives of Dr. Wellington, of Cambridge, and Mrs. Abby Lane. Their mother was a sister of the late Dea. Samuel White, and Rev. James C. White, a minister of ability and earnest devotion to his work, now residing in Cincinnati. She is spoken of as an "excellent woman." The father was kind to everybody, but not attentive to his own interests. Such men do not accumulate property, but are held in kind remembrance.

The Hon. James G. Carter has been referred to so often in the course of this work as to anticipate what might find a place in a regular biography. He was a man of good education, and great versatility. He seemed qualified to serve the public in many ways, and was much in public life. There was scarcely any position in the state which, at one time, did not seem within his reach. But the commonwealth has more men of mark than places, and the ablest do not always reach the highest posts. Mr. Carter left Lancaster about 1849, and when fortune appeared to be smiling upon him benignantly, he suddenly died in Chicago.

We pass the house of Rev. Mr. Bartol, only stopping to say that the plan of it is a work of genius, and come to the "old Wrifford house,"—No. 130—back of the house of Frank P. Breed. In ancient times the road ran there, and there were houses at Nos. 135 and 137. Wrifford was a famous writing master, and for a long time his system was in vogue. The house was removed many years ago to Greenbush, where it is now occupied by Michael Burke. Many families have lived in the house of Mr. Breed,—No. 129—but it was longest in possession of the late Ezra Greene, and after his death, of Mrs. Elmina M. Greene and her family.

No. 137, now the barn of William H. McNeil, was once a tavern, and long time a private dwelling. Here lived Peter Green, town treasurer many years, and a man of sense and humor. At one time, before Sterling was set off, the people in that part of the town, among other eccentric things, rallied at a town meeting, and voted that the minister, Mr. Harrington, should preach three or four Sundays in succession there, leaving the meeting-house here to be closed. Peter Green had not heard of this until the pastor announced from the pulpit, when he spoke so as to be heard by those around him: "Ah, ha! that's right; they need preaching over there, give it to 'em hot." After Green, but in what order need not be stated, came Dr. Manning and Dr. Peabody, father of the three celebrated daughters. They were here in 1820, and a year or two afterwards.

The house of Frederick Johnson,—138— is ancient, and probably was built by a Joslyn of the second or third generation. Jacob Sweetser, a man of property and standing, owned the place in the early part of the century; he was succeeded by Capt. Thomas B. Warren, who set up a bakery between the house and road, nearly forty years since.

Passing over to Lane's crossing we are at the lower end of "Phelps' street," as the Harvard road was sometimes called, because several families of that name lived on the road from the corner to the top of Ponakin hill. The Lanes, Dea. Jonas, and his son, Capt. Anthony,—Nos. 25 and 31—gave an importance to the locality during two generations. They were both men of enterprise and influence, in town, parish and church affairs. Across the railroad, at No. 30, the house of Emery White, we find one of the oldest buildings in the town, though the date of its erection cannot be fixed. It has the appearance of great age, and Mr. White remembers a woman who was very aged, when he was a boy, who said that it was an old house when she was a girl. Eighty or ninety years ago it was occupied by Robert Townsend, a shrewd but eccentric man, of whom many anecdotes were formerly told.

He had a brick-yard, and built the Lancaster House. He was deputy sheriff at one time, and held other employments. One of his interesting daughters became the wife of Mr. Whitney, the schoolmaster so kindly mentioned on a former page by Rev. Mr. Beman. He was the father of the Hon. Giles H. Whitney, of Winchendon.

The house of Samuel R. Damon is not one of the very ancient ones of the town, and yet it is old, as it was built by Eli Stearns, an active man here seventy or eighty years since. As he was a carpenter who had served a seven years apprenticeship, and knew the whole trade, it is easy to believe that he made thorough work in a house erected for his own habitation. Mr. Stearns filled a prominent place in town and parish, besides his figure as a man of business.

The house of Nathaniel C. Hawkins, — 16 — is among the most ancient in the town. Willam S. Locke, who was born in the house the year his father Major Jonathan Locke moved into the town, thinks that this is the oldest, and even conjectures that it was built before the massacre, and was the solitary dwelling left by the Indians, where Mr. Hoar, Mrs. Rowlandson and two Indians staid over night, after her ransom. Her words are: "about the sun's going down, Mr. Hoar, myself and the two Indians came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years among my relations and neighbors, and now not one Christian to be seen, or one house left standing. We went on to a farm house that was yet standing, where we lay all night; and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lie on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon we came to Concord." The position of the "farm house" well suits the words, because it is hardly supposable that if it had been east of the river, she would have spoken of it in such terms. In old times there was a rope hanging from the roof-tree, and reaching to a well in the cellar, enabling the family to get

water if besieged by an enemy. These are plausible reasons for thinking that the house may be the lone survivor of all that stood here in June, 1676; but on the other hand, it is quite difficult to believe that tradition, and even authentic history would not have preserved the fact.

However the house is very old, and yet is in good repair. It has passed through many hands, and may outlast many recent and more showy dwellings. The builder and first owner is not known. As John White and his immediate successors were the very early proprietors, it is at least supposable that it was erected by one of the family. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that a blacksmith shop was once on the land northeast of the house. One or more of the early Whites carried on the trade. It is true that William and John Lewis, at first, owned the two lots next north of John White's, but in time he became owner of these and several others farther north.

But leaving conjecture it is known that the house was used as a tavern far back in the last century, and probably at an earlier date. All travel from the north and west, in those times, went down the Neck road to the crossing of the Penacook, and thence to Groton, or to Bolton, Concord, and so on to Boston. The road was a thoroughfare down to the close of the eighteenth century, and the old tavern was the home of old-time travelers. Families by the name of Jones, Hildreth, and others have lived here, and the bridge below the house went by their names, as well as by the name of White, earlier, and of Locke and Hawkins, in recent years.

On the west side of the road, at No. 14, is the Wyman place, where Nathaniel Wyman settled when he came from Woburn to Lancaster in 1742. He was son of Benjamin and grandson of Francis Wyman. The latter died in 1699, aged 82; hence it is inferred that he was born in England. His great grandson Nathaniel, was born, January 26, 1719, the tenth in a family of fifteen children. One of his sons

named Benjamin, was born, September 21, 1765, in Lancaster. He lived to 1826, and was for many years in public service as clerk, treasurer, assessor, selectman, representative and deacon of the First church. Besides farming, he did much work as a surveyor, though not a man of robust constitution. He seems to have been held in high esteem. His sons Charles and Nathaniel have perpetuated the family name in the town. The former was deacon of the Evangelical church from its formation till his death in 1871. The house and land now occupied by his widow, and his son Benjamin F., was once a part of the John White estate. The house is an excellent specimen of the country architecture of the middle of the last century. The barn has an interest from the fact that much of its frame was taken from meeting-house No. 3, which stood on the Old Common, and was left in 1743.

We next come to the John White place, No. 13, where Edward Houghton now resides. This has been the property of the family from 1653 to the decease of the late Dea. Samuel F. White. His widow married the late Dea. Peter Osgood, whose daughter is the wife of Mr. Houghton. The present house is recent, the former one having been destroyed by fire, as the earliest one was by the Indians.* Here the first John White lived till two or three years before the destruction of the town. His son Josiah, deacon and captain, probably succeeded his father, though his son, Josiah, jr., also a deacon, was on the south side in 1705, and joined in the petition to the general court in favor of locating the third meeting-house on the old site.

John White, the famous captain, who died in 1725, was the brother or son of the preceding, and occupied the homestead of the family. He died in the prime of life, leaving several children. In 1724 he purchased a lot of land at the north end of Pine hill, of John Goodman, of Hadley. He was a blacksmith as well as a farmer, and a man of energy and character. A road extended from the White place over

Wheelock hill, and the whole length of Pine hill, to the Dyer place. Doubtless one of the sons of captain John White took up his abode on the south side of the road,—nearly opposite Dyer's—where the old cellar is still to be seen, because in later times there were in that neighborhood, three Whites, styled John, John, jr., and John, 3d. I find in 1788, one John White bought a small parcel of intervalle of Dorothy, wife of Phinehas Ward. She was granddaughter of Eunice White, widow of Capt. John White, who died in 1725.

Dea. Josiah White, last mentioned, resigned in 1749, on account of age, but continued in the office of treasurer till 1766, when Dea. Joseph White was chosen treasurer of the church. His son Joseph became deacon in 1802, though modestly reluctant. In 1839 his son Samuel F. White was elected to the same office, and held it worthily about a quarter of a century. The latter had two brothers in the ministry; the former, Rev. William H. White, Unitarian pastor at Littleton, deceased; and Rev. James C. White, Orthodox Congregationalist, still living. The family of the original John White of Lancaster is scattered abroad in the land, far and wide, and a full genealogy of it would fill a respectable volume. His descendants have almost uniformly held a respectable position in society, and in the church. Some have risen to distinction in military and civil life. The Hon. Joseph White, late Secretary of the Board of Education, is in the line of succession. The only living male representative of the family, bearing the name, in Lancaster, is Emery H. White. The late deacon Samuel had several sons and daughters, none of whom reside here.

Next came the Atherton lot, twenty rods wide; next to that the three lots of Ralph Houghton, sixty rods wide, and reaching to the Concord road, or Willard Avenue. All this property was afterwards owned by the Glasier family. Then the Whitneys, father and son, lived on opposite sides of the Neck road, where now reside Mrs. Frost and Mr. Avery.

The exact site of the Houghton house cannot be designated.

The house close by the river, with its magnificent elms, now occupied by Daniel Bemis, was built by Judge Sprague, and sold to Daniel Waldo, of Worcester, who lived here for a time. The next house west was ancient, and might have been the residence of the Houghton family after the rebuilding in 1680, but of this there is no proof. It ceased to be many years since. It was occupied, in succession, by Abel Wilder, Ebenezer Torrey and Davis Whitman, the last two retired merchants from Boston.

A word must be said of the "Mansion House," so called, on account of its successive inmates. It was built by Aaron Willard, a carpenter. Perhaps it was occupied by him, though that is doubtful. Col. Levi Willard, merchant, lived here, as is believed. After him, with perhaps intervening tenants, came Gen. Greenleaf, proprietor of the mills at Ponakin, and Dr. Greenleaf; the Hon. William Stedman, sheriff, and representative in congress, several sessions; Mrs. Southwick, who had a boarding school, taught chiefly by Miss Everett, a daughter of Oliver Everett, and assisted by Mrs. S.'s daughter. More recently the Rev. M. C. Stebbins, and William A. Kilbourn, A. M., have, in succession, used it for a boarding school, for which purpose, on account of its dimensions and location, it is well adapted.

Directly opposite the Mansion House, at Mr. Stowell's, — No. 60 — lived Calvin Carter, M. D. He was son to Dr. James Carter, and of the same stock as all the other Carters in the town. He was a widely known and successful physician and surgeon, in his day. Forty years ago his practice extended through the northern and central parts of Worcester county, and far into Middlesex. He was a man of eccentric genius, and though a scientific physician, cared little for professional etiquette. He did not refuse to consult with empyrics, though he would have his own way, or drop the case. Hence he was not in favor with the faculty, and his students, however well started in their medical education, could not

get advanced standing when they entered the medical school in Boston. This broke up his school here, which was in the present almshouse. He was sometimes rough and brusque in demeanor, but could be gentle in the sick room, and the touch of his hand was soft as that of a lady. There was no end to his jokes and pleasantry. Though not regardless of religion, yet he was rarely seen in the house of worship; yet occasionally, on stormy days, when but few were present, he would be seen in the church, and also in the chapel in the evening. Once when a good man had led in prayer, he said to Rev. Charles Packard, "Well, if I could not pray better than brother —— I would not try." He was courteous and respectful to the clergy, and faithful to his patients, but not always choice in his language, or master of his temper. He loved company, and was very entertaining to those seated round his hearth or his hospitable table. His sagacity in diagnosis was rarely at fault, and his skill in treatment, whether as physician or surgeon, placed him high in professional standing.

Behind the Mansion House, in the lane, still lives Dr. Right Cummings, who began practice here more than fifty years ago, and continued in it till a few years since. He has survived wife and child, both long since dead, and now feels the infirmities of extreme old age. The skill and prudence of earlier secured the comforts of the later years of his life.

Before leaving the Center, a word must be said in regard to one whose name has already been mentioned with reverence and esteem, the late Prof. William Russell. His eminence as a scholar and educator has been recognized in all circles of education. It was his felicity, not merely to teach, but to teach those who were to become teachers. His connection with Normal Schools and Teachers' Institutes, enabled him to exert a powerful influence for good over thousands who have been employed in schools of every grade, and who have been made better by his instructions and example. Perhaps in no way was his life made a blessing to

the world more than by his elocutionary training in colleges and theological seminaries. The effectiveness of a large number of ministers in the pulpit has been vastly increased by his labors.

But his friends will remember him as a man; a large-hearted, exquisitely cultivated, high-toned Christian gentleman. It was his intention, in college days, to become a missionary to India, but the state of his health caused a change in his plans of life. But though the form of his labors and the sphere of his influence were altered, he was essentially a missionary from Scotland to America, and his genial presence was felt far and wide in the land of his adoption. In all places he was respected and loved by old and young. In advanced life there seemed to be a halo about his person, and his presence was a benediction. The little side street sometimes called Russell Court, where he and his accomplished family made their home several years before his decease, is a shrine hallowed in the memory of many a grateful pupil and friend.

NORTH VILLAGE.

Though Mordecai McLoud had his lot and home, before the massacre, at the east end of the North Village, and John Bennett, supposed grandson of Richard Linton, owned the place at the west end, nearest the bridge, after the rebuilding, yet this did not become a village till more than a hundred years had passed. It is not known when it was first styled "the Village," but probably not before the coming of Major Jacob Fisher, and some of his contemporaries, whose mechanical skill and energy created business in the locality. By degrees families moved in who made a lively neighborhood, but the fact of its situation on the great road to Boston, brought travelers who needed entertainment. The taverns were supported by the traveling public, with the help of the men of the vicinity who, far more than now, patronized the bar, with its rum, brandy and toddy. Blacksmiths, harness

makers, wagon makers and painters found steady employment. Other business followed, and the street was cheerful with the sound of prosperous labor. The only anecdotes which have come down to us from the past of the Village, are connected with the taverns. One or two may be admissible, as they are free from the profanity and vulgarity which exclude many stories of old times from the printed page. Yet these exhibit, quite clearly enough, the rough "horse play" of former days.

One story relates to a pretended horse trade, in which one of the parties, on trial of the animal, was thrown. A horse had died, and the weather being cold, had frozen stiff. Knowing this, one of the frequenters of the tavern, and a jockey, played a practical joke on a traveler. He told the company that he had a horse which he was ready to part with, and would like to have him tried. He was already saddled and bridled, and ready to show his paces. Finally a man agreed to try the horse, and see how he liked. It was evening. The company followed the bargainers to the drive-way, where the horse stood on his feet, as if alive. But as the buyer seized the bridle, placed his foot in the stirrup, and began to mount, the old carcass came over upon him, amid the jeering shouts of the crowd.

At another time, when a large company of teamsters and others were having a lively time before a roaring fire, in the great, old-fashioned fire-place, a man came in and joined them. They called on him for a treat. He was not ready to gratify them. They pressed him, but being a temperance man, he refused. This roused their spirit of mischief, a raw-hide of an ox was brought in, the man was seized and laid upon it, when four stout fellows taking it by the corners, held it, man and all, over the blaze, till he roared in pain, begged for mercy, and promised to treat all round. Such anecdotes, whether true to the exact facts or not, are doubtless characteristic of former times, which, in some respects, were not better than these.

We have already referred to a distinguished family which formerly lived at the house,—No. 1—as we approach North Village from the Center, that is, the family of Gen. John Whiting. Here also lived Major Fisher, and it is supposed that some of his children were born and reared in this ancient dwelling. He built and occupied the large brick house on the south side of the street. His sons, captains Jacob and Carter, had their homes in North Village, nearly opposite the house of their father, till a comparatively recent date. Times have changed since their prime, when the Village was brisk with the branches of business mentioned in a former chapter. The three taverns are reduced to one, and the owner has other resources for a living. The stores are all closed. The only shops are those of Mr. Rugg, the blacksmith, and the Messrs. Stowe, wagon makers. Yet there was a time when the Village seemed on the turning point of fortune. The parties who gave a start to Clinton, made advances to get control of the Ponakin water power, and of the intervale, but were not met in such a way as to encourage investment. "There is a tide in the affairs of men," whether singly or in villages, and if not "taken in the flood" it does not lead to fortune.

The policy which has prevented the growth of Lancaster, has forced away scores of enterprising boys who have done much to build up other places. Two or three cases bearing on this point are suggested by the locality which now is claiming our attention. On the east end of North Village lived the families of Newhall, Lyon and Bigelow. James Newhall's house was at or near No. 6, now owned by Miss Eliza Newhall, his daughter. He was a musician of considerable prominence in his day, as preceding pages have shown. Several of his brothers were gifted with a taste and talent for music, and were much employed in singing-schools, and as leaders of church choirs. They sought other homes to better their fortunes. Miss Newhall owns a house here, but her ability as a teacher of music, as well as other branches of education, finds employment elsewhere.

Farther east we come to the early home of the late John E. Lyon, who had in him enough of business talent to enrich his native town, if it could have found scope and inducement. He became a man of fortune in connection with the railroad interests of New Hampshire, but with the exception of a small donation to a charity sustained by the ladies of the First Parish, left his large property to enrich other places.

About half way from Lane's crossing to the Whiting place, lived the four Bigelow boys, in their early days. As they grew up, the conviction that this was a poor place for boys with limited advantages, induced them to exert their energies in other towns and states. One or two of the four settled in Grafton, and became prosperous men. One of these was elected to the senate or the council. A third lives in Chicago, and is a highly respected gentleman. All have honored their birthplace.

On the eastern edge of North Village is a house,—No. 11— which has interesting associations. It was built by or for Dr. Calvin Carter. Certainly it was occupied by him, several years. He had lived in the large three story house, now the almshouse, with his father, Dr. James Carter, where they had been partners in medical practice. Before the death of the father, Calvin left the home, but returned to it afterwards, and removed thence to the Stowell house. This house, No. 11, was purchased by Mr. John M. Washburn, a merchant of Boston, about forty years since. He carried on the farm, but was ever ready as well as competent to serve the public. His name is mentioned often, in preceding pages, in connection with town and parish affairs. He was also a friend of temperance, schools and libraries; and he gave his time, influence and means to promote every good cause.

Here his sons, John, Edward and Francis, grew to manhood, and from this spot went out into the great world to take a course which has brought honor to themselves, their parentage and the town. Col. John D. Washburn, of Wor-

cester, is well known as a man of large capacity in business, and as a prominent member of the legislature. The honorable service of Edward R. Washburn, as captain of company I, fifty-third regiment, and his lamented death at the early age of twenty-eight, was recorded on page 711. It may be added here that he is always mentioned by his surviving comrades, who followed him in the marches and combats through Louisiana, and in the furious assaults upon Port Hudson, in terms which indicate that he was esteemed as a friend, and respected as a brave, capable and efficient officer.

It was the fortune of the youngest brother to achieve a still more brilliant reputation. There came to Col. Francis Washburn, at the very last moment, one of those rare occasions, when a man may rise to distinction if he has the genius to seize it. But let us trace his brief career until fortune met and crowned him as one of the heroes of the war, though his life was the precious forfeit. The facts are taken from various sources, but chiefly from a biographical notice prepared by the Hon. A. H. Bullock.

Francis Washburn was in Germany, for the purpose of completing his education, when the rebellion broke out, but that event came to him as a summons, and he returned to offer his services in the field. He was commissioned as junior lieutenant in the First Massachusetts Cavalry. It was suggested to him that his studies and practice in Germany rendered him fit for higher rank, but this he declined, preferring to rise by merit in actual service. His first promotion was to the captaincy of the Second Cavalry. At the organization of the fourth regiment of Cavalry, he was offered the lieutenant-colonelcy, without solicitation. It was the act of Gov. Andrew in recognition of merit. When Col. Rand resigned, he was commissioned as colonel, and immediately secured the respect and confidence of his command, and the approbation of his superior officers. With the exception of a few days' absence, in 1864, to attend the funeral of his brother Edward, he was constantly on duty. He was in several

actions in South Carolina and Virginia ; " led his men under Sheridan, in the presence of Ord and of Grant," and was recommended by the latter as deserving to be brevetted brigadier general, after his last battle, and while it was hoped that his wound was not mortal. A letter from Gen. Grant, received by his mother, soon after his death, speaks of him as " your noble son who fell so gallantly leading his men."

He was in many engagements and saw much hard service, during three and a half years, but never received a wound until he fell in the action at High Bridge, April 6, 1865. The soldiers of Lee fought for this bridge, that his army might have a passage in the effort to escape from Grant, and thus be enabled to prolong the war. The object of Col. Washburn was to destroy the bridge. In this contest he was surrounded by Rosser and F. H. Lee, and fought them, though followed by only one man to eight of the enemy. The infantry were behind him, but far inferior to the force of the rebels, yet it was necessary to impress them with the conviction that the Union forces were present in strength. In this supreme moment, Washburn formed his men, and dashed like a whirlwind through the opposing ranks. Then wheeling, he led them back with like impetuosity, making great gaps in the lines. He might now, having shown his mettle, and discovered the overwhelming force of the enemy, have withdrawn with honor, and escaped with safety ; but that would have left the infantry to be attacked, with fearful odds against them. This he could not do, and therefore made another charge. Swinging his long sword, which few men could wield, he had nearly disarmed a rebel officer, when another shot him in the head. He fell from his horse, and according to the statement of the surgeon of the regiment, while he lay helpless on the ground, a rebel soldier began to plunder him, taking watch and purse, and attempting to pull off his new cavalry boots. The colonel, coming to feeble consciousness, remarked that he would take care of them, when the brute struck him on the head with his

sabre, and stunned him. Two days he remained in the enemy's hands, and in the confusion preceding Lee's surrender, his wounds were not dressed, and little was done to mitigate the severity of his condition. But he had fulfilled his mission. His daring charges led the rebel officers to believe that he must be supported by a large force of infantry, and that the attempt to flank the advance of Sheridan was a failure. This hastened the surrender of Lee, and closed the war. When Lee surrendered, on the eighth of April, Colonel Washburn was recovered, and taken to the hospital at Point of Rocks. While there the Hon. E. B. Washburne of Illinois wrote the following lines. "I have seen Col. Washburn at the hospital. I cannot refrain from testifying to his unsurpassed gallantry and prowess in the action in which he was wounded, which challenged the admiration of both armies. Gen. Grant and Gen. Ord both bore testimony to his daring courage, and expressed to me the greatest anxiety for his speedy recovery." But the hope was fallacious. He was brought to the home of his brother, in Worcester, where he arrived on the twenty-first of April, but died the next day, having the satisfaction of greeting his dearest kindred before his spirit departed.

Thus fell one of the brightest and bravest of the heroic sons of Massachusetts; but he died not in vain. The immediate benefit to the country was great, and the example of soldierly duty and dauntless courage will incite thousands of his young countrymen to like virtue and valor. It is said by one who had it from his own lips that he had a "presentiment that he should not survive the war. But that feeling in no wise hindered his fidelity to duty, or prevented him from exposing himself to danger." His remains were brought to Lancaster, and after funeral services at the house of his mother, were committed to the earth in the North Village cemetery, beside the grave of his soldier-brother, on the twenty-fifth of April, a large concourse of sympathizing friends and citizens attending. While surrounding the grave the following lines of Collins were sung.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
 With all their country's wishes blessed!
 When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
 Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
 She there shall dress a sweeter sod
 Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung;
 By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
 There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
 To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
 And Freedom shall awhile repair,
 To dwell a weeping hermit there!

FROM DEER'S HORNS ROUND TO PONAKIN HILL.

This walk will include all of the town outside of the villages. Because of the length of the way, our pace must be rapid, lingering for a moment only here and there, to retrace some fading records of the past.

The origin of the name, — Deer's Horns — is said to have been as follows. Between seventy-five and eighty years ago, a deer — some say a moose-deer — was shot just below the mill which stands near number nine school-house. The head was cut off and fixed upon a post by the roadside. Later, the skin and fleshy parts were removed, and the broad antlers were mounted in better shape. Several posts have decayed, but the horns have been mounted anew, and are still to be seen by all travelers, where they have been an object of curiosity to three generations.

The Deer's Horns district, as it has long been styled, is a section of good farming land, and has been well cultivated by several succeeding generations. In early times it was occupied by families of the name of Sawyer, Fairbank, Richardson, Thurston and Wilder. It has been sparsely settled till within a few years, but its proximity to Clinton has induced quite a number of men who find employment there, to locate their homes on the Lancaster side of the line. This process will probably continue. The number of scholars in the school has trebled within half a dozen years, rising from ten or twelve to more than thirty.

The families just mentioned have figured largely in our history, but their descendants are mostly scattered up and down the land. Coming northward to the Thurston corner, —No. 185— we are at the estate of George A. Parker, which was formerly in the hands of a Thurston. Mr. Parker's father, who came from New Hampshire, lived in the old house, which was enclosed in the west part of the new one, a few years since, and then taken down, piece by piece, till room was made for a new interior. The beauty of this situation and the historical interest connected with King's "trucking-house," at the north end of the home lot, were referred to in the proper place. Mr. Parker, an eminent civil engineer, has done much to enhance the natural beauties of the place, consisting of upland, plain, valley and hillside. This was a favorite resort of the late Cornelius C. Felton, (a brother of Mrs. Parker,) president of Harvard University, and his brothers, one the president of the great railway line between Philadelphia and Washington, and the other a distinguished lawyer in California.

The road starting on the west side of the house, and extending over George hill to school-house No. 7, was, during more than a hundred years, almost wholly occupied by the descendants of Nathaniel Wilder, youngest son of Thomas. The next road north, extending over the hill by Frank Taylor's, was taken up by the Carter tribe, who, however, were not confined to it. Their name and lineage have received due attention.

The Fletchers nearly monopolized the third road, going up by the Matthews place to the old Rugg and Osgood home. Pleasant notices of this family, as well as of the Carters, have already gratified the reader. A few lines in regard to the Fletcher genealogy will not be out of place in this connection.

John Fletcher, great grandson of Robert, who came from England, and who settled in Concord, in 1630, was born in Chelmsford, and in 1712 married Hannah Phelps, soon after

his removal to Lancaster. His courtship and marriage have been described by one of his lineage. His home was directly west of the Brick church, and the homestead remained in the family until 1868. His son Joshua married Mary, the daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah Allen, May 25, 1748. He was born, lived and died in the house erected by his father, the first house—No. 152—on the north side of the Fletcher road over George hill, and never traveled forty miles from home. He was on the committee of safety in the Revolution. Though more than fifty years old when the news of the battle of Lexington came, he left the plough in the furrow, mounted his horse, and hastened, with other volunteers, to Concord.

Timothy, second son of the last mentioned, was born, September 20, 1750. His wife was Hannah Fosdick. He was an ardent patriot like his father. In the winter when Washington and his army were suffering from cold and hunger at Valley Forge, and crimsoning the snow with the marks of bloody feet, he filled his sleigh with shoes and took them to the camp, leading his horse all the way. He seems to have lived in different places, as his first child was born in Grafton; then several were born in Alstead, N. H., and the younger ones in Lancaster. His son Joshua was one of the Alstead children, where he was born, May 8, 1783; he married Nabby Warren in Boston, November 20, 1811, and died in Lancaster, July 4, 1844. Among his children was Charles Thornton, one of the committee to whom the publication of this work was assigned by the town. The Fletchers of Lancaster have, in every generation, been an intelligent, industrious and temperate race.

For example, William, brother of Timothy who led his horse to Valley Forge, and son of Joshua, who hastened to Concord, was, according to the "Fletcher Genealogy," one of the pioneers of the temperance cause, an honored man in the community, and a consistent Christian. He occupied the old homestead on George hill, where all his children

were born. Among these was Otis, now a bookbinder in Clinton.

Ascending the hill we come to the house of David Matthews, built by one of the Carters, who stepped over from Carter to Fletcher street or road. This was "fiddling John," so called, not because he was addicted to the fiddle so as to neglect his trade, which was that of a rake maker, but because he delighted in music, and often solaced his weariness by playing on the instrument. The grand old elms were of his planting. Long may they adorn the hillside.

Curving to the right, and going north, we come to the last homesteads on the road, now, sad to say, in ruins. Here lived the Osgoods, deacon Peter, and "uncle David." "The Lancaster Osgoods," says the late Ira Osgood, the compiler of a "Register of the Osgood family," "are very numerous and widely dispersed. They appear to be a sober-minded, substantial, industrious and useful people. They have not entered so largely into the professions, nor held conspicuous positions so much as many other branches of the same family. I find among them a large number of deacons, some clergymen, some physicians and teachers, but the body of them have been farmers and mechanics."

Three brothers Osgood came from Andover, England, to this country between 1634 and 1638. John was the ancestor of the Lancaster branch. His son Stephen married Mary Hooker, hence the name so often used as a Christian name in the Lancaster family. Their son Hooker was born in Andover, learned the trade of a saddler, and married Mary Wood. In 1711 he removed to Lancaster, with his entire family of seven sons and two daughters. The sons had large families. The first house of this family was near the river side, whence they were driven by a great freshet, as said before, leaving a cellar hole as a memento. The next house was in the same field, farther south, and nearly opposite the Middle cemetery. One of the sons was Hooker, jr.; another was Moses, the sixth son, who married Martha

Powers, and settled in the west part of the town on a farm. Moses had seven children, of whom the fifth was Joel, born in 1746. He married, in 1774, Lois Rugg, whose ancestral home was the Osgood place on George hill, above mentioned, now owned by William G. Wilder. The view from this place is one of the most extensive and pleasant in the Nashua valley. Joel Osgood's home was the last house in Lancaster beyond the mill of Barney Phelps, where he owned large tracts of land. "Here eight children were born, and his wife died. After settling some of his children on portions of his land, he moved to the Rugg estate, before mentioned, married Mrs. Lucretia Rugg Thayer, a sister of his former wife, and resided there until his death, in 1821." His sons Peter and David were born on George hill, where the former lived till 1849, having bought out the homestead. He married Mary N. Bridge, in 1825, and had four daughters, the youngest of whom was Martha Sophia, now Mrs. Edward Houghton. His wife having died in 1847, he was married, two years later, to Mrs. Elizabeth G., widow of Dea. Samuel F. White, and having purchased the White estate, remained upon it until his decease in 1864. Peter Osgood was a deacon of the First church until he united with the Evangelical church many years before his death. His brother David married Eliza Bridge, and resided some years in Medford, but in 1849 returned to Lancaster, where he died in 1874. He was a man of gentle and devotional spirit, upright in all his ways, and noted as one of the "sweet singers" of our Israel.

The old road from the top of George hill, down the west side to Phelps' mill, was formerly named after a family by the name of Greenway, which lived at the present Brockelmann place. We find the name of Osgood, Webb, Sawyer, etc., in the old records, but cannot linger. Coming over Ballard hill, the Ballard neighborhood is reached at the house of Thomas Lawton. Those bearing the name were numerous, the families were respectable, and many of the men

were prominent in the town, the church, and the military companies. The place which once knew them, knows them no more, as they are dispersed abroad from east to west.

Coming down the road, the Wilder house, with its old-fashioned Mansard roof, rises in large proportions. Here lived Col. Joseph Wilder, a very prominent man in his day. He was the father of Major Gardner Wilder, who succeeded him in the house, and in the management of the mill or mills at Ponakin. They were men of enterprise. The only daughter of the son married Capt. John Maynard, who took an active part in town affairs, and carried on considerable business at and near Ponakin, sixty years since. In the Wilder house, now owned by the Worcester family, lived Mr. William Townsend to the great age of eighty-nine, a hale and hearty old man to the last. He died in 1876, and thus a link that bound us to the distant past was broken. Next down the road we come to "Repose Cottage," the summer home of Miss Sophia Maynard, granddaughter of Major Wilder.

Dr. James Carter, who built and occupied the present almshouse, cannot be passed without notice. The anecdotes of him are numerous and humorous, but some of them are mixed up with his son, Dr. Calvin, and many of them will not shine in print. Like his son, he was a man of superior natural gifts, and he had an extensive practice. His house is one of the largest in Lancaster, and standing on the hill, looks over a magnificent prospect. The first house was burned. He built anew, in the same style as before. Here he alone, or in company with his son, attended to patients, managed a fine farm, kept tavern, started a medical school, and during several years, took care of the poor of the town, as the lowest bidder. He was gentle or rough, as the mood took him, or according to the company about him. The story is told how he opened a boil for a man, by the roadside, with the toe of his boot, vigorously applied. Before the patient could gather himself up, the doctor had mounted

his horse, and galloped beyond the reach of stick or stone. In relation to this mode of practice it was aptly said of him, that he was a "free lance."

About half way from his house to the Joslyn place, now the estate of John Cunningham, is the site of a house which once stood on the hillside, and belonged to Nathan Puffer. His son, Nathan, jr., married Nabby Joslyn, who, after his death, became the second wife of Gardner Wilder. The Joslyns were one of the first families of the town, and lived at different times, on both sides of the river. They, and Daniel Stearns, living next south, are familiar to all readers of this work. The daughter of the latter, Miss Deborah Stearns, lived till January 24, 1879, to connect the past with the present, and to merit the kindly regards of many, by her cheerful spirit and liberal gifts. From her and Miss Lucy Puffer, daughter of the above Nathan, the author has derived many facts of local interest.

Our next stopping place is Ponakin, where lives the only man, so far as known, who owns and occupies the land which has come down to him in direct male line, from one of the first proprietors of Lancaster. "Knight's pasture," often referred to in former pages, was between the Concord road, and the Penacook river, but where Knight lived is not recorded. His descendant, William Knight, claims, that among his possessions was the Ponakin estate, including the water privilege, where some of his descendants have improved the power. East of the house, at the upper end of the intervale, is Squantum, where the Indians had a temporary, and perhaps a permanent home. The hill north of the house was formerly called Beman hill.

Keeping up the road, and turning to the right through the woods,—one of the charming sylvan roads of Lancaster,—the traveler comes to the Knight place, once the home of Manasseh Knight; farther along on the same side of the road, resides Mr. Colburn. Back of his house, in the field, once stood the house of James Rugg, a man still held in

good repute, though he died many years ago. He was the father of Josiah N. Rugg, who resides on the road some twenty rods east, and of other sons and daughters, among whom was one whose sad and tragic fate filled the family and the neighborhood with sorrow. Miss Martha K. Rugg was on her way to Detroit, to visit a sister, in August, 1844, in company with a friend who was a partner of her sister's husband. The accident which cut short her journey and her life, at the same time, is told in these words: "On the morning of August 24, whilst approaching Table Rock, she stepped upon the bank, about fifty rods below the Museum, letting go the arm of the gentleman who accompanied her, in order to pluck some evergreens, when the earth, giving way with her weight, she was precipitated down a perpendicular height of one hundred and twenty feet, falling on a bed of sharp rocks! The poor girl gave one piercing shriek; her companion grasped her shawl, which gave way, and she descended! A doctor from New York, who was near at hand, hastened with others down the stairs, and after much labor and fatigue, reached the fatal spot, where they found Miss Rugg on the pointed rocks, still alive." She was bled, and reviving, said faintly to those around: "Pick me up." She was borne down to the river side, and conveyed in a boat to the ferry landing. Being taken thence to the Clifton House, she survived about three hours from the time of the accident. Her remains were taken to Detroit for burial, the means of transportation at that time making it very difficult to bring them to Lancaster. The sudden death of one so young and so much beloved by her friends, excited mingled grief and sympathy.

Crossing the fields, north by west, we reach the "old Sam. Rugg place," but the mill is gone. Here lived an original genius who not only made improvements in machinery, but is said to have invented new combinations which enabled others to make fortunes out of patents that of right belonged to him. He was a man of strong mind and good

sense, and did much to enrich other men without any great benefit to himself. He will be remembered from the speech in town meeting on the subject of education, in which respect he is like the more famous "single speech Hamilton."

If the traveler is on foot, and the time is winter, the best way will be to go through the woods and across Spectacle pond. This route is very pleasant, and will take him to the north end of the eastern bow of the Spectacles, where lived the Cleverly family, in a little neighborhood of four or five families. The houses are all gone, and only a few ragged apple trees, and garden shrubs remain to show that human hopes and fears, griefs and joys once centered there. The last of the Cleverly family was recently brought from the insane hospital to be buried in Lancaster. One of a former generation was a queer genius, somewhat "allied to madness," who was addicted to writing doggerel verses. These by their cynical tone, hard hits, and apt personalities, had currency from mouth to mouth, and gave him a certain local fame. "Mobtown," one of his longer poems, is quoted still by aged persons.

It was through this section, from the west to the east side of the town, that Mother Ann Lee swept like a tempest, revolutionizing the whole region. But there were some families on which she made little or no impression; as the Farwells, Ruggs, Whites, and others. Paul Willard, who built and carried on the Brick tavern, and Col. Henry Haskell, whose daughter was Willard's first wife, were untouched by her fervid appeals.

It is almost incredible to what an extreme the credulity of some people reached, in those days. It is said that the noted Ireland, living in Harvard, gave out that he should never die; and there were some who believed him. But he did die, and then his friends tried to conceal the fact by burying him in a field of growing corn. The intention was to report that he had mysteriously disappeared, without "tasting death." Mother Ann was opposed to this folly.

It is also related that his disciples in Lancaster undertook to play the role of raising the dead. It was given out that on a set day, towards evening, a dead man would be raised to life, on the top of a certain hill. It was "training day," and one Butler, a member of the company, having done his duty as a soldier, was on his return home, about tipsy enough to be up to a rough joke, and yet sober enough to do it well, as the hour of resurrection drew nigh. He came up to the fence where he could see the pine coffin in which the dead man lay. Loading his gun with powder and ball, he announced that he also would raise the dead to life. In a loud voice he said, "I shall count one, — two, — three, and at the word three send a bullet through that box." Then taking aim, he cried out "one, — two" — when a man sprang from the coffin and ran down hill as fast as his legs could carry him. But the community long since worked clear from these vagaries, though the "lying spirits" seem still to "re-visit the glimpses of the moon," and mix with other forms of credulity.

We cannot leave the north end without feeling a touch of sadness at the sight of so many old cellars, and fragments of chimneys, where respectable families once dwelt, and of such a large area, formerly yielding good crops, but now comparatively barren. Surely the hand of skillful industry would make these acres smile with a bountiful harvest. If the wholesome influence of our spirited Farmers' Club, whose annual fair and cattle show is the only occasion which brings all the people — old and young — of the town together, could be felt here more potently, there would, without doubt, be a happy revival of the farming interest, and these waste places would be rebuilt.

With our faces towards the sun, and passing the slate quarry and Cumbery pond, we come through the pine woods and skirt the hill, until the very ancient Willard house, marked — 7 — on the "Map of Lancaster" is reached. Among others, here once lived John Willard, or "Old

Beeswax," which was his familiar name. Of all the queer geniuses ever raised by the town, perhaps he was the queerest. Only by accident or design did he think, speak or act like his neighbors. When following his natural bent he was always singular. Some said he was crazy; but if so, there was "method in his madness." There are men of fertile minds, full of thoughts, fancies, projects, and prophecies of the future, who have little practical judgment, or effective industry. John Willard appears to have belonged to this class. He is the man who set the town meeting in a roar, by sportively proposing to put a patent wrench under the meeting-house, so that any man approaching it from whatever point of the compass, might, by seizing the handle, turn the front towards his face. More than fifty years ago he amused himself, and excited the ridicule of other people, by predicting that Lancaster would, some day, become a great thoroughfare of travel and traffic. Sometimes he foretold a ship canal beside Pine hill, and reaching to Providence. Then his mind fixed on a railroad as a medium of transit. He even went so far to impress his notions upon others, as to begin cutting the brush in the swamp, thus making a passage for the surveyors. Careless of the present, he could project his mind into the future, and revel in bright though distant prospects.

Ascending the road we find ourselves on Ponakin hill, and at the end of our walks. Standing here and looking northward, the eye covers the sylvan home of one who trained successive swarms of children in the rudiments of education, and taught them to "mind their manners." This was Consider Studley, kindly remembered to this day by elderly people. He was also known by another name, because of his love for the fermented juice of the apple. It does not come down to us that he was an intemperate man, or that he was unfit to be the teacher of the boys and girls, the young men and women, of those days. It is rather to his credit, that when most people drank rum, he solaced himself with

"mild October." He served in the Revolution as a good soldier, but afterwards made teaching his special calling, and in that way was a public benefactor.

The modern name of this fine elevation is Whittemore hill, so called from a prominent family which has occupied its summit and eastern slope since 1792 until 1877. But Ponakin is the ancient name, which, while pleasant to the ear, connects us with the original lords of the soil.

"It has been established," writes Ebenezer S. Whittemore, Esq., whose law office is in the old state house, Boston, that the names "Whittemore, Whitamor, Whittamor and Whitmore, originate from John, Lord De Whytemere, who was born previous to the year 1200, and resided at a place now called Whitmore, in the county of Salop, England." The Anglo-Saxon of Whytemere is white meadow or lake, and the inference is that the "name of the place gave the surname to the family." The name now takes the two forms of Whitmore and Whittemore.

Thomas Whittemore, born in Hitchin, Herts, England, about 1595, came to this country between 1638 and 1645, in which year he bought a piece of land in Chelsea. He settled in what is now Everett, and died there in 1660. His son John was baptised in Hitchin, February 11, 1638. He came with his father, and married Mary Upham of Weymouth. His fourth son was Lieut. Benjamin, born in 1669, married in 1692, Esther Brooks of Concord, where he settled, and which he represented in the general court, six years. His son, Nathaniel, born December 11, 1698, removed to Harvard in 1758, where he died in 1769. He had one son, Nathaniel, jr., who was born in Concord, in 1741, lived in Harvard, and came to Lancaster in 1792. "He was intended for the church, and began to study with Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Harvard, to this end, but this object was finally given up."

This Nathaniel, of the fifth generation, married Martha Farnsworth. All their children were born in Harvard. One of the sons was named Nathaniel, and was born February

18, 1774, he died in Lancaster, August 5, 1856. Prescott, his youngest, resided on the homestead, and cared for his father until his decease in 1822. He then removed to Rindge, N. H.

Among the children of the last Nathaniel, was Benjamin, who was born in Lancaster, May 3, 1801. He married, June 4, 1823, Mandana, daughter of Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Boston. This brings us to the Rev. Dr. Whittemore, whose venerable form was familiar to all until the last year, when he sold his homestead, and removed to Boston. He began to preach in 1821, and was ordained as a minister, in the Universalist denomination at West Scituate, May 21, 1823. He afterwards preached at Troy, N. Y., and South Boston. In 1843 he was invited to settle in his native town, where he officiated as pastor of the Universalist church several years. His last pastorate was in Norwich, Conn., whence he returned to Lancaster. His sons are Benjamin B., and Nathaniel H., of Boston, and Murray W., of Norwich.

The youngest brother of the above Nathaniel, was Prescott, born July 28, 1787. He married Lucy Rebecca Gear, of Worcester, October 14, 1811. His death occurred at Beatrice, Nebraska, June 4, 1865. Six of his thirteen children were born in Lancaster, and the last seven in Rindge, N. H. The ninth child and sixth son is Ebenezer Stowell Whittemore, who was educated at Michigan University, and received the degree of bachelor of laws at Cambridge in 1855.

Just beyond the Whittemore place, at No. 9, lived Rev. Aaron Burbank, a respectable Baptist minister, and father of two sons who deserve honorable mention as men of science, and gifted with the faculty of teaching.

And here two other clergymen of the Baptist denomination, by the name of Willard, claim notice, though their early home has not been ascertained. Rev. John Willard, son, as is supposed, of John Willard, was a faithful and useful man in his sacred calling. Rev. Erastus Willard, born in the year 1800, left Lancaster early in life. He became a

man of note in his connection, was learned in ancient and modern languages, and at one time was at the head of the Baptist Mission in France.

Down the southeast slope of the hill, where the barn of Cyrus K. Goodale stands, at No. 2, was the house where Samuel Damon, the father of Jonas M. Damon, lived, and where the sister of the latter, Martha, known as "Myra Dana," from her sprightly auto-biographical romance, was reared. Before her birth, the family moved to Lcominster, but returned soon after, so that she considered Lancaster as her home. Besides the work just named, she wrote, in connection with a near relative, "Life Scenes in Our Native Village." She was employed in Lowell, in early life, when nearly all the operatives were native born, and she was the spirited leader when the girls, by thousands, struck for higher wages, and left the mills. Her present name is Mrs. M. W. Tyler.

Looking southward as far as Phelps street, the eye rests on the spot,—No. 32—where the old sexton, Elijah Coburn, lived forty-six years. He was a character, as is quite often the case with sextons and grave diggers. One anecdote about him must suffice, but it shows the practical turn of the man's mind, though he talked as if possessed of supernatural power. The case was this. He had buried a woman, but could not get pay for his work. After dunning till his patience was exhausted, he met the widower one day, and threatened to bring up his deceased wife. The man was incredulous, when Coburn said: "If I am not paid before Sunday morning, you will find your wife on the front door-step, coffin and all." The debt was paid.

The same spot was the home of the Beaman family during four or five generations. Their farms were on both sides of the road, and one of their homes was on the spot now owned by Charles Safford, No. 38. Gamaliel was the first of the name in Lancaster. His son Joseph, born in Dorchester, in 1651, succeeded him. He was followed by his son John, who was a member of the First church in 1708. In 1710 the

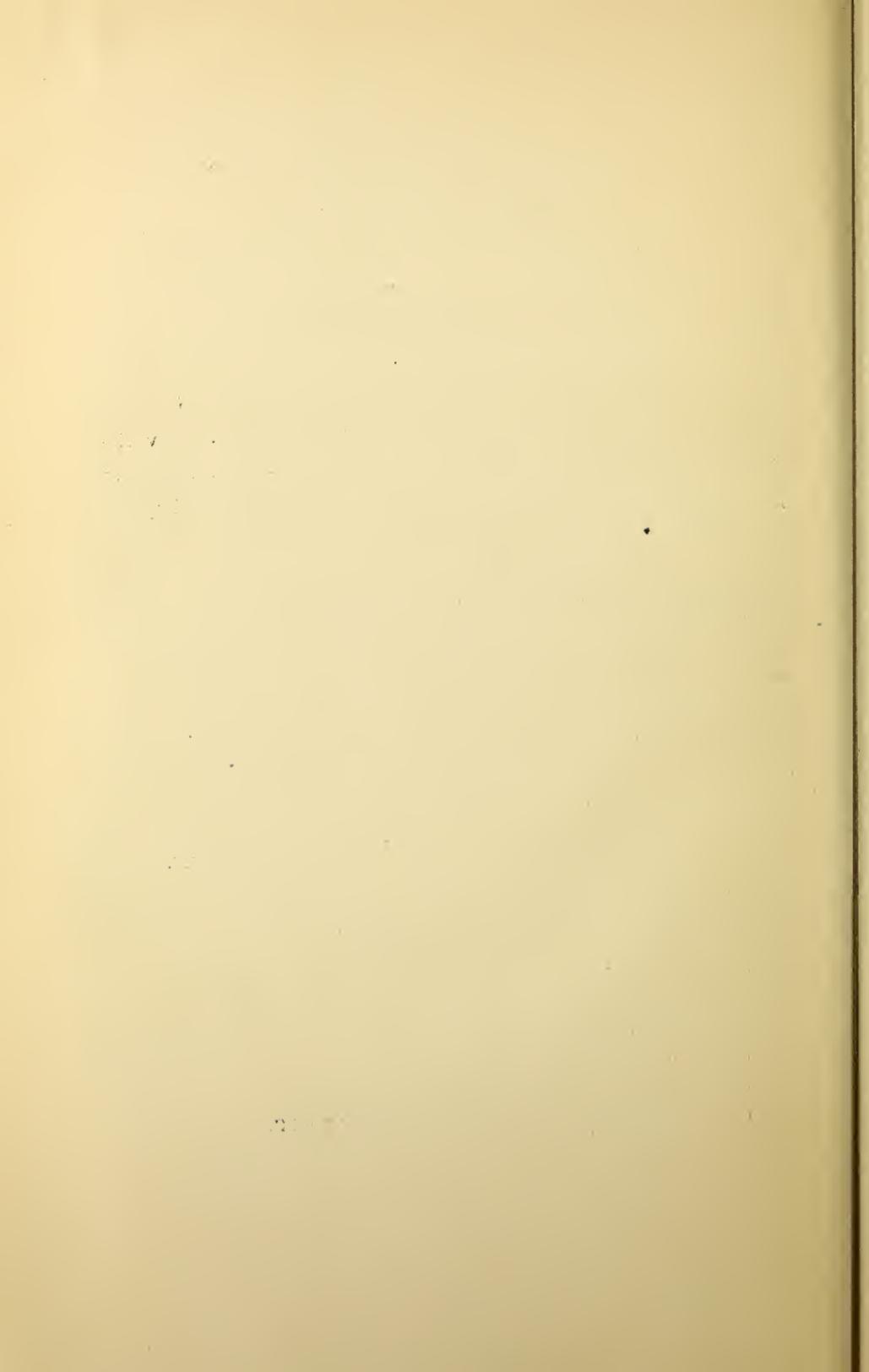
latter had a son John born to him, who was the father of Joseph Beaman. The latter was the grandfather of Rev. C. C. Beaman, of Boston, who was educated, in part, in this town, as appears from the interesting reminiscences on preceding pages.

Our walks and our history here come to a close. From this height the whole goodly township of Lancaster is in sight, except a narrow outskirts concealed by wooded hills on the north and west. The northern plateau rises before us like an almost unbroken woodland. On the east is the fertile slope of the elevation on which we stand. Beyond is Pine hill, and still farther, the ever lovely valley of the Nashua. Westward we look out upon Ballard and George hills, and the pleasant valley and intervale of the North branch. Below us, at the south, lie the four villages, which include a large majority of the people of the town, and which adorn one of the most beautiful landscapes in the commonwealth. It is a delightful prospect, suggesting the words of the sweet singer of Israel: "the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage." Of this fair heritage of every child of Lancaster, we may gratefully use the inspired words addressed to an ancient patriarch. "Blessed of the Lord be his land, for the precious things of heaven, for the dew, and for the deep that coucheth beneath, and for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon, And for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills, And for the precious things of the earth and fulness thereof, and for the good will of him that dwelt in the bush."

ERRATA.

A few errors in names and dates will be noticed. The variation in the spelling of names, in the volume, is the result of following the records. And generally, the orthography of quotations has been preserved.

On page 268, line 8,	for Wheeler read Wheelock.
“ 329, “ 28,	“ Elnina read Elmina M.
“ 353, “ 1,	“ is read in.
“ 398, “ 10,	“ May read Mary G.
“ 481, “ 20 & 22,	“ Headley read Hoadley.
“ 486, “ 12,	“ A. D. read A. W.
“ 527, “ 6,	add Charles Mason, Isaac F. Woods.
“ 547, “ 5,	for Dodd read Dadd.
“ 623, “ 8,	insert Daniel Bemis.
“ “ “ 36,	“ James D. Farnsworth, 1814, 1818.
“ 624, “ 40,	“ Williams, 1854, 1858.
“ 692, “ 12,	for Rufus read George.
“ 706, “ 37,	“ 1852 read 1862.
“ 713, “ 13,	“ K read H.
“ 717, “ 22,	“ is read are.
“ 726, “ 18,	“ 1789 read 1689.
“ “ “ 28,	“ 1797 read 1697.
“ 761, “ 13,	“ middle read close.
“ 784, “ 29,	insert Calvin W. and Levi S.



GENERAL INDEX.

This Index refers to names and topics. When names occur in masses, they are not repeated here, but will be found under proper heads. In many cases, names occur in the work, when there is no reference to them in the Index, as when they are used merely to indicate locality.

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