

THE LIFE

OF

JEDIDIAH MORSE, D.D.

BY

WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D.D., LL.D.

NEW YORK:

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY,

770 BROADWAY, COR. 9th ST.

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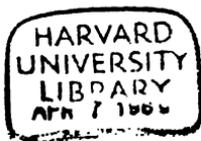
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PREFACE.

[Written with a view to publication in the year 1867.]

NOTWITHSTANDING various and somewhat extended notices of Dr. Morse have appeared on both sides of the Atlantic, no continuous history of his life has ever been written till this time.

It is fitting that there should be some explanation of the departure, in this volume, from the ordinary mode of constructing a Memoir by arranging the principal events of the life, as far as may be, in chronological order. This was what was here at first attempted; but it was quickly found that the life, in this case, was of so mixed and diversified a character, and so prominently identified with almost every great movement of the period into which it fell, that it would be impossible to present it to advantage in the form of a continuous and orderly narrative. After considerable reflection, the plan here adopted was determined upon—that is, presenting an outline of the history of Dr. Morse's life, sufficient to meet the wishes of those who have not the time or the inclination to go into its minuter details, while, without involving the necessity of much repetition, it may serve as the basis or starting-point of a record of what he accomplished in the various departments of active usefulness. Nearly everything of interest pertaining to his history down to the period of his settle-

ment in Charlestown, will be found in the outline; but from that time onward the services which he rendered in different spheres form the subjects of as many distinct chapters.

No small embarrassment has been experienced in the preparation of this Memoir, partly from a difficulty of selecting from the multiform labors of Dr. Morse those which are most worthy of an enduring record, and partly from the immense mass of material out of which such a record was to be formed. So numerous and intimate were his relations with passing events, that his life might have easily been made the germ of the general history of his time; but as nothing so extensive as that was contemplated, it has only remained to select those facts and experiences in his life which have proved of the greatest interest, introducing only so much of the history of the period as was necessary to illustrate their connections. So rich and varied and extensive was his correspondence, that several selections of letters might have been made, shedding light upon the principal events of his life, that would have been scarcely inferior, in point of interest, to those which are scattered through this volume.

As Dr. Morse lived at an eventful period, especially in the *religious* history of New England, and was perhaps more signally identified than any other man with the great controversy of his day, it was not to be expected that he should escape animadversion. Accordingly, we find that he was brought into conflict with some distinguished individuals, and differed widely in opinion with many others; but the *details* of these conflicts or differences, beyond what is absolutely due to historic fidelity, it has not been thought desirable to record. The controversy which he had with Miss Hannah Adams, though, to some extent, of a personal nature, was perhaps too important in some of its bearings to be ignored; but the brief state-

ment of the leading facts connected with it in the letter by Mr. Sidney E. Morse supersedes, it is believed, the necessity of any formal notice of it in the narrative of Dr. Morse's life.

It is an act of simple justice to say that Mr. Richard C. Morse, the youngest of Dr. Morse's sons, has performed an amount of labor in connection with this volume, that has rendered it somewhat difficult for me to allow my own name to appear, unaccompanied by his, on the title page. To him belongs the credit of gathering into a continuous series nearly all the letters that are published, out of an amount of correspondence that is truly appalling; and my own personal examination has satisfied me of the good judgment and taste generally manifested in the selection.

Many facts in his father's history, which do not find a place in this volume, have been ascertained and fixed through his indefatigable researches,—all which will of course be carefully preserved in manuscript for the benefit of posterity. I have endeavored to perform the office assigned me with all impartiality and fidelity, while yet I am quite aware that the result of my effort falls far short of what is due to the memory of my illustrious subject.

This Memoir was prepared several years ago at the request of the late sons of Dr. Morse. Owing to a delay in the preparation of letters of reminiscences by them, it was not ready for publication before their death. These letters, as found among their papers, are now furnished to me by Dr. Morse's grandson, Mr. Richard C. Morse, and make part of this volume.

W. B. SPRAGUE.

FLUSHING, *May* 1, 1874.

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MEMOIR
OF
JEDIDIAH MORSE, D.D.

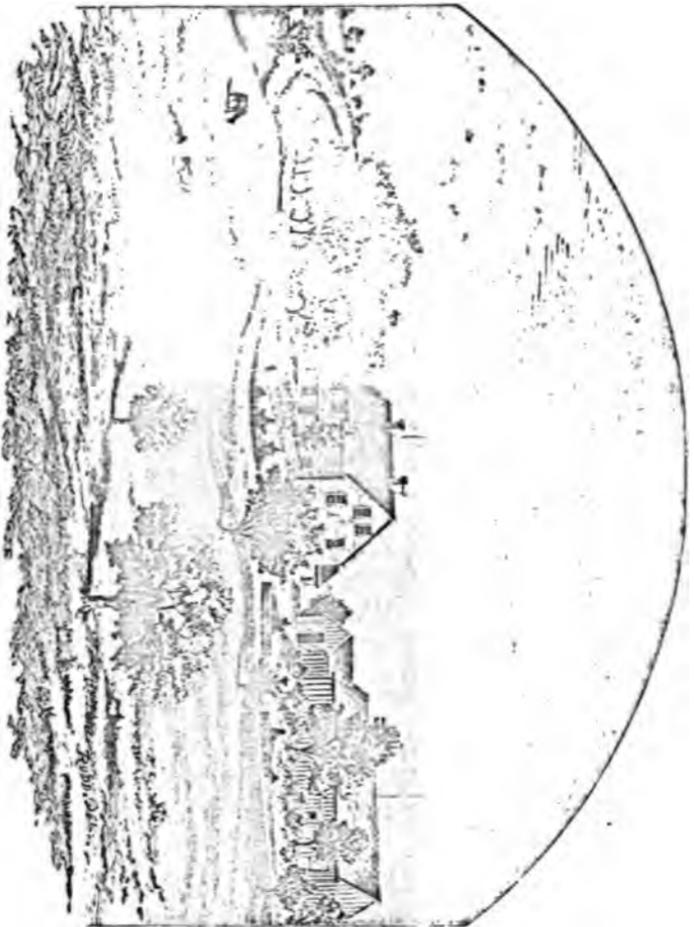
I.

OUTLINE OF HIS LIFE.

JEDIDIAH MORSE was a descendant, in the fifth generation, from Anthony Morse, who came to this country from Marlborough, Wiltshire, England, in 1635, and settled in Newbury, Massachusetts. Peter Morse, the grandson of Anthony, removed about the year 1698 to New Roxbury, then in Massachusetts, though it subsequently passed to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and took the name of Woodstock. Here Jedidiah, grandson of Peter, and father of the subject of this memoir, was born in 1726. He (the father) was a man of no small consideration in his day, having held various public offices, and among them that of Representative of the town in the Colonial and State Legislatures for more than fifteen years. He was also an influential member, and a Deacon, of the First Congregational Church. He lived to the remarkable age of ninety-four years. He was married in 1747 to Sarah Child, also of Woodstock, with whom he lived most happily fifty-eight years. They had ten children, of whom *Jedidiah*, who is commemorated in this work, was the eighth, and was born on the 23d of August, 1761.

In his childhood and youth he discovered a gentle and affectionate disposition, together with a conscientious adherence to the convictions of duty. He early exhibited an uncommon fondness for books, and expressed a strong desire for a liberal education; and this desire was the more readily yielded to from the fact that his physical constitution was deemed inadequate to the labours of the farm. He fitted for College in the Academy in his native place; and so vigorous and successful was his application to study that he was examined and admitted to the Freshman class of Yale in the spring of 1779, within less than a year from the time that he commenced his preparation. Before the College term commenced, however, he was drafted as a soldier in the Connecticut Line of the Army. But his father, by an immediate and earnest application to Governor Trumbull, succeeded in procuring for him an exemption from military duty, so that he was enabled at once to take his place in College.

During his College life he kept up a constant correspondence with his father, which is still preserved; and from it may be gathered not only many of the incidents of his daily life, but much that is illustrative of the period through which he was passing. As his father was far from being in affluent circumstances, the expenses of his education were necessarily directed by a strict economy, and, in order to meet them fully, he engaged, for a time, in teaching a school, and, shortly after his graduation,



HOMESTEAD AT WOODSTOCK, CONN., BIRTHPLACE OF DR. MORSE. PAGE 25.

taught a class in singing, in the neighbouring town of Guilford. In a class distinguished by its honoured names he had a highly respectable standing as a scholar; and, by his modest and kindly demeanour, he rendered himself a general favourite. He gave more than ordinary attention to the culture of the social graces, availing himself of all legitimate opportunities for mingling in cultivated female society. And his presence was always sure to be recognized as an element of pleasure. His fine musical powers were very likely to be called into exercise in any circle into which he might be thrown. He read and studied with great relish Chesterfield's Letters on Politeness; and such was his estimate of this book as a guide in forming the manners, that, even after his settlement in the ministry, an edition of it was published, by a bookseller in Boston, under his supervision. "*Chesterfield on Politeness, improved by Dr. Morse,*" was the ludicrous title under which the book was advertised in some of the newspapers.

Though young Morse had had the benefit of a strictly religious education, and had doubtless been the subject of serious impressions in childhood and early youth, it does not appear that he was ever brought to regard religion as the great personal and practical concern till his Sophomore year in College. In a letter to his father, dated 15 February, 1781, he writes thus:

"I have conversed with the President" (Stiles) "on the subject of religion. He gave me excellent advice, and proposed

my joining the church. I think it of the first importance to engage in religion in early life, while we have the promise of finding, and not to delay the duty to old age or a sick bed. I intend to converse with him again on Friday, though I am hardly prepared to take the step he proposes, and may defer it. I wish I could now talk to you and my mother on the subject; but, this being impossible, I hope you will improve every opportunity to give me your advice."

On the 20th of the same month he writes thus:

"I have now to tell you something of the greatest importance to me, and of no little interest to you, my dear parents. It is my purpose to make a solemn dedication of myself to God, my Creator. Dreadful, yet pleasing thought!—to enter into covenant with the living God! Holmes * and myself were with the President on Saturday, and again on Sunday noon; when we gave our consent to be propounded for admission into the church; and, accordingly, we were so, at the close of the public service. The President gave us good advice, read to us the Confession of Faith, and the Covenant, asked us many questions upon them, and whether there were any articles that we could not fully assent to, and, as there were none, he said that he should proceed to admit us into the church a fortnight hence.

"I now call to mind with pleasure the many instructions you have given me. I reproach myself with having paid so little heed to them. How can I better repay you for all your trouble and care for me, from my infancy, than by giving myself to God, my Maker? I trust I can do so with the utmost willingness, and with a humble dependence on Jesus Christ, the Mediator. May it be done in a manner acceptable and well pleasing to Him."

Accordingly, on the first Sabbath in March, 1781, being then in his twentieth year, he made a public profession of his faith, and was admitted a member of the College Church. Consequent

* Afterwards Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, his classmate.

upon this was a resolution to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel.

In a letter bearing date June 24, 1783, he writes thus:

“ But three weeks and I am to go forth into the world to put to practical use the learning I have been acquiring. It is truly a pleasing, but anxious thought: pleasing, as I may hope, with the blessing of God, to preach the glad tidings of salvation, and anxious when I think of coming in contact with those who reject Christ.”

The following amusing incident he used to relate, as illustrative of the experience of not a small number who enter the ministry. On the day that he took his first degree he met, in one of the College buildings, the venerable Dr. Bellamy, then far advanced in life, moving slowly up the stair case; and he promptly offered him his arm, thus assisting him in his somewhat laborious walk. The Doctor thankfully acknowledged this polite attention, and asked him his name, to what class he belonged, and to what profession he intended to devote himself; and, having learned that it was his purpose to become a minister of the Gospel, he gave him his blessing, and added,—“ Now let me tell you how it will fare with you. after you shall have preached as a candidate, received a call, and been settled over a parish. At first your people will doat on you—they will say to you,—‘ *Poor pussy, poor pussy.*’ Soon their fervour will cool, and the word will be simply ‘ *Puss, puss.*’ And at last it will be ‘ *Scat you.*’ ”

On the completion of his College course, in 1783, he continued to reside in New Haven, and prosecuted his theological studies under the joint direction of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, then Pastor of the White Haven Church, as it was called, and Dr. Samuel Wales, Professor of Divinity in Yale College. At the same time, with a view to relieve his father from any additional expense on his account, he engaged in teaching a school of young girls. In this enterprise he was eminently successful, commanding the patronage of many of the best families in the city.

He was remarkable, from his early years, for a habit of persevering mental activity—he always found full occupation for his whole time. Hence, in the winter of 1783–84, besides pursuing his theological studies, and teaching the day-school for girls already referred to, he met a class of young ladies two evenings in the week, and a class for singing on two other evenings. And this vast amount of labour was accomplished with a naturally delicate constitution, and with frequent interruptions occasioned by ill health.

The course of theological study at that period was far more limited than it is now; and hence we find that when Mr. Morse had pursued his studies for only a few months, repeated intimations came to him that if he would consent to receive license to preach, he might be advantageously employed in an important field; but his *good sense* prevented him from yielding to any *such proposals*. He had a deep sense of the

importance of the office to which he was aspiring, and was unwilling to jeopard his usefulness by entering on its duties, without what was deemed, at least at that day, mature preparation.

It was while he was teaching a school at this period that the thought first occurred to him that was destined to have its issue in his becoming the Father of American Geography. But I shall leave the details of this grand enterprise to form the subject of a distinct chapter.

On the 27th of September, 1785, he was examined and licensed to preach, by the New Haven County Association, met at East Haven—in anticipation of which, his mind seems to have been deeply exercised in regard to the responsibilities he was about to assume. Two days before his licensure, he was invited to preach as a candidate in the vacant pulpit in Farmington, Conn.; and, about the same time, received similar applications from some other places; but the invitation which he accepted was from Norwich, Conn.; where he not only supplied the pulpit, but engaged in teaching a school. In February of the next year, (1786.) an urgent request for his services was made by the people of Deerfield, Mass.; but the congregation at Norwich, as soon as they became apprized of the movement, took measures to retain him which proved successful.

In the spring of this year he was chosen a Tutor in Yale College. He accepted the appointment, though it cost him no small sacrifice of feeling to *leave Norwich, where his labours had been highly*

acceptable, and he had drawn around him a large circle of warmly attached friends. He was inducted into the Tutorship on the 26th of June, and immediately entered on his new duties with great zeal and alacrity.

But scarcely two months had passed when his health began to be perceptibly impaired by reason of his excessive labours. Just at that time his classmate, Abiel Holmes, who was settled as Pastor of a Congregational Church in Midway, Georgia, had returned to New England to escape, for a time, the enervating influence of a Southern climate; and the two friends agreed, with the consent of the College Faculty, that they would temporarily exchange places and occupations, with a view to their mutual benefit. Accordingly, Mr. Holmes assumed the duties of Tutor, and Mr. Morse commenced at once his preparations for going to Georgia. The most important of these was his receiving Ordination, so that he might be qualified to discharge all the duties of the pastoral office. It was arranged that he should be ordained at the same time with Mr. Samuel Austin, who had been his classmate in College. In the prospect of this service, he set apart a day for private prayer and fasting, in respect to which he has left the following record:

“7 November, 1786—This day I devoted, as far as the necessary preparations for my journey would permit, to humiliation, fasting and prayer. I renewed my self-dedication to God, *resolving, in the strength of Divine Grace, to give up myself wholly to my Saviour, making his glory the ultimate end of my*

actions, and subordinating my temporal pursuits to those which are spiritual."

Of the ordination and the exercises preparatory to it, he has left the following account:

"9 November, Thursday—This has been to me the most solemn day of my life. Last evening I requested ordination of the Council convened to ordain Mr. Austin. My request was granted, and I then sustained the usual examination, which was long and critical, lasting till eleven o'clock at night. The hour for the ordination service was fixed for ten o'clock, Thursday morning; but necessary preliminaries detained the Council till eleven o'clock, when we proceeded to Fair Haven Meeting House. The doings of the council were read; the Introductory Prayer was made by Rev. David Ripley, of Ripton; an excellent Sermon was delivered by Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, from Acts XX, 26—'I am pure from the blood of all men;' the Ordaining Prayer for Mr. Austin was made by Rev. Nicholas Street; the Charge to him was given by Rev. Dr. Stiles, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Dr. Wales. Rev. Noah Williston made my Ordaining Prayer; Rev. Chauncy Whittlesey gave me a solemn and weighty Charge; Brother Holmes the Right Hand of Fellowship; Rev. Mr. Lockwood made the Concluding Prayer. The whole services were performed with great propriety and solemnity."

Communicating this event to his father the same day, he says:

"The weight and importance of the trust committed to me, the solemnity of the transaction, together with the idea of parting with my dear friends, and going into a distant land among strangers, affected me even to tears. I humbly hope that, through the whole service, I have experienced, in some good degree, the Divine presence and support. I have committed myself to God, and go forth in his strength and under the wing of his protection."

He set out on his journey to the South the day after his Ordination, and reached Midway, Ga., the place of his destination, after a most interesting journey, on the 19th of January, 1787. Here he remained, preaching to great acceptance, for about six months, when, much to the regret of the congregation to which he had ministered, he took his leave of them, with a view to return to New England. After stopping for a few weeks in Charleston, S. C., he prosecuted his homeward journey, and arrived at New Haven on the 23th of August, 1787.

In the course of the winter of 1787-88, he received an invitation, through Dr. Rodgers, of New York, from the Collegiate Presbyterian Churches, of which he was a Pastor, to preach to them as a candidate for two months. With this request he complied, commencing his labours there sometime in March. Before the time for which he was engaged had expired, the Session invited him to continue three months longer—to this proposal also he consented, and, accordingly, remained with them till the second Sunday in August. Meanwhile he received a pressing invitation to return to Georgia, which some of his friends, among whom was the venerable President Stiles, advised him to accept; but Dr. Rodgers, with whom he was in daily intercourse, advised him to decline it; partly on the ground that his constitution was not suited to a Southern climate, and partly in view of the probability that a more *eligible situation* would open to him at the North.

Rev. James Muir, a Scotch minister, (then lately from Bermuda,—afterwards the venerable Dr. Muir, of Alexandria,) that he did not believe that he could remain without putting in jeopardy the peace of the congregations. The result was that both candidates withdrew, and the two parties were forthwith brought into harmony, while the friendly relations of the two ministers were never interrupted for an hour. Dr. Muir was one of the most truehearted and generous of men, and withal an instructive and able preacher; but he was so intensely Scotch that there were comparatively few American congregations which were able to suitably appreciate him.

Meanwhile the Congregation in Charlestown were waiting impatiently to welcome him; and he yielded to their wishes by passing the first two Sabbaths in November among them. During his brief visit there, he preached to them almost every day, and sometimes twice a day, besides preaching three times in Boston; and so acceptable were his services that, immediately after his return to New York, they sent him the following unanimous call to become their Pastor:

CHARLESTOWN, Mass., 20 Nov. 1788.

“Reverend Sir: Since your departure, the Church and Congregation in this place have held a meeting and given you a call to settle in the work of the Gospel Ministry among them; and the votes which we have the pleasure, by their order, to enclose, will show that the esteem and affection which they appeared to entertain for you while you were here, are not, in any degree, abated. The circumstances of the Parish did not admit of their exceeding the terms annexed to their call, and

we most earnestly wish that these may appear eligible and proper in your view. As the usefulness of a Gospel minister in the promotion of true religion and the Redeemer's Kingdom depends very much, under God, upon the degree of unanimity in his call, we are led to hope that this consideration will have such weight in your mind as to induce you to return us a speedy and affirmative answer. In the pleasing expectation of which, and of soon seeing you here, we remain, Sir, your friends and humble servants

RICHARD CARY,
NATHANIEL GORHAM,
JOHN LARKIN,
THOMAS MILLER,

Parish Committee.

"Proceedings of the First Parish of the Town of Charlestown.

"Voted, unanimously, James Russell, Esq., Moderator, to concur with the Church in the choice of the Rev. Jedidiah Morse to be Pastor of this Church and Congregation.

"Voted that he receive eleven dollars a week salary.

"Voted that he have firewood sufficient for his study until married, and, when married, that he be furnished with a dwelling-house, and barn, and twenty cords of wood annually.

"Voted that the Parish Committee be requested to transmit to the Rev. Mr. Morse the Proceedings of this meeting. Charlestown, 24 November, 1788."

The following is Mr. Morse's answer:

"NEW YORK, 6 December, 1788.

"Much Respected Gentlemen: Your letter of the 26th ult., with the Proceedings of your Church and Congregation, was received by the last post, and is now before me. Its contents have been weighed, and the advice of my friends has been taken, so far as the time and the circumstances would allow. The unanimity, the affection and the generosity manifested in the call, induce me and my friends to believe that it is the call of God, and that Providence is, by this means, pointing to

Charlestown as the scene of my future ministerial labours. The pastoral charge of so many precious souls as are in your congregation is a burden which could not be borne without the supporting promises of the Gospel. 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world,' are his words, who commissions his faithful ambassadors, and who is their Almighty Friend. 'Through Christ who strengtheneth us we can do all things.' Encouraged by your proposals, and by the confidence which I repose in your friendship and affection, and supported by the promises of the Saviour, I send you my answer in the affirmative, and hereby manifest my willing and cordial acceptance of your call.

"While I inform you of my acceptance of your call, I must add that, through a very unexpected delay and protraction of the business in which I am at present engaged,* it will not be in my power to come to Charlestown till the close of winter or opening of spring. In the course of six or eight weeks, I shall probably be able to fix the time when I can, by leave of Providence, be with you. I hope it will not be difficult for you to obtain supplies for the winter, as I am informed that my worthy friend, Mr. William Woodbridge, is likely to be in your neighborhood.

"With cordial wishes for your welfare, I am, Gentlemen, with great esteem and respect,

Your friend and servant in the Gospel,
JEDIDIAH MORSE.

Messrs. CARY, &c.

But, though Mr. Morse found it necessary to postpone for a few months his engagement with the Charlestown people, he was meanwhile entering into another engagement, with a young lady, which was destined to have much to do in giving complexion to his future life. The lady referred to was Miss Elizabeth Ann Breese, daughter of

* The issuing of the second edition of his Geography.

Samuel Breese, of Shrewsbury, N. J., and Rebecca Finley, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, President of New Jersey College. She was the only child of her mother, who died shortly after her birth. Their acquaintance began in New York, at the house of her uncle, Ebenezer Hazard, and was continued at her own home, which was at no great distance from Elizabethtown, where Mr. Morse was obliged to pass the winter. The rumour of the engagement soon reached Charlestown, and its effect there is thus humorously described by Dr. Belknap:

“In a day or two it was all over town; and some of the elders are really inquiring how, when and where, the promised house shall be got. I suppose it would be something to Mr. Morse’s advantage, in point of *bands and handkerchiefs*, if this report could be contradicted. Do tell him, if he is not too far gone, that it will be much in favour of his popularity, and something in his pocket, if he can come to Charlestown with his neck clear of the fatal noose. But if he cannot, I shall tremble for him unless he should bring a yoke-fellow, whom they must worship as much as they do him.”

Mr. Morse, having at length completed the business which had detained him so long in New Jersey, returned to Charlestown, arriving there on the 4th of April. He was met by the people with great cordiality, and every thing seemed to betoken much happiness in connection with the union that was soon to be constituted. On the 9th of April he addressed a letter to the Parish Committee, relinquishing for two years one dollar per week of the salary which had been voted him

in his call. This was in consideration of the great losses to which the people had been subjected by the burning of Charlestown at the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, and from which they had then only partially recovered. The previous arrangements having all been made, the Installation took place on the 30th of April;—the same day and the same hour that Washington was inaugurated as President of the United States. The Installing Council consisted of the following clergymen, with their delegates: Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline; Rev. Joshua Paine, of Sturbridge; Rev. Timothy Hilliard, of Cambridge; Rev. David Osgood, of Medford; Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Rev. Peter Thacher, Rev. John Eliot and Rev. Joseph Eckley, of Boston; and Rev. Eliphalet Lyman, of Woodstock, Conn. The lay delegate from Woodstock was the father of the Pastor elect. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Belknap, from I. Peter V, 3—“Neither as lording it over God’s heritage; but as ensamples to the flock.” The Charge was by Mr. Jackson, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Dr. Osgood. The Sermon being afterwards printed, and a copy sent by its author to his friend, John Adams, then Vice President of the United States, it was acknowledged by him thus:

“This elegant discourse I have read with the more pleasure because that, beside the good sense, the moral sentiments and Christian benevolence which it breathes, I had the last week an opportunity of commencing an acquaintance with Mr. Morse

himself, who appears to be an interesting character, and a man of literary merit." (See Belknap Papers, Hist. Soc. Rooms, Boston.)

On Monday, the 4th of May, he left Charlestown for New York, whence he proceeded, on the 13th, to Shrewsbury, and the next day was married to the young lady to whom he had previously pledged his hand. The ceremony was to have been performed by the Rev. Dr. Woodhull, of Freehold, N. J.; but a violent North East storm prevented his being present, and, as such matters are not to be postponed for weather, the services of a Justice of the Peace were put in requisition, and Thomas Little, Esq., had the honour to constitute the relation which was destined, in some respects, to be one of the most remarkable of the age.

In 1794 Mr. Morse was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh. He was young to receive such an honour as this, especially from a foreign University; but by this time the success of his Geographical enterprise had become well known in Europe, and it is not strange that this, in connection with his high general attainments, should have called forth this honourable tribute.

When a new Professor of Divinity in Harvard College was about to be chosen, as successor to Dr. Tappan, in 1804, Dr. Morse felt himself called upon, as a member of the Board of Overseers, to oppose the election of the most prominent candidate, on the ground that some of his views of

Christian doctrine were essentially different from those which the Founder of the Professorship himself held, and which he must have intended should be there maintained. About this time he published a pamphlet, entitled,—“The True Reasons on which the Election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College was opposed at the Board of Overseers.” Shortly after this, in June, 1805, he originated the Panoplist, a monthly periodical, which was designed primarily to sustain the interests of the commonly received Orthodoxy of New England. At a later period still he put forth all his energies in aid of the establishment of the Andover Theological Seminary, and his interest in its prosperity never faltered to the last.

Dr. Morse continued his ministry in Charlestown until the spring of 1820, when he was induced by circumstances, affecting more or less his personal comfort, to resign his pastoral charge. Shortly after this he removed his family to New Haven, and there continued till the close of his life.

Having now withdrawn from the cares and responsibilities of the life of a Pastor, Dr. Morse engaged in a work which had long been near to his heart,—namely, the Civilization and Christianization of the various Indian tribes on our borders; and, under a commission of the Secretary of War, he spent two successive summers in visiting those tribes, with a view to ascertain their condition, and devise the most suitable means for their improvement. He was associated also, during his

ministry, with various other benevolent operations, which will be severally noticed in a subsequent part of this volume.

After his removal to New Haven, Dr. Morse was engaged chiefly in literary pursuits, and occasionally preached for the accommodation of his brethren, or to supply a vacant pulpit. His health, though by no means firm, continued comfortable till a few weeks before his death; and then he underwent a gradual process of decay, without being the subject of any marked disease. His last hours were full of joyful triumph, and his last words were (in answer to a question designed to ascertain particularly the state of his mind) "A hope full of immortality—*that* expresses it." He died at New Haven on the 9th of June, 1826. A Sermon was preached on the occasion of his death, by the Rev. Dr. Bacon.

Dr. Morse had eleven children, eight of whom died in infancy. The three who reached maturity—all sons—still survive. Mrs. Morse died on the 28th of May, 1828.

II.

DETAILS OF HIS HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENTS OF HIS CHARACTER.

I.

HIS LABOURS AS A PARISH MINISTER.

Commencing with his settlement in Charlestown, (the preceding part of his ministry having been sufficiently dwelt upon in the previous chapter,) our attention is arrested first by the earnest and deeply evangelical sermon which he preached on the Sabbath morning after his Installation, from the text,—“For I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified”—1 Cor. II, 2. This discourse was evidently intended to shadow forth the general type of his preaching; and there is no doubt that the whole course of his public ministrations was a faithful fulfilment of the purpose here expressed in respect to himself. The sermon contains the following allusion to his early predecessors, previous to the period of the burning of Charlestown:

“It is now almost an hundred and fifty-nine years since the First Church was gathered in this place, and entrusted to the pastoral care of the pious Mr. John Wilson. He removed to

Boston, and became the minister of the First Church established there. Since that time the Church in Charlestown has been under the nursing care of twelve ministers,—your present Pastor being the thirteenth in the succession. No less than six of them came over from England, to escape the rage of the Laudian persecution. Several of them left the pastoral care of churches in England, and were men of ability, experience and eminent piety; nor are records wanting to show that the whole succession have honoured their holy calling, been faithful labourers in the vineyard of Christ, and good stewards of the mysteries of God."

Every circumstance attending Mr. Morse's settlement seemed to give promise of a happy ministry. The people composing the parish of which he took charge, though generally of the middle and plainer class, were capable of appreciating the excellent qualities of their new Pastor, while there were among them several distinguished for high intellectual culture, the finest moral and religious qualities, and a widely extended and most benign influence. He had just formed a matrimonial connection which was full of promise not only to himself but to his congregation; for the lady who had become his wife possessed those attractive, generous, noble qualities, which could not but render her a favourite wherever she was known. He had his home at first with his excellent friend, Richard Cary, a man of great worth, and of high consideration in the community; and, in due time, a parsonage was provided for him, contiguous to the meeting-house, which commanded a fine view of Boston, Charles River, the harbour and islands, and much of the sur-

rounding country. He was also within three miles of Harvard College, the oldest literary institution in the land, and very early came into intimate relations with its President and several of its Professors. The whole atmosphere around him was eminently intellectual—the most cultivated society in Boston was always accessible to him; and the ministers of the Boston Association to which he belonged, received him with great cordiality, and he, in turn, gratefully reciprocated their expressions of good will. Dr. Belknap, the well known historian, then a minister of one of the churches of Boston, had been already, for some time, his intimate friend; and that great man was always on the alert to promote the interests of his young brother in the ministry, by every means in his power.

It was an occasion of great grief to Mr. Morse that Mr. Richard Cary, the friend who had so cordially welcomed him on his arrival, and by whose vigorous co-operation he had expected to find himself so much strengthened in his work, was, within a few months after the pastoral relation was constituted, called to his reward. When his death occurred, (February, 1790), the Pastor was absent on a journey; but, on his return, he preached a Funeral Sermon, in which he pays a warm and grateful tribute to the memory of his friend. The Discourse was published, and it was the first that its author *ever* published.

Almost immediately after his Installation he began to devise systematic means for promoting

the spiritual well-being of his people,—one of the first, or the very first, of which was the establishment of a monthly lecture in connection with the catechetical instruction of the young. Both Watts' and the Assembly's Catechisms were used as text-books, in accommodation to the ages and capacities of those who were to be instructed. Early in the next year, (1790), there were monthly meetings established in different parts of the town to pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. These prayers seem to have been graciously answered; for an increased attention to religion quickly succeeded, and, though not amounting to what, in modern phrase, would be called a *revival* it nevertheless acted as a decidedly healthful and quickening influence. During the first year of his ministry eleven were added to the church; in the second year, ten; and in the third, fifteen. That he was deeply interested in the general cause of revivals may be inferred from the fact that, during a season of unusual religious attention in Plymouth, in 1794, he went thither to witness and share the interest of the occasion. The Rev. Dr. Robbins, Pastor of the Church, thus acknowledges his obligation for his services, in a letter addressed to him shortly after his return:

“My family and people speak of your visit with great satisfaction; and I have abundant reason to believe your labours were not in vain in the Lord; for I have heard many speak of the sermons as blessed to their edification and consolation in Christ Jesus. I mention this to excite gratitude in your heart, as well as to encourage you in your Master's work.”

His intercourse with the neighbouring clergy was in the 'Boston Association,' at the 'Thursday Lecture,' and by pulpit exchanges.

The Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, with which he became connected, consisted of the several pastors resident in Boston, and a few in the neighbouring towns. This Association was accustomed to meet, once a fortnight, in the afternoon and evening, at the houses of the several members, in rotation. Their exercises were of rather a desultory character, and generally looked more towards social enjoyment than any high intellectual exhibitions or theological discussions.

The Boston Thursday Lecture dates back to the early settlement of the town. It originated with the Rev. John Cotton, who, having held a similar service in his own parish in Boston, England, re-established it, on his becoming the Pastor of a church here. The hour of meeting was eleven o'clock in the morning. The interest which the Lecture awakened, during its early history, has been thus graphically represented :*

"On every fifth morning of the week, there is a flowing together of the people for many a mile around. Villages send their Yeomen and Pastors. The walls of Harvard that have risen at Newtown contribute of its few students and Fellows to swell the train. All other instruction must cease while the lips of the benignant old Patriarch Wilson, of the eloquent and commanding Cotton, of the zealous Norton, of Oxenbridge, the well beloved, who broke off his own preaching of this very

* Shade of the Past.

Lecture to be carried to his death-bed, are dispensing Divine knowledge. The schools dismiss their pupils for the forenoon. What array is there of dignity and sanctity and comeliness! What squares of scarlet cloaks! What borders of white but artificial hair! What living complexions of a less shining whiteness and less presumptuously red upon many fair but solemn faces, which the arguments of Cotton have divested of their veils."

For some time after this Lecture was established, the service was conducted, from week to week, exclusively by the Pastor of the church. But, in due time, an order from the Magistrates brought in the neighbouring ministers also to serve in turn. Mr. Morse, during the first four years of his ministry, officiated at this Lecture, either in his turn or in the place of some brother minister, fourteen times.

Pulpit exchanges were then reduced to a system, which rarely, if ever, left the minister to occupy his own pulpit more than half of each Sabbath. Hence we find Mr. Morse writing to his father, a few months after his settlement:—

"I have exchanged with one or other of the Boston ministers almost every Sabbath since my coming here."

While his intercourse with the ministers in the neighbourhood was at this time universally agreeable, he regarded it as a highly felicitous circumstance that to the number of his clerical associates was about to be added one, with whom he had been in the most intimate relations from early life—this was the Rev. Abiel Holmes, who had accepted a call from the Church in Cam-

bridge. Mr. Holmes and himself had been born in the same town; had been classmates and room-mates, and fellow Tutors at College; had preached for some time in the same pulpit in Georgia; and now were about to occupy contiguous parishes, thus having their residences fixed within an hour's walk of each other. Mr. Morse attended the Installation of his friend, as a member of the Council, on the 25th of January, 1792, and, as long as they both lived, their fraternal relations were never interrupted. Two days before Mr. Holmes' Installation, Lt. Governor Samuel Phillips wrote thus to Mr. Morse concerning him:

"From the character I have had of the Reverend gentleman who is about to take the particular charge of the First Church and Congregation at Cambridge, I feel, as a member of the great Christian family, much indebted to you, Sir, for the influence I am led to believe you had in bringing about the event. I hope for important good consequences therefrom to the university, and through that to many of our churches, as well as to that church in particular."

Another accession to the number of his friends was made, about the same time, by the appointment of the Rev. David Tappan, Pastor of a Church in Newbury, to the Professorship of Theology in Harvard College. Mr. Morse had not only voted, as one of the Board of Overseers, in favour of his election, but, by his influence with benevolent individuals of his own parish, had assisted in raising the money (about four hundred dollars) required by the congregation of Newbury,

as the condition on which they would part with their Pastor.

At an early period of his ministry, and even before his ministry commenced, Mr. Morse became deeply interested in the subject of Baptism, finding himself constrained to adopt views from which many good people then dissented, and which would find still more numerous opponents at the present day. As far back as when he was a member of College, he wrote a letter of twelve pages, defining his views of the subject, which seem never to have materially changed, as the result of subsequent examination. During the period that he exercised his ministry in Georgia, he gave much attention to the question,—“Who are the proper subjects of Infant Baptism?”—and he became fully confirmed in the opinion that this ordinance ought to be administered not only to the children of parents, one or both of whom are in full communion, but to the children of all baptized persons, whose moral character is good, provided they acknowledge a belief in the essential doctrines of the Christian Religion; “for,” he adds,

“I believe that baptized persons are members of the visible Church, till they are, by a formal vote of the Church, excommunicated. And if they conduct themselves inconsistently with their covenant relations, they should be called to account for their misconduct by the Church, and proceeded against in the same manner with those who are in full communion.”

Early in 1791 he preached to his people a

series of five Sermons on Baptism, remarking, in the introduction,—“For twenty years, (so far as I can learn,) the subject has not been discussed among you.” He also co-operated with several other distinguished men, in reference to the same object, either in the way of soliciting them to write, or of securing a wide circulation to their tracts. Drs. Moses Hemmenway, Joseph Lathrop, Nathau Williams, and Nathan Perkins, each wrote at some length on the subject, and each of them proved an able advocate of the views he had undertaken to defend. With all of them Mr. Morse was in correspondence while they were performing this service, or immediately after they had performed it, regarding the efforts which they were severally making as having a vital bearing on the prosperity of the Church.

Dr. Rodgers of New York writes thus to him under date of May, 1793 :

“I had almost forgot to tell you, what indeed is one of the principal designs of this letter,—that I have not seen any thing that supersedes the necessity of your finishing and printing the Sermons on Church-membership, of which we have more than once talked,—particularly directed to the right of parents to be admitted to offer their children in Baptism, though they cannot see their way clear to come to the Lord’s table. The prevalence of the New Divinity principle and practice on that subject has taken off much from the importance and binding nature of the ordinance of Infant Baptism. The ordinance has fallen with many not only into disuse but disrepute.”

It is hardly necessary to state that Mr. Morse reduced his own views to practice, as far as he

could, in his own pastoral charge. Early in 1793 a Committee was appointed, consisting of the Pastor and eight leading members of the church, on whose report the following plan was adopted and continued in practice during his ministry: "That persons, wishing the privilege of Baptism for themselves and their children, shall be propounded to the congregation, and, if no objection be offered, they shall be admitted to the privilege, on subscribing a declaration of their belief in the Christian Religion."

Mr. or rather *Dr.* Morse (for the degree of Doctor of Divinity had been conferred upon him in 1794) was called, in April, 1796, to mourn the death of Thomas Russell, the eminent merchant, who, though at the time of his death a resident of Boston, was a native of Charlestown, and had intended to spend there the evening of his life. He preached a Sermon on the death of that distinguished man, in which he attributes to him the noblest virtues, and declares, with great emphasis, that he was not ashamed of Christ or of his Cross. Only two months after this, while he was on a journey in the State of New York, he was overtaken with the tidings of the death of his distinguished parishioner, Judge Nathaniel Gorham, President of Congress in 1786. Commissary Richard Devens writes to Dr. Morse concerning the sad event as follows:

"The day after you left us was held our Monthly Evening Lecture. The Honorable Mr. Gorham was present, and had seemed for some days past in better than usual health. Re-

turning home through his garden (the nearest way from the Church) with Mrs. Gorham, and his daughter, Mrs. Bartlett, he told them he could not speak. 'You are notional,' replied Mrs. Gorham with her usual pleasantness. When he got into the house, his face was pale, and, perceiving that they noticed it, he said,—'You are frightened now.' Medical aid was promptly procured; but in vain. A paralysis took place, apoplexy followed, and on Saturday he left us."

At the Funeral, the largest which had ever been known in Charlestown, the flags were at half-mast. The Sermon by Dr. Thacher, and the Eulogy by Thomas Welch, M. D., were printed at the expense of the town, and a copy given to each family within its limits. Two years after this, Judge James Russell, father of Thomas Russell, and another eminent parishioner of Dr. Morse, finished his course at the advanced age of eighty-three. He was distinguished for public spirit, Christian philanthropy, and general excellence of character. The Doctor preached and published a Sermon containing a just and beautiful tribute to his memory.

In 1795 a Circular was sent extensively to the Churches, inviting them to institute a Quarterly Concert of Prayer. He acceded at once to the proposal, and held a meeting in his parish. He writes to his father shortly after as follows:

"I am glad that your Concert Lecture (in Woodstock) proved so agreeable and was so well attended. Ours was private, only church-members being present. The attendance was full, the meeting solemn and agreeable. I opened by reading the Circular Letter of Messrs. Austin and King. I read from President Edwards, in 1747, remarks, explaining the object of the

Concert and the reasons for it. Dr. Eckley and a few of his Church, and myself and Church, are all that joined in the Concert."

So it was at first. But two years later, (January, 1797,) in a letter to Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, he notes an important change:

"The Concert of Prayer is regularly attended the first Tuesday of every quarter—January, April, &c., at 3 o'clock, P. M., by six ministers in and about Boston. Our meetings are held in each other's churches in rotation. They are full and solemn. The effects have been visibly for the advancement of our holy religion. The friends of the Concert increase, I think, rather than diminish. The ministers thus united are Dr. Thacher and Dr. Eckley of Boston, Rev. Mr. Harris, of Dorchester, and myself; Dr. Stillman and Mr. Baldwin, Baptist ministers of Boston. The Concert is, by no means, general in the State Here and there a church observes it."

In November, 1801. he established a Saturday Evening Lecture, which was followed by very happy results. The idea seems to have been suggested to him by several affecting deaths which had then lately occurred among the young people of his charge; and the lectures were designed as familiar expositions of the leading truths and duties of religion, taking the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism as his guide. This course was discontinued after six months, but the lectures were resumed under very favourable auspices in the fall of 1802. At the close of this second course, he writes (May, 1803):

"I continued my Saturday Evening Lectures to young people till the 16th of April. The number who attended constantly

was from two hundred to three hundred and fifty or four hundred. The last attendance was fuller than any other. I have enjoyed these exercises, and I can not doubt of their good effect. Eighteen persons have been added to my church the past six months."

The Church Records show an unusual addition to the number of communicants at this period: in 1802, thirty-three; in 1803, twelve; in 1804, fifty-seven; in 1806, twenty-nine—an evidence that the Charlestown Congregation shared in the reviving influence by which so many of the New England Churches were then favoured.

On the 10th of January, 1800, some of his parishioners testified their gratitude and respect towards him by presenting to him the cloth, which had been used to shroud the pulpit, the three previous Sabbaths, in token of mourning for the Father of his country. To a grateful acknowledgment of this expression of their goodwill he adds:

"Every thing connected with the name of Washington is, on that account, precious. Most sincerely do I wish that one happy effect of the lamented death of the Father of his country may be to cement friendships more strongly, to obliterate enmities, and to harmonize our country."

At the time of Dr. Morse's settlement there was, as there had ever been since the settlement of the town, but one Meeting-house in Charlestown—and that belonged to the Parish;—that is, to the town organized for the special purpose of the support of the Gospel; for such was, at that time, the meaning of the word *Parish*. The

Parish sold the pews to individuals; and the minister's salary, and other expenses of public worship, were defrayed by the pewholders alone; and yet, strangely enough, "all the legal voters of the town (a few families set off from Cambridge excepted) had a right, and exercised it, to attend parish-meetings, and to vote on all matters that came before that Body." While the religious views of all the inhabitants were alike, this was harmless. But when the population increased by immigration, and a variety of religious opinions came to be introduced, the effect of this ill-judged organization of the Parish began to appear. The pew-holders were outvoted at the parish meetings, and could not gratify their reasonable wishes in regard to the Pastor's salary, and other matters relating to public worship. In 1796 they made a voluntary subscription to supply the deficiency of salary; but it was felt that nothing of this kind could be relied on as a permanent arrangement. In September of this year he thus shadows forth the possibility at least of his being obliged to resign his pastoral charge:

"Our parish matters remain much *in statu quo*. All expedients to remove difficulties are pursued without union. For a month past I have been often perplexed to know what was my duty, and have seriously considered and weighed the consequences of a dissolution of my connection with this people,—an event towards which I have conceived the proceedings of the Parish for some time past have been evidently tending. I have, at length, after many most painful struggles, determined calmly and patiently to hold myself ready either to continue

where I am, or to remove, as the hand of Providence shall direct. I have full belief that the path of duty will be made plain to me in due time. I have no reason to doubt the sincere attachment of my numerous Church, nor the friendship of all the most wealthy and respectable part of the rest of the congregation. I have often received from all of them the most unequivocal marks of respect and esteem. Yet those who appear united in me, seem so disunited among themselves, through various unfortunate circumstances, that it seems to me impossible they will ever be able to devise or execute, unitedly, any plan which will remove the existing obstacles to my continuance here. But the hearts of all are in the hands of the Great Head of the Church, and He will, I know, so overrule all events which to us appear dark, as in the most effectual manner to advance his glory. As a confidential friend, I state to you these particulars. The desire of my heart is that existing embarrassments may be removed, and that I may, as happily as I have done, continue where I am; but this, at present, appears to me doubtful."

What was primarily needed to remedy the evil in question was an Act of Incorporation; and vigorous efforts were made to obtain this from the Legislature, though they met with a decided and clamorous opposition. So palpable however, were the justice and reasonableness of the measure, that the Legislature passed the Act, thereby affording the necessary relief. Immediately after this object had been gained, he writes to his father, May 5, 1803:

"My own people are now a body by themselves, and act unimpeded by the rest of the Parish. They have very unanimously voted that my salary shall be in future the average of that of the Boston Congregational ministers."

Until 1801 there was but one meeting-house in the town. In May of that year he assisted

at the Dedication of a Baptist Church edifice, delivering the Introductory Address, which, with the other services of the occasion, was printed. Between this Society and his own there was unbroken harmony during his whole pastorate. With the Pastor, (Rev. William Collier,) as well as with Doctors Stillman and Baldwin, two eminent Baptist ministers of Boston, he occasionally exchanged pulpits.

Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which Dr. Morse's ministry in Charlestown commenced, and the manifold tokens of blessing by which it was attended in its progress, it cannot be denied that there was much, especially in the latter portion of it, that was vexatious and harassing. When the Parish voted, after the Act of Incorporation, that his salary should in future be the average of that of the Boston Congregational ministers, they rendered him this honourable tribute,—“that he discharges the duties of a minister of the Gospel with great fidelity, ability and usefulness, and well deserves a handsome support.” And on his part he agrees that “he will, as soon as possible, without too great a sacrifice, relinquish the literary employments which were foreign to the appropriate duties of his office, and in which he had been obliged to engage in order to supply a considerable deficiency in the support of his family.”

To meet the exigency of an increase of salary the Parish depended partly upon a tax to be

levied on the property of the pew-holders; but, as this proved an unpopular measure, and was resisted by some even of the wealthy inhabitants, he addressed a letter to the Parish on the 4th of January, 1804, informing them of his purpose to annul the new contract, and to return to the salary stipulated at his settlement. In this communication he stated explicitly that his salary of eleven dollars a Sabbath, and all his other income, except what he derived from the sale of his books, fell considerably short of his annual expenditures. He added that, under these circumstances, he should feel at liberty to consider any invitation which might be presented by some other parish, disposed to give him an adequate support, while he bestowed the due proportion of his time and attention upon his appropriate pastoral duties.

This communication led to an explanation with the Parish Committee, which, by their request, he embodied in a letter to the Parish, (20 January, 1804,) disavowing, at the same time, any wish to leave his pastoral charge, provided he could receive from them a fair and honourable support. If this should be the result of the pending negotiation, he intimated his purpose to make an arrangement by means of which his geographical works would not be allowed, in any degree, to interfere with his pastoral duties; as he would confine himself to the revision and preparation for the press of the several editions as they should be called for—a service that would

not occupy him more than an hour a day, on an average, through the year. The Parish voted that it was expedient that their relation with their Pastor be continued on the terms and conditions explained in his letter. During the period of five years that this contract lasted, he records that "not half the time stipulated for was spent by him upon his geographical works."

In 1808, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the average of the Boston salaries, and to the want of funds on the part of the Parish, this contract was annulled, and it was stipulated that he should receive twenty-two dollars a week, with the use of the parsonage. As the Parish had, without any request from him, increased his salary in 1803, so he made no objection now to its being reduced; and, as the amount was confessedly inadequate to the support of his family, he was expected to resort to the same means as before,—namely, to the prosecution of his geographical enterprise, to supply the deficiency.

From the outline already given of Dr. Morse's life, it has been apparent that he was one of the most industrious of men; and hence it is no ground of surprise that he took upon himself heavier burdens than his health would warrant. In 1809 he found himself so much oppressed by his manifold cares and labours, that, by the advice of his physician, he consented to withdraw from them temporarily, and in November of that year he left home, accompanied by Mrs.

Morse, and went to Charleston, S. C., where they passed the winter and spring in the family of the Rev. Dr. Keith. Shortly after his arrival there, he accepted an invitation from the Scotch Presbyterian Congregation to supply their vacant pulpit for three months. And, having fulfilled this engagement, he made an excursion of a month with Mrs. Morse, of which he gives the following account in a letter to his father, dated Pinckney's Island, 5 April, 1810.

“On Friday the 15th of last month, we left Charleston for Beaufort, which, by water, is about ninety miles distant. Here lives Dr. James E. B. Finley, Mrs. Morse's uncle. Here, on Thursday, the 21st, I left her, and came by boat to this place, which is the country residence of Major General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who was candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1804, in opposition to Mr. Jefferson. He owns the whole of the Island, which is about nine miles in circumference, and is about eighteen miles South of Beaufort, and forty Northeast of Savannah. He is a man of large fortune and is very hospitable. He, with Mrs. Pinckney and daughter, a few years since, spent a summer near Boston, and frequently visited at our house. Next day, Friday the 22d, General Pinckney sent me in a barge, rowed by four stout negroes, to Savannah, where I arrived in the evening, and remained with Dr. Kollock,* and other good friends, until Monday; when I took a horse and chaise, with a servant on horseback, and went on to Midway and Sunbury, where I had spent the winter of 1786-87. Here I found a few only of my old friends, most of them having died in this sickly place. The young people whom I married and baptized were still living. The next day (Tuesday 26th) I delivered a lecture in a new house of worship, on the spot where I had formerly preached,—notice of the service having been given the Sabbath before.

* Lemuel Kollock, M. D., who died in 1828.

The lecture was fully attended and the scene was truly affecting. Many tears were shed, of joy at meeting once more in this world, and of grief at the remembrance of the dead. Much regret was expressed that I could not prolong my visit. But my feelings were so strongly excited that I could not have endured a longer stay. The next day (Monday 27th) I returned to Savannah, and on Saturday, the 30th, took boat and came back to this place."

On their return to Charleston, about the middle of April, he found letters from home, which hastened his departure for the North. These letters informed him that some of the religious interests in which he felt a deep concern would be imperilled by his protracted absence, and urged his return at the earliest period that his health would permit. Agreeably to these suggestions, he commenced his homeward journey with as little delay as possible, and the last week in May found him at home, engaged in his accustomed pastoral labours. The object of his tour was fully accomplished in the complete restoration of his health. Shortly after his return, he was privileged to witness a somewhat more favourable religious state of things in his Parish, as the result of which twenty-nine were added to the church in the course of the year.

Subsequently to this, however, the relations between him and his congregation assumed a more dubious character, though he seems generally to have reposed in the conviction that light would ere long shine out of the darkness. In July, 1816, he made an earnest Address to the church-members, with a view to arouse them to

a higher sense of Christian obligation. In this Address, after having dwelt at some length on the history of the Church, in connection with the ministry of his several predecessors, he speaks thus of his own times:

“When I was first settled here, this Church consisted of forty-two male and ninety female members—total a hundred and thirty-two; thirty of whom only now remain alive. The additions since my settlement have been seventy-five males and two hundred thirty-three females—three hundred and eight in all—forty-five of them admitted by recommendation from other churches. For the last ten months, there have been no additions to this Church; so long an interval of the kind has not before occurred since my settlement with you.”

He next adverts to the neglect of church discipline. He says:

“Some who dwell among us, though often admonished of their sins, have absented themselves month after month, and year after year, from our Communion and worship. Others have been left to fall into open immoralities, for which, though reproved privately, and in some instances publicly, they have not been brought to repentance and reformation, and still remain in their sins, and in connection with the Church.”

The remedy for these evils he proposes to find in individual reformation, in agreeing as a Church to spend a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in solemnly renewing their Covenant, and in proceeding immediately to acts of discipline in reference to some members whose delinquency has been of long standing. He recommends the appointment of a discreet Committee to examine into the particular condition of all the individuals

whose names stand on the records of the Church as members. I find nothing to indicate how far this advice was heeded, or whether it was heeded at all.

Dr. Morse attributed the difficulties into which he was now brought, in no small degree, to the formation of a Unitarian Church in Charlestown, which was incorporated in February, 1816, under the name of the 'Second Congregational Society.' Many of the most influential of his parishioners became connected with this new Church, and among them his own family physician, who addressed to him a respectful letter, in February, 1817, stating with great frankness the reasons of his withdrawal, all of which were embodied in the one fact of his acknowledged hostility to Unitarianism. To this letter Dr. Morse wrote a vigorous and elaborate reply, in which he charges that his rights as a Christian minister have been grossly trifled with by those from whom he had a right to expect better things, while yet his full purpose was to exercise a spirit of candour and forbearance, and do his utmost to extinguish the coals of strife.

A better state of things seemed now to be opening upon his Congregation. From October, 1816, till March following, a revival of considerable power existed among them, in consequence of which not less than fifty new members were added to the Church. This he records as the most remarkable season of religious interest which had occurred during his ministry; and he

was disposed to recognize in it a pledge of peace and prosperity in the future. But herein he was disappointed. After about two years of quietude, a state of things revealed itself rather suddenly, which threw him into deeper perplexity than ever. On the 19th of February, 1819, he received a paper signed by twenty-five church-members, requesting him to unite with the Church in calling a Mutual Council to dissolve his pastoral relation. His family and friends in the immediate neighbourhood whom he consulted, earnestly advised him to take advantage of the opportunity that now offered to withdraw quietly from a field in which were open so many sources of perplexity and embarrassment. Professor Stuart, in behalf of himself and his colleagues in the Theological Seminary, addressed a letter to him, expressing deep regret in view of the loss of his influence to various important objects, necessarily consequent upon his removal from that region, and yet, from a regard to his own personal comfort, advising, on the whole, to the resignation of his pastoral charge. Though he seems not to have been quite clear in his own convictions of duty on the subject, he felt constrained to yield to what he regarded as the more impartial judgment of his friends; and, in his request for a dismissal, he thought proper to ignore the painful state of things in which the request had originated.

He took leave of his people, after the usual services of the Sabbath, on the 29th of August, 1819, in an Address from the pulpit, announcing

to them his purpose to resign his pastoral charge. The general tone of the Address may be inferred from the following extracts:

“For more than thirty years past, in a very peculiar and convulsed state of the world, amidst the rise and rapid propagation among us of insidious and dangerous errors, which have assailed us on every side, and which I have felt it my duty to expose and resist, I have endeavoured faithfully, though in much imperfection, to watch over you, to guard you and to feed you with the bread of life, and to take care of the lambs of my flock. As to these things, my appeal is to you. Ye are my witnesses.

“Amidst the pressing call for service without, which the peculiar state of the Church and of the world at large has seemed to me to require, the necessity too which I have been under to labour for a part of my own support, and the duties I owed to my flock, it has been my endeavour, with all the wisdom that I could command, to select the things which seemed to me to claim my first attention, and to do them. If I have erred in making a selection, it is an error of the head and not of the heart. I have done what I could in the station in which the Head of the Church has placed me. With Him is my judgment.

• • • • •
 “As regards myself, I view the dissolution of my pastoral relation to you as a release from a station of great responsibility, of arduous and constant warfare; as a relief from cares long sustained, which have impaired my health, and have become a burden too weighty for my years and my slender constitution.

• • • • •
 “In what manner this event is to affect the interests of this Church and Parish, and the cause of religion in this region, cannot be foreseen. I feel more than I dare trust myself to express, for such of you, my brethren and sisters of this Church, as have considered it your duty, with me to resist the evils which have come upon us. Trust in God and cleave to Him with all your heart. He will give you the blessings you need.’

This was the last time that he ever appeared before his Congregation as their Pastor. Leaving in the hands of the Parish Committee the whole matter of the appointment of his successor, he entered immediately upon other duties. While on a journey, which he commenced shortly after this, the intelligence was conveyed to him that the Rev. Warren Fay, of Harvard, Mass., had been selected as a candidate for the vacant pulpit. Regarding Mr. Fay as a thoroughly orthodox man, and as possessing great decision of character, he immediately wrote to his friends, expressing his hearty approbation of the choice, and a wish that their influence might be exerted in favour of his settlement. In a letter of a later date he expresses a wish that, if the Church and Parish should give Mr. Fay a call, they would address a letter to him in New York, naming the Churches and Pastors they desired to have on the Installing Council, and stating that he would name those whom he would choose in addition, that the Installation might take place before his return, if they should desire it. At a later date still, (January 26, 1820,) he addressed a letter to the Parish Committee, containing the names of three ministers, which number it belonged to him to appoint on the Mutual Council, which was to assemble for the joint purpose of acting upon the question of his dismissal and installing Mr. Fay as his successor—these were the Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford, and the Rev. Messrs. Greenough and Homer of Newton,—“they being,” he

says, "the most aged Pastors in the vicinity, and naturally caring for the flock which I resign to another Pastor." As he was prevented from meeting the Council, by his prolonged absence, owing to important business, he addressed a letter to them containing his request for a dismissal. That request was complied with, at their meeting on the 22d of February, immediately after which they proceeded to the Installation of Mr. Fay.

Dr. Morse's strictly professional life may be considered as now closed. Though he often preached subsequently to this, and was engaged almost till the close of life in important fields of evangelical labour, every way worthy of a Christian minister, yet, considering his advanced years, and his very imperfect health, he had no desire to enter, a second time, into the pastoral relation. His intense earnestness and activity, forming, as they did, essential elements of his nature, were patent in all his movements, and would scarcely allow him any rest until he went to the "rest that remaineth for the people of God."

II.

HIS LABOURS IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY AND OTHER MATTERS CONSEQUENT UPON IT.

Dr. Morse's ministry fell into a period that was rendered memorable in New England by the rise and development of Unitarianism; and probably his agency in conducting the controversy was more marked, as well as more continuous and protracted, than that of any other minister on the Orthodox side. It would be impossible to do justice to his life, without going somewhat into the details of this part of his history.

Notwithstanding Unitarianism had never, to any considerable extent, taken on a palpable form, up to the period of the commencement of his ministry at Charlestown, there is no doubt that it dated back to about the middle of the last century. The elder President Adams, in a letter to Dr. Morse, written in April, 1815, renders the following testimony on this subject:

"I can testify as a witness to the old age of Unitarianism. Sixty-five years ago, my old minister, (of Braintree), the Rev. Lemuel Bryant; Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church in Boston; the Rev. Mr. Shute of Hingham, the Rev. John Brown of Cohasset, and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay of Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the

laity how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers. I could fill a sheet, but at present will name only one, Richard Cranch, a man who had studied Divinity and Jewish Antiquities more than any clergyman now living in New England."

In 1755 Dr. Mayhew published a volume of Sermons which, though not generally of a controversial character, revealed clearly enough the fact that he was an Anti-Triunitarian. The next year was reprinted in Boston "Emlyn's Humble Inquiry into the Scriptural account of Jesus Christ." The author of this work was a learned English Dissenting minister, who, though he had been previously inclined to Arianism, had continued in fellowship with other Dissenters until this book was published, (about the year 1700,) while he was residing at Dublin; and such was the opposition that it awakened that it was immediately suppressed, and he was not only separated from his charge, but arrested and thrown into prison. A few months after its appearance in this country, the elder Jonathan Edwards, then stationed at Stockbridge, addressed a letter to Dr. Wigglesworth, Professor of Theology in Harvard College, deprecating the effect of the then recent publication, and urging him, especially in view of his position as a theological teacher, to write and publish an Answer to the book as early as possible. Dr. Wigglesworth did not, however, accede to the request, alleging, as the ground of his refusal, his conviction that the public notices which had been taken of Dr. Mayhew's

book had contributed to its wider circulation, and that the best way to neutralize the effect of the work in question was to let it alone. But some of the most prominent Orthodox ministers of the day did not sympathize with the Professor in his apprehensions, as was evident from the fact that the Rev. Aaron Burr, son-in-law of Jonathan Edwards, and his predecessor as President of Princeton College, the Rev. Noah Hobart of Fairfield, Conn., the Rev. Dr. Bellamy, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, all rendered a public and strongly condemnatory testimony in respect to the recent movement in favour of Unitarianism.

The War of the Revolution was a matter of such absorbing and universal interest that, while it continued, there was little disposition to engage in this or any other religious controversy; but, in 1785, two years after the recognition of our Independence, an event occurred in connection with the Church worshipping in King's Chapel, that furnished decisive evidence that the tendencies to Unitarianism had survived the war. The Rev. James Freeman, who had been appointed Reader in the Chapel three years before, was an avowed Unitarian, it is believed of the Humanitarian school; and he modified the Episcopal Liturgy in accommodation to his own views. He subsequently applied to Bishops Seabury and Provost for Ordination, but neither of them would consent to perform the service. In consequence of this refusal, his Congregation and

Church Wardens took upon themselves this Episcopal office, and proceeded to constitute Mr. Freeman their Rector or Pastor. This invasion of the Episcopal prerogative naturally occasioned much comment, and, while many were earnest in condemning it, there were some who recognized in it a glorious triumph of the right. Dr. Belknap, for instance, in the Boston Centinel, vindicates the step as the "exercise of a long dormant right, which every Society, civil and religious, has to elect and ordain their own officers," and rejoiced at this triumph over the "sacerdotal, prelatical, and hierarchical usurpation" which he thought inherent in Episcopacy.

In a letter to the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey of London, one of the fathers of Unitarianism in England, dated July 7, 1786, Mr. Freeman, after having stated that the altered Liturgy which he used was "for a long time unpopular," writes thus:

"But your approbation, the note of Dr. Price annexed to a letter of Dr. Lush, and the mention which Dr. Priestley is pleased to make in his sermon on the 5th of November, have raised it in esteem. It now seems to be acknowledged that the book cannot be very absurd which is praised by men of such great learning and abilities, and who have been so long and so justly admired in this country. I wish the work were more worthy of your approbation. I can only say that I endeavoured to make it so by attempting to introduce your Liturgy entire. But the people of the Chapel were not ripe for so great a change. Some defects and improprieties I was under the necessity of retaining, for the sake of inducing them to omit the most exceptionable parts of the old service,—the

Athanasian prayers. Perhaps, in some future day, when their minds become more enlightened, they may consent to a farther alteration."

It was only a few months after Dr. Morse's settlement in Charlestown that he became aware that some of his clerical associates were Unitarians. In writing to his father, December 30, 1789, he says:

"I have been writing, by particular desire of a Boston gentleman, a defence of the Divinity of the Saviour,—a doctrine that is denied by many. I have written twelve sheets upon the subject. I know not but I shall feel it my duty to publish."

He here refers to an anonymous letter he had received, signed "A Layman" in which the writer asserts the Unity of God, and denies the Divinity of Jesus Christ, deriving his proofs chiefly from Emlyn's Humble Inquiry; but professes himself open to conviction, if his arguments can be disproved from the Scriptures. In reply he wrote and sent the Dissertation above referred to, to his Boston correspondent for his perusal. He also composed three Sermons on the Divinity of Christ from the text,—I John, 1, 23., which he preached, at the Boston Thursday Lecture, in his turn successively, in January, July, and December, 1790.

In his Introductory Discourse he says:

"This inquiry is not of a mere speculative nature. I know that great and good men have discussed it, and after all have differed widely in their sentiments in regard to the dignity

of Jesus Christ. But I cannot suppose that therefore it is a matter of indifference what I believe concerning Him. Nor is the subject of so doubtful and difficult a nature that it is not to be handled, and that every one may be safely left to form what opinion he pleases concerning Jesus Christ. Convinced as I am of his Divinity, and that this is a fundamental truth of Christianity, I desire by every fair argument to convince others. As a disciple of Christ, as his ambassador,—however unworthy of the honour,—I am under indispensable obligations, as far as my knowledge and ability will admit, not only to inculcate his excellent moral precepts, and to illustrate and defend his doctrines, but especially to maintain his personal honour and dignity, and to assert and vindicate his Divinity. They who have committed their immortal interests to Jesus Christ, will feel constrained to vindicate his right to a Divine character, which the Scriptures assign to Him, and from their faith in which they derive their chief comfort in life, their solace in death, and their only hope for the life to come. That I shall convince those who differ from me in opinion on this point, however earnestly I may desire it, I have not the vanity to expect; for I do not pretend to bring any new arguments to their view. My aim is to make a plain, frank declaration of what I believe to be the doctrine of the Scriptures. When an article of faith of so much importance comes to be called in question, denied, laughed at, it behoves those who believe the doctrine to lend their seasonable aid for its maintenance. At such a time as this especially, its vindication cannot but be of service, by the Divine blessing, to the cause of truth."

After a time the anonymous correspondent referred to above, makes himself known by the following communication:

"BOSTON, 5 February, 1791.

"To Rev. J. Morse: Honoured Sir: I ought to apologize for the request I now make, which is that you would favour me with an answer to the arguments contained in the scrap of paper enclosed, cut from the late edition of 'Extracts from Stock-

well's Dissertation on Creeds.' The only apology, however, which I can offer is that I know of no one whom I thought more able to resolve me in a matter I so much wished to be satisfied in; and that I was well assured you was disposed, as well from inclination as from office, to obviate any objection that might be raised against a doctrine which you have been so assiduous to inculcate on your hearers. Your compliance will greatly oblige me. I am, &c., JOHN AMORY."

To this letter he returned the following answer on the 7th of February:

"Sir: I have received yours of the 5th inst., with the enclosed Questions, &c. By your hand-writing I perceive, Sir, that you are the author of the manuscript, whose name till now I never satisfactorily knew. That manuscript first led me to consider with particular attention the proofs of the doctrine of the Trinity. Had I not received it, I should not probably have undertaken the defence of that doctrine from the pulpit,—not certainly so soon. But when I found that sentiments were entertained unfriendly to a doctrine which I conceive fundamental to the Christian scheme, and that these sentiments were covertly propagated in Boston, I conceived it was my duty to be *open* in my testimony against them. So that I am obliged to you, Sir, as the cause, under God, why I have been, as you say, 'so assiduous in inculcating the doctrine upon my hearers.'

"You are pleased to say, by way of apology for your request, that you knew of no person whom you thought more able than myself to resolve you in the matter in hand. I am really at a loss, Sir, to know how to receive your apology:—whether as prompted by your partiality and good opinion of me, or as a sarcasm on my vanity and ignorance in undertaking publicly to defend a doctrine which is now generally passed over in silence, and is considered by many in this enlightened age to be 'absurd' and nonsensical, and such as none but bigots will undertake to defend. Two circumstances led me to consider your apology of this doubtful signification: one is, I have stood *solitary* among my brethren in the public defence of this doctrine, which, in view of my age and standing among them, may

be, and doubtless is, regarded by some of them as savouring of vanity, ignorance and bigotry. I cannot say but it may appear so to you, Sir, especially as you are not a believer in this doctrine. The other reason is, I am very conscious that my Boston brethren, who are all older, more experienced and better theologians than myself, are any of them better able than I am to resolve you in a question of so much importance. And I cannot have the vanity to believe that any person, especially a gentleman of your good sense and discernment, could think that 'no one' of them was more able to do it than myself. These doubts, I confess, have arisen in my mind. Whether you intentionally laid a foundation for them, I pretend not to say. I am willing to believe you did not till I am certified to the contrary. I will therefore proceed to answer the queries."

To this letter Mr. Amory replied thus on the 15th of February:

"Honoured Sir: I received your favour of the 7th instant, and am obliged to you for it. I should not have again troubled you, had I not been exceedingly mortified that a suspicion had arisen in your mind that I might not have been sincere, but only meant a sarcasm, when I declared that I knew no one so able as yourself to afford me a satisfactory answer (if one could be given) to the question proposed. So far from judging that your standing forth almost the solitary advocate among your brethren of a doctrine which was openly attacked, and which you thought fundamental, savoured of vanity, this very circumstance created in me an esteem for you. And I cannot help here regretting that those gentlemen of the clergy who, when occasions offer which they think suitable, are ready to declare themselves to be Unitarians, do not, with honest boldness, like yourself and Mr. Freeman, avow their sentiments in unequivocal terms from the pulpit. Surely if they thought, with the Publishers of the 'Extracts,' &c., that it was the incumbent duty of all who disbelieved the doctrine of the Trinity to bear testimony against it, for the reasons assigned in their Preface, they would not suffer any consideration whatever to deter them from their duty. With, &c., JOHN AMORY."

Early in 1790 a new edition of Emlyn's Inquiry was announced as in press in Boston. Referring to the fact in a letter to his father, of the 13th of April, he says :

"I know not but I shall be called on to publish in defence of the Divinity of Christ. That doctrine is about to be publicly attacked. If it is, it *must* be publicly defended."

He intended to print the remarks which he had written in reply to Emlyn's work, and even drew up Proposals to publish; but scarcely had that work appeared, when it was followed by a reprint of President Burr's Answer to it, which led him to desist from his purpose.

In the fall of the year 1790, happening in a bookstore in Boston, he took up a little Tract entitled "Divine and Moral Songs, revised and altered, so as to render them of general use; to which are added a Short Catechism and Prayers, by ISAAC WATTS, D. D." On casting his eye over the book, he quickly discovered that the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, and other kindred doctrines which were prominent in the original work, had been expunged from this edition. Whereupon he published, in the Boston Centinel of the 17th of November, a communication headed "Beware of Counterfeits," and signed "A Friend to Honesty," in which he showed precisely what the alterations were, and ended with these words :

"If this should pass upon the public unnoticed, from altering children's books, more important alterations might be under-

taken, until, grown bold in the business, even the sacred truths of the Holy Bible may be in danger."

The Reviser's name not being given on the title page, the printer felt called upon to disavow any complicity in the alterations, and the rather as he had then in press a quarto edition of the Bible,—an enterprise demanding a large capital, and attended with risk of failure. He hastened to write to the Editor of the Centinel (19 November) as follows :

"Watts' Divine Songs that I printed was verbatim from an English copy. I printed it at the request of several gentlemen in Boston, of liberal principles—Parson Freeman was one, and he had the copy sent him from London. I had consequently nothing to do with the alterations, but acted merely as a Printer, willing to oblige in my professional line "all parties;" and then had and still have Watts' *Original* Divine Songs for sale, and have printed two editions of them. Others beside myself have reprinted the one Mr. 'Friend to Honesty' complains of. I send you a copy, and wish you to read the Reviser's candid advertisement" [he refers to the title page above quoted.] "Now, Sir, I blame not your correspondent for making his remarks on the Reviser. I know not but many of his observations are just; and had he omitted the last sentence in his piece, I should not have felt myself injured. * * * I am now struggling under many difficulties to bring out this great and heavy work,—(the Quarto Bible.) * * * For your correspondent, therefore, while the work is in press, to suggest, because he was nettled that somebody had made a few alterations in Watts' Songs, that the like would be made in my edition of the Bible, was gratifying his revenge with a witness, and that on the wrong person. * * * My Bible is critically inspected, at my request, by several clergymen in the vicinity, of opposite sentiments, and whose names, at a proper time, will be made public."

In a subsequent article the "Friend to Honesty" absolves the printer from all blame.

In the summer of 1791, he had the pleasure of receiving a visit from his friend, the Rev. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Green, who became President of Princeton College. They had first known each other at the South in 1786, and shortly after Mr. Green's settlement in 1787 they met again in Philadelphia; and a mutual friendship was thus early formed, which proved a source of rich enjoyment to both of them. The object of Mr. Green's journey to New England at this time was to invigorate his health. He arrived in Charlestown the 28th of June, and for three weeks was the guest of his friend, who joined him with a party of ladies and gentlemen in a sailing excursion among the islands of Boston harbor to inhale the sea breezes; accompanied him to Salem, Ipswich, Newburyport and Portsmouth; introduced him to his distinguished acquaintance among the clergy and laity, and attended with him the Commencement exercises at Harvard College.

As the result of his observation upon the character and conduct of his friend during this visit, Mr. Green makes the following record in his autobiography:

"I feel myself strongly attached to this worthy man; and he says that my coming has served to encourage him, and strengthen him in his sentiments and preaching. He is opposed to the prevailing opinions of Arianism and Arminianism, and to indifference in religion. Yet he acts with suitable

meechness and with what I think is a true Christian spirit; that is, he is firm and fervent, and yet not bitter or censorious. He appears to be a man of great humility, of a warm heart, a good understanding and considerable improvement."

It cannot be doubted that Dr. Morse early formed the purpose of doing his utmost to effect an important change in the ecclesiastical condition of Massachusetts—first, by separating the Unitarians from the Orthodox, and then, by drawing the Orthodox of different shades into more intimate relations. Both these objects were ultimately effected, and more, probably, through the influence of Dr. Morse than that of any other man.

The following extract from a letter addressed by Dr. Morse to the Rev. Dr. Kemp, of Scotland in October, 1804, contains his views of the prevailing or rather the divided type of religious opinion, that existed among the clergy of Massachusetts at that period:

"In the Eastern part of Massachusetts there remain a few elderly ministers, respectable for their understanding and character, who are Arminians upon the old scheme of Arminius, Tillotson, &c., and a considerable body of younger men, also of good abilities and character, who may be denominated Arians, and who, there is reason to believe, embrace in their scheme the doctrines of Arminius and the late Dr. Chauncy. These are chiefly in Boston and its neighbourhood. There are a few Socinians, but not I apprehend ten in all New England among the clergy,—not half that number avowedly. Modern Arminianism and the still more liberal views of Christianity, entertained by Arians, Universalists and Socinians, have been on the increase here ever since the close of the Revolutionary War, till within a year or two, when they appa-

rently became stationary, and I conceive are now retrograde." It appears, however, that his mind underwent a change on this subject shortly after; for in February, 1805, he writes,— "There is danger of our clergy as a Body becoming Arian and Arminian; for these sentiments are gaining ground among us to an alarming degree."

At this time there were removed by death in three successive years three members of the Government of Harvard College—Judge Samuel Phillips, of the Board of Overseers, in 1802; Dr. Tappan, Professor of Divinity, in 1803; and Dr. Willard, President of the College, in 1804. It was the vacating of the Theological Professorship that led to the adoption of measures, in opposition to which Dr. Morse exerted his full influence. The power of appointing the members of the College Faculty is vested in the Corporation—a Body consisting then of six members, their action being subject to the approval of the Board of Overseers; which was made up of the members of the Senate ex-officio, and of the Congregational ministers in several towns adjacent to Cambridge. It became apparent, soon after Dr. Tappan's death, that the filling of the vacant chair was to be the result of a struggle of parties; and while the orthodox maintained that none but a Calvinist was eligible in consistency with the original terms of the Professorship, the liberal party, on the other hand, thought that little importance should be attached to the doctrinal opinions of the candidate. After the subject had been discussed for a long time in social circles and in the newspapers, the first meeting

of the Corporation was held, December 3, 1804, to fill the vacant Professorship; then meetings followed successively on the 7th, 12th, 15th and 26th of December, but still the vacancy was not filled. At the repeated ballotings, the votes were for a while equally divided between two candidates,—the Rev. Jesse Appleton, afterwards President of Bowdoin College, nominated by the Orthodox party, and the Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham, nominated by the Liberal party. At length, by the change of a single vote, on the 7th of February, Mr. Ware was chosen.

On Thursday, the 14th of February, 1805, the Board of Overseers met, and, fifty-six members being present, by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-three, they sanctioned the choice of the Corporation. In the debate which had preceded the vote, Dr. Morse had taken a leading part, supported by Senator Titcomb and Dr. Holmes. The next month he published his celebrated pamphlet, entitled "The True Reasons on which the Election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College was opposed at the Board of Overseers, 14 February, 1805,"—a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, octavo.

In the Preface to this pamphlet he says:

"The following publication, for which some may think an apology necessary, is made with a view to correct certain misrepresentations which have gone abroad relative to the late election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity; to communicate some material information concerning the true design of the pious Mr. HOLLIS in establishing this Professorship, which the

writer was not permitted to lay before the Board of Overseers, when the above mentioned election was under consideration; and to acquaint the citizens of the Commonwealth, who have an interest in this ancient and respectable seat of science, and a claim to its privileges, with the real ground of the existing controversy."

In opening, he refers to the Orthodox foundation of Harvard College, and to the motto on the College seal,—“CHRISTO ET ECCLESIE.” For proof that Mr. Hollis was a thorough Calvinist, he refers to his letters to Dr. Colman, in which he speaks of “corrupt nature” as “the root of sin,” ascribes the graces which constitute his Christian character to “rich, free, sovereign and electing love;” states that his hope of justification and acceptance before God rested not in any degree on his numerous and useful charities, but ‘only on the obedience, active and passive, of the Lamb of God, the propitiation for our sins,’ through faith in whom he expected ‘peace with God, the continued influences of his Spirit, and complete redemption;’ and lastly, that he adores “the economy of the DIVINE THREE in the revealed work of our salvation.” From these quotations Dr. Morse supposes there is ample evidence that Mr. Hollis accepted the system of Faith commonly denominated Calvinistic.

He next takes the position that Mr. Hollis intended that his Professor should be a Calvinist, and justifies it by the following considerations: 1st. That in article XI of the statutes accompanying his Bequest, it is provided, “that the person chosen from time to time to be a Profes-

sor be a man of solid learning in Divinity, of sound or orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life and of a grave conversation." As to the meaning of the words "sound or orthodox" here used, he appeals to history for the evidence that they have been considered as descriptive of Calvinism, and have even been applied to it reproachfully; and further he maintains that it would be absurd to suppose that Mr. Hollis, being himself a Calvinist, could mean, by sound or orthodox principles, the tenets of Arminius, Arius or Socinus. 2dly. That the character and principles of the first incumbent of the Professor's chair, Dr. Wigglesworth, forbade the supposition that the Professor should be any other than a Calvinist. Previous to his election, 23d January, 1722, "the Corporation put such questions to Dr. Wigglesworth," (say the Records of that Body,) "as, by his answers, gave them satisfaction about the soundness and orthodoxy of his principles in Divinity." 3dly. That Mr. Hollis manifested a solicitude, lest his bequests to the College, those particularly for the support of a Professor of Divinity, should be perverted to other purposes than were intended by him. In a letter to Dr. Colman, of the 14th of January, 1723, he says:

"I was displeas'd to hear that another person of your Board should say to this effect, on reading my orders, that when Mr. Hollis was dead, they would make new orders for him."

The pamphlet then proceeds to show that Mr. Hollis took measures to relieve his solicitude on

this subject. In a letter of the 18th of March following, he says :

“ It is the unanimous advice of Governor Shute, Lords Barrington and Bendick, Mr. Neal and Mr. Hunt, that I should insist on it, to have such an obligation as strong as may be, according to your promise in former letters I should have, that, in all times coming, the Corporation will perform my trust in the manner appointed in my orders, and not divert the moneys devoted, to any other uses.” This bond, accordingly, was given by the Corporation, the 23d of September, 1723, and binds “ the said President and Fellows of Harvard College and their successors unto the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them, and to the inviolable observance of the Statutes and Orders aforesaid.” Three years later, 10th October, 1726, he writes thus to Dr. Colman :

“ I desire you, Sir, to give me a particular account of my Professor of Divinity, how he performs agreeably to my written orders, and wherein he is wanting in complying with them.”

The last ten pages of the pamphlet exhibit the grounds of opposition, in the Board of Overseers, to Mr. Ware's election : 1st, Because no inquiry had been made, into the candidate's religious opinions, as required by the Statutes of the Founder ; and 2dly, Because his writings, especially his Catechism, from which quotations were made in proof, showed that he was not a Calvinist.

The final vote is recorded, and then the pamphlet concludes thus :

“ Thus was decided a question of incalculable consequence to the future prosperity, and usefulness of the University. We have seen for what objects, and with what care, this literary institution was originally founded. The Charter secures to the benefactors, the appropriate use of their bequests. So does the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which contains the following clause: ‘ It is declared that all the gifts, grants, devises, legacies and conveyances, are hereby forever confirmed unto the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and to their successors, in the capacity aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning of the donor or donors, of the grantor or grantors, deviser or devisors.’

“ We have seen the singular anxiety and caution of Mr. Hollis, by his *letters* and by a *bond* to secure the object of his foundation, and to guard his Professorship against error and innovation in all future time. Now, if barriers so sacred can be removed, what guard can be devised which can secure any bequest against violation? What assurance can any well disposed persons in future have, that any donations they may wish to make to Harvard College, will be applied to their objects even one century? How this will affect future benefactions it is easy to predict. What effect this change in the religious character of the Professorship and of the University will gradually and ultimately produce in the state of our churches, and on the moral and religious character of our citizens, cannot with so much certainty be foreseen. In respect to New England it is an untried experiment. God forbid that this change should be injurious and ruinous; that, in consequence, the faith of our churches should become less pure, their discipline less strict, the standard of Christian morality lowered, the difference lessened between those who professedly serve God and those who avowedly serve Him not, till at length the spirit and power of our religion shall have evaporated, and its very forms be abolished.

“ For CHRIST and the CHURCH was this ancient College founded by men whom we delight to call our Fathers; for CHRIST and the CHURCH has it hitherto been cherished, instructed and governed by men of like Christian principles

and spirit; for CHRIST and the CHURCH. Oh may the God of our Fathers, who still lives and reigns, in mercy preserve it, so long as the sun and the moon shall endure!"

This pamphlet, acknowledged on all hands to be written with great spirit and vigour, was received on the one side with marked tokens of approbation, and on the other with unqualified dissatisfaction and disgust. Dr. Morse himself thus refers to it ten years after it was published:

"It was then, and has been ever since, considered by one class of people as my unpardonable offence, and by another class as the best thing I ever did. One of the former party is said to have declared, soon after its publication, that it was so bad a thing that it would more than counterbalance all the good I had done or should do if I lived ever so long; and one of the other party said, if I had never done any good before I made that publication nor should do any afterward, that single deed would of itself produce effects of sufficient importance and utility to mankind to be worth living for."

Shortly after this pamphlet made its appearance, Dr. Morse received letters from various distinguished clergymen of the Presbyterian Church, among whom were Dr. Rodgers and Dr. Miller of New York, and Dr. William Linn, who had shortly before left his charge in New York, and was then a resident of Albany,—highly approving the stand which he had taken in defence of the accredited Orthodoxy, and bidding him God-speed in any other efforts he might make in the same direction. Meanwhile the Monthly Anthology, a periodical which had been established in Boston, under Unitarian auspices, the year before, reviewed the pamphlet with

some degree of severity, taking the ground that when Mr. Hollis used the words "sound and orthodox" in reference to his Professor, he did not mean to make himself the standard of Orthodoxy, but to leave the electors with the largest liberty to act in accordance with their own convictions. Dr. Morse replied to this article in the next number of the Anthology, boldly vindicating the position he had taken, and adding some new statements as corroborative of what he had said before. The Reviewer follows Dr. Morse's answer with about five pages of criticism, which shows at least that the two parties were not getting any nearer together.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PANOPLIST.

It was at this juncture that a project was conceived by Dr. Morse that had its issue in the establishment of that well known periodical, the Panoplist. Of the origin and design of this work he gives the following account in a letter to the Rev. George Burder, of London, of June 1, 1805:

"Arminianism, blended with Unitarianism, has been gradually increasing in Boston and its vicinity for a number of years past, till within a few months their advocates have boldly taken their ground, and are fast assuming the form of a distinct sect. Some of the Hopkinsians, who have become also a sect, seem inclined to vibrate to the opposite extreme. The supporters of the Panoplist take a middle ground, such, we conceive, as the Editors of your Evangelical Magazine occupy. We hope for an amicable coalescence, at a futuro time, with the great Body of Hopkinsians, who are valuable men. We shall have a struggle, I expect, in order to maintain our ground. But I hope that we shall be enabled to do it, having, as I firmly

believe, Truth and its Divine Author on our side. The present crisis has been hastened by the publication of a pamphlet which I send you, entitled,—‘The True Reasons,’ &c., which I published in my own defence, as you will perceive.”

The Prospectus of the Panoplist, which appeared about the 1st of April, was viewed with considerable jealousy by both the Moderate Calvinists and the Hopkinsians; as the work did not promise to be in full sympathy with either party, though it was designed to occupy ground from which it was hoped it might conciliate both. One very prominent Hopkinsian clergyman wrote a letter to Dr. Morse, objecting to the proposed publication, on the ground that it would interfere with the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, a monthly periodical, which had then been published under Hopkinsian auspices for about two years; while another younger but not less eminent clergyman of the same school addressed a letter to the venerable man whose apprehensions were thus excited, designed to convince him that the interests of Hopkinsianism were not jeopardized by the proposed measure, and that all opposition to it would not only subserve no good purpose but be positively injurious. Meanwhile several distinguished clergymen from different parts of the country were communicating to Dr. Morse their cordial sympathy in the enterprise and their best wishes for its success. President Dwight, of Yale College, writes to him, on the 6th of July, as follows:

“I enter into all your feelings and interests, as they are mentioned in your letters. I am disappointed in two things which you mention: the union of the Arminians with the Unit-

rians, and the separation of the Hopkinsians from the Old Calvinists, that is, in the recent controversy. Both (the Arminians and the Hopkinsians) are unwise; for the question concerning the Trinity interests them both equally with the Old Calvinists, so far as they hold their professed doctrines.

“What assistance can or will be furnished in this State (Connecticut) I cannot determine. There are men enough and talents enough. Had I eyes, you would find me at least embarking heartily in the design, and forwarding it with something beside mere good wishes. You will find occasion for all your prudence and patience; but, when the war is fairly begun, I expect soldiers will enlist.”

Before the first Number of the work was published, Mr. Josiah Salisbury, (afterwards his brother-in-law), in whom he found an efficient co-adjutor in various religious enterprises, suggested to him that the pecuniary profits of the work, when any should be realized, should be devoted to some charitable use. To this Dr. Morse cordially assented; and such a purpose was accordingly announced in the Preface, and was adhered to during the whole term of his proprietorship of the Magazine.

The first Number of the Panoplist appeared in June, 1805; and for six months he was not only its responsible editor but publisher also. Then, in December, by transferring the printing to Boston, he was relieved of much care, and the work was more promptly printed and distributed. But not till February, 1808, did he succeed in engaging a man to publish it at his own expense and risk. During the intervening period of more than two and a half years, the whole of this labour

was devolved upon him, superadded to all his other public and private duties.

It was early a favourite idea with him to secure the leading British periodicals in aid of his own enterprise; and, in accomplishing this, he received from several eminent men in England letters, warmly approving his object, and encouraging him to proceed. From the Rev. George Burder he received the London Evangelical Magazine, and the London Christian Observer was sent to him by its Editor, the justly renowned Zachary Macaulay. In introducing this latter gentleman to him, Mr. Wilberforce says:

“I return you thanks for your new periodical publication, which I have read over with pleasure, and I trust it will be productive of that best species of good which you have in view in instituting it. In times like these let not Christians be lukewarm or inactive in their Master's service, but be ever abounding in the work of the Lord, in every good word and work, varying their efforts as circumstances may require, and judiciously adapting them to the various exigencies which render them necessary.

“I communicated your letter to the Editor of the Christian Observer, with whom I have the pleasure to be well acquainted. He will no doubt write to you himself; though, being extremely overworked, like most persons in a populous community, who are desirous of doing some good in the world, he may have been prevented from taking up his pen for that purpose so soon as he otherwise would have done. Yet, as whenever he does write or may have written, there can be nothing said personally of himself, I will state what I conceive you may wish to know, that the opinion which, from the tenor of the Christian Observer, you have formed of him, is not erroneous. He is a man of very superior good sense, considerable knowledge, and thorough practical and orthodox Christian principles, a man also of

prudence, with whom, therefore, you may carry on any intercourse without anxiety or reserve."

From Mr. Macaulay he received the following letter, dated Sierra Leone House, London, 28th November, 1805 :

"Mr. Wilberforce lately put into my hands a letter from you, expressive of a wish to be acquainted with the Editor of the Christian Observer. That gentleman happens to be known to Mr. Wilberforce and a few other intimate friends, but for reasons which it is unnecessary to explain, is desirous to lie concealed from the public. His secret, however, in consequence of Mr. Wilberforce's representations, he feels no objection to intrust to your keeping, and when you wish to honour him with any communication, you may address it to me as above, carefully avoiding any expression on the cover of the letter which might connect me with the Christian Observer.

"I feel no small satisfaction in the establishment of such a work as the Panoplist, and that the Conductors of it should have so favourably noticed the Christian Observer. I shall be very happy to forward their pious views in any manner which may be in my power. . . . I send a set (of the Christian Observer) for the present year, which I beg your acceptance of. I have consulted with a bookseller who is engaged in the American trade respecting the best mode of your being regularly supplied with copies of the works you require."

The Panoplist, notwithstanding the significance of its name, assumed scarcely more of a controversial type than the Christian Observer. In its Preface it borrows the following language of the Editors of the Eclectic Review :

"While we decline to sacrifice the most certain and important truths to a spurious and affected moderation, we wish to evince a genuine and universal candour respecting subjects on which the best and the wisest of mankind are divided. The temper

and argument, the composition and expression, of the works they review, will be calmly appreciated, without regard to the party from which they originate."

How favourably the work was received may be inferred from the fact that of the third Number (that for August) two thousand copies were printed; which was more than that of any of its older contemporary periodicals.

The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, already referred to as the organ of the Hopkinsian party, went on as usual, after the establishment of the Panoplist; and Mr. Woods and Mr. Parish promised to contribute to the latter, while they still continued to lend their aid to the former. But the Panoplist being designed to promote, as its projector wrote to Mr. Burder, "an amicable coalescence with the great body of Hopkinsians," it soon became evident that the union of the two periodicals was desirable. This, however, could not be immediately effected; for, contemporaneous with this enterprise, and to some extent complicated with it, was the effort to unite the two parties in the General Association, and in the establishment of the Andover Theological Seminary. After some unsuccessful negotiations in respect to a union of the two publications, the desired object was finally accomplished in the spring of 1808; and the Panoplist commenced its fourth volume, in June of that year, under the title of "The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine united." The two prominent clergymen of the Hopkinsian school, whose hesitation as to the

expediency of the measure delayed the union, were Dr. Samuel Spring and Dr. Emmons.

During the three years in which the Panoplist had been in existence, Dr. Morse had been both its editor and proprietor. But he now made arrangements with a bookselling house in Boston to publish the work on their own account. He was not willing, however, to relinquish his editorial responsibilities, until he could be sure that they would pass into competent hands. Though he had succeeded in accomplishing the union of the various shades of Orthodoxy, which was a chief end of the publication, yet to effect the wider circulation of the work, and to secure its permanent popularity and usefulness, he was deeply sensible required an editor of no ordinary ability; and to obtain such an one became with him an object of no small interest. Accordingly, in the fall of 1809, when his health had become so much impaired as to demand a suspension of his labours, and to suggest the expediency of his passing the following winter in a milder climate, he set out on a journey to the South, and on his way stopped at New Haven for the purpose of offering the editorship to Jeremiah Evarts Esq., of that city, who had been a liberal contributor to the work, from its commencement. The result of his application was that Mr. Evarts, without actually consenting to become the Editor, encouraged him to hope for such a result; and the interview seems to have confirmed Dr. Morse in the high opinion which he had previ-

ously formed of Mr. Evarts' qualifications for such a position. After reaching South Carolina, he received a letter from Mr. Evarts, intimating his intention to spend some months in Charlestown (Mass.), to enable him to decide whether or not to accept ultimately the editorship. The result was that he did accept it, and discharged the duties of the place with signal ability for upwards of ten years.

It may be proper to introduce in this connection some other collateral subjects, bearing more or less directly upon the Unitarian controversy.

One of these relates to the course of measures that had its issue in the formation of the

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The idea of a correspondence between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in the United States, was first conceived by the General Association of Connecticut.

At a meeting of that Body, held at the house of the Rev. Timothy Dwight, D. D., then Pastor of the Church at Greenfield, they had voted, 15th June 1790, that such a measure was expedient; and, accordingly, in the beginning of the next year, they had addressed a letter to the Massachusetts Convention (as well as to the New Hampshire Convention, the only other ecclesiastical Body in New England, and to the Presbyterian General Assembly), in which they disavow "any attempt to introduce any thing like a hierarchy," and only wish "to be instrumental in subserving the common cause of Christianity."

This letter had been read before the Massachusetts Convention, at their next succeeding annual meeting in May (1791), and had no doubt been a topic of conversation between Dr. Morse and Dr. Green, on occasion of the visit already referred to, which the latter had made at Charlestown. Hence we find that, in the very first letter which Dr. Green addressed to his friend after his return home, he inquires,—“Will your clergy unite with ours?”—that is, will the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational ministers unite with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America?

The Massachusetts Convention had meantime appointed a Committee, of which President Willard of Harvard College was Chairman, to make a suitable reply to the Address, and to receive any further communications. The Chairman had accordingly replied, on behalf of the Convention, verbally, to the Committee of the General Association of Connecticut, whom he met at Yale College Commencement in September; but what the reply was does not appear.

Here the matter rested, so far as any intercourse between the Massachusetts Convention and the Presbyterian General Assembly was concerned, for three years,—till May, 1794. The reason of this inaction may be gathered, partly at least, from the following letter of Dr. Morse to Dr. Green, dated September 1, 1792:

“Till the cause of ‘liberality’ is revived among you,” (referring to an unsuccessful attempt that had just been made

in Philadelphia to establish a Unitarian preacher), "or we become illiberal like you, I doubt if a friendly intercourse can be established between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, as some of us 'narrow folks' strive for. Mr. Eckley informs me he has written you on the subject. He is one of a Committee with myself and others to report a Plan of friendly correspondence with our Presbyterian brethren. But we shall effect nothing. Too many will throw cold water on every thing of the kind. With the utmost difficulty a few of us got a Committee appointed to deliberate on the subject and report our opinions. The Committee compose half almost of all the friends of the measure. If all our plans are frustrated, I apprehend the aggrieved party will think seriously of forming themselves into a separate Body, and framing an ecclesiastical constitution for themselves, and one too which will admit of such an intercourse with the Presbyterian Church, as will be mutually agreeable and beneficial. But this is *sub rosa* for the present. I have hinted the matter to Dr. Rodgers, and have conversed with Mr. Miller and Mr. Eckley upon it. Write me, will you, on the subject."

In May, 1794, there was a single exchange of friendly letters between the two Bodies,—the Massachusetts Convention transmitting the following vote:

"That it be proposed to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and to the General Association of Connecticut, not to receive or countenance any candidate from us who does not bring credentials from a regular Body among us known to them,—assuring them that we will observe the same rule with respect to candidates from them; and informing them that we shall be glad to hear from them on all subjects which relate to the interests of our common Christianity, and will communicate every information upon such subjects as may tend to promote the interests of religion."

And the General Assembly responded cordially to these proposals.

In respect to this correspondence Dr. Green writes to Dr. Morse, on the 9th of June, thus :

“ You will see by the General Assembly’s Letter that we are ready cordially to unite with you in the measures proposed. I hope the union will promote the interests of religion, as well as a more extensive intercourse between the ministers of your churches and ours. But be careful you do not send us men of ‘ liberal ’ sentiments, for our churches will not endure them.”

Dr. Morse writes to Dr. Green on the same subject, on the 8th of December, as follows :

“ We (the Convention’s Committee) have received from Dr. Rodgers the General Assembly’s Reply to our Letter, and will, I trust, answer it to your satisfaction. I cannot but flatter myself that the intercourse now opened between the General Assembly and our Convention, though it advances slowly, and on our part heavily, will issue in great good to our churches and to the cause of religion.”

But the hope expressed in this communication was not destined to be realized; and this ultimately led, as Dr. Morse had anticipated, to the establishment of a separate Body.

In April, 1799, a printed Circular of the Boston Association, drafted by Dr. Morse, was sent to the ministers of each Association in Massachusetts, and to others in New England, which, after setting forth the alarming state of the country, calls upon “ each Association to send one or more delegates to meet at Boston early in the day preceding the next Annual Election (in May), to consult on the general interests of religion, and the means conducive to its support and advancement.” Whether or not such a meeting was

actually held I am unable to ascertain; but there was an Address, bearing upon the subject, unanimously adopted by the Convention, May 30, 1799, and afterwards published in three pages folio, signed by Eli Forbes, Moderator, and J. Morse, Scribe, which was, in some sense, a response to the above mentioned Circular. A copy of the Circular was sent to the Rev. Dr. Buckminster, of Portsmouth, which drew from him the following reply, dated the 24th of April:

“I am pleased to see the ministers of Boston awakened to a sense of the dangers which beset our altars and shrines. While I am sorry for the foreign accession to the flood of error and infidelity, which has been long swelling in this country, it appears to me that a departure from pure evangelical principles, and a silence respecting the peculiarly humbling, awakening and affecting doctrines of the Gospel in the public teachers of it, have contributed their full share to the evil. I am in no apprehension that you are included in this charge. I have heard and seen of your firmness and steadfastness in the truth. But is it not too true that ministers in general, and especially our younger ministers, leave the humiliating state of man as an apostate creature, his helplessness and danger, the glorious character of Christ as a Divine person, the special influences of the Spirit, the necessity of regeneration, and the awful prospects of the impenitent and unbelieving, out of their public discourses; which they fill with philosophical or moral essays and popular harangues. I don't know but many do this from an honest, though in my view very erroneous, apprehension that it will serve to remove the objections of some amiable moral characters, and conciliate them to the Gospel. But of what advantage is it to conciliate them to a Gospel that is not *the Gospel of Christ*, and lacks the energies necessary to make them holy and happy. It appears to me that the charges contained in that most excellent Treatise of Mr. Wilberforce, lately republished, are as appropriate to us as to the country for which he writes. Defects

in principle are more dangerous and destructive than defects in practice. They are like a disease at the heart. A diseased limb may be amputated. If the fountain is impure, all labour upon the stream will be thrown away. The fountain must be cleansed. The heart must be healed. If ministers are really concerned and distressed at the spread of infidelity and immorality, and would seek a remedy, they must return in their preaching to the terrors of the law and the grace of the Gospel. They must preach the plain doctrines of the Bible, and with boldness and candour address to the consciences of men the awful and alluring motives therein contained; and must represent sin as it is most clearly represented, as such an evil as nothing short of the sufferings of a Divine Person could atone its guilt or remove its malignant effects. Many apprehend such preaching would fright people from the Gospel, and empty our churches and assemblies at once. Duty is ours, events are God's. 'To the Law and the Testimony.' 'It is the truth that sanctifies.' Error may please, but it cannot profit. But is there nothing to be done by us? Those who fear God must speak often one to another on the things of God, and pray earnestly for themselves and brethren. And as the High Priest always offered for his own sins before he did for the sins of the people, would it not be commendable for us as ministers to have days of private, social fast, and let them be spent as days of real humiliation, and not of conviviality. Might not Association meetings be so improved? After this, we might, with greater confidence and hope of success, have more seasons of public prayer, following our devotions with a fervent spirit of Divine things in all our converse with the world. Dear Sir, I should need to make an apology for the freedom with which I have written, did it not afford the strongest proof of the entire confidence I have in you as a faithful friend and experienced servant of Jesus Christ. May God be with you and your brethren, and direct you in the subjects of your inquiries, the results of which I shall be obliged to you to communicate to me."

The time at length came, after protracted delays and difficulties, for carrying into effect the project which Dr. Morse and some of his

friends had so long had in view, of forming themselves into a separate Body, under an ecclesiastical constitution of their own. The Brookfield Association, and seven other of the District Associations of the State, who came at its call, met on the 7th of July, 1802, at Northampton, and formed the Massachusetts General Association, making belief in the doctrines of Christianity, as they are generally expressed in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, the basis of their union and fellowship.

The following extracts from a correspondence between Dr. Morse and Dr. Lyman, at this period, throw considerable light upon the ecclesiastical struggle which was then going forward.

Dr. Morse writes thus to Dr. Lyman, under date of 19th of April, 1803 :

"I approve the doings of your meeting of last July, and hope good consequences will follow. I wish the ecclesiastical interests of all the State may be united, and that, for this purpose, we may agree to revise our ecclesiastical constitution or Cambridge Platform. I hope the subject will be brought forward at the next meeting of the (Massachusetts) Convention. I want a long conversation with you, and hope you will come to the Election,* and to my house the Sabbath preceding. If we can preserve union and avoid disunion, by some concessions and sacrifices, it will be best. And I hope that, with due care and exertions, this may be done."

From this letter it appears that, though favoura-

* The day in the month of May when the Legislature convened, and the week when it occurred, called "Election week," was selected by the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Clergy, and since by some other Religious Bodies and Benevolent Societies, to hold their meetings,—now commonly called "Anniversary week."

ble to a movement for a General Association, he did not yet despair of attaining, in and by the Convention, the basis of union and fellowship which that Association had been just formed to procure.

On the 6th of May, 1803, Dr. Lyman thus writes to him :

"I shall be glad to confer with you on the contemplated union of Christian ministers and churches. As to the Cambridge Platform, my opinion is that it is too democratical and anarchical. I think Moderate Presbyterianism is the Scripture Platform. * * * We must all be Christians upon the doctrines of grace, or we may as well not call ourselves Christians at all. And a belief of these doctrines being first had, great indulgence is to be given to all other differences of opinion."

On the 15th of November following, Dr. Morse writes to Dr. Lyman as follows :

"The subject of a 'Platform' or 'Ecclesiastical Constitution' is revived here, and must be brought to a point next May, (at the meeting of the Convention), or the Congregational interest will be split in pieces, to the great injury of the cause of religion and the rejoicing of sectaries. * * * The two extremes" (the Arminians and Hopkinsians) "must be conciliated, or else strength enough be collected on the middle ground" (that is the ground occupied by the Old Calvinists and the Moderate Calvinists) "to do without them. I believe the thing can be done, if undertaken resolutely and pursued with a Christian spirit."

Dr. Lyman replies to this on the 4th of January, 1804 :

"I shall be pleased with any plan and any legitimate means to obtain a bond of union ; but if there is not doctrinal agree-

ment, it will be a rope of sand. And how can persons who say our blessed Redeemer was a man, or a mere creature, unite with those who worship and rest upon Him as the true God and eternal life? There will be much to fear from the opposers of Christ's Divinity; and perhaps no less from some of our Hopkinsian brethren, who are high Independents. If any body can coalesce the contending parties upon a safe and promising basis, it will be happy. Who can do more than my friend Morse? The Convention does not represent the clergy of the State—far from it; but that Body may recommend to the District Associations to appoint delegates to meet for the purpose you mention."

Accordingly, on motion of Dr. Lyman in Convention, May 30, 1804, a Committee was appointed to inquire by letter of the several District Associations in the State, if they would delegate each a member to meet for the purpose of agreeing upon a plan of ministerial union, and establishing a General Association; and to request them to send their replies to the Committee, previous to the meeting of the Convention in May, 1805. This Committee consisted of seven, President Willard being Chairman and Dr. Lyman a member. Though Dr. Morse was not on the Committee, he was deeply interested in the object, and was constantly on the alert to secure its accomplishment.

President Willard died on the 25th of September, and Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Hadley, the senior surviving member of the Committee, became Chairman.

On the 4th of December, Dr Morse writes to *Dr. Lyman thus:*

“ President Willard had, I believe, signed copies of the Letter enough for all the Associations ; and I believe all have been sent. I assisted him in the distribution. His death is a serious blow to the object ; and Dr. Forbes, another member of the Committee, friendly to the plan, is sick probably unto death. *Nil desperandum*, however, is my motto. Let us faithfully do our duty and leave the event. Great pains are taken to defeat the object. You and Dr. Hopkins must draw up some definite outlines of a Plan to be laid before the Committee, shaped according to the communications you receive from the Associations. Leave not all to be done on the spot, or it will be difficult to do any thing. Collect as many communications as possible. Should the Plan be rejected by the Committee or the Convention, as many as agree to it, must, I think, unite.”

On the 9th of February he writes :

“ Mr. Holmes, Dr. Osgood and I have met and agreed that the Committee assemble at my house on the Friday before Election, at 9 A. M., and then determine where to hold their session. Convene as many as possible of our brethren who are *right*, at this year's meeting of the Convention, and let us be prepared with a Plan which will unite all the Orthodox, provided the Committee's Plan (which I hope will be conciliatory) shall be rejected. I wish there may be a majority for the Plan, and that those who reject it may be the Seceders. You must be armed in complete panoply, for you will be placed in the forefront of the hottest battle. I wish a short pamphlet could be written and printed, informing the people of the real object of the proposed Association. If you will commit your thoughts on the subject to paper and send them to me soon, I will add to them, if necessary, and see them published.”

The Committee met at his house according to agreement, and, on finding that a majority of Associations in the State expressed themselves in favour of the measure proposed, they so reported to the Convention at its session in May 1805 in

the hope of meeting an efficient co-operation. In this, however, they were disappointed. No vote was taken by this Body on the Report, and thus the effort to effect a union among the Congregational churches, from which so much had been hoped, proved unsuccessful.

Notwithstanding the General Association had now been in existence for some three years, but few of the District Associations had yet become connected with it. Out of twenty-four, the whole number of District Associations in the State, only five in 1803 and 1804, and only three in 1805 and 1806, were represented in its annual meeting. Dr. Morse himself, for reasons which will appear in the sequel, did not join it until 1811; but he was still active in promoting its growth. He was reluctant to yield the hope of gaining the Convention's approval of a General Association; and a year later, (April 22, 1806), in writing to Dr. Lyman, he expresses the wish that a larger number of delegates from the Western part of the State might attend the Convention that year; and adds his confident belief that its concurrence with the proposed object might be secured.

Both Dr. Morse and Dr. Lyman, and several other prominent clergymen, continued to labour with unabated zeal in aid of the General Association; and special efforts were made to secure the co-operation of Drs. Spring and Emmons, but without any satisfactory result. Dr. Spring, when addressed on the subject, answered cau-

tiously, and forebore to say any thing from which his opinion could be definitely gathered. Dr. Emmons was outspoken against the organization, and thought he saw in it indications of clerical oppression that betokened great evil to the Church. His opinion on the subject never changed, and, through his influence, the Mendon Association, to which he belonged, never joined the General Association till 1841, after his decease.

In the Panoplist for April, 1807, there are several distinct arguments presented in favour of a General Association in Massachusetts, in which the nature of the proposed Body is explained. They constitute one of a series of articles, entitled "Survey of the New England Churches." They were written by the Rev. Leonard Woods, of Newbury, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Woods, Professor in the Andover Theological Seminary, and were subsequently printed in a pamphlet.

The next meeting of the General Association was held at Windsor, Berkshire County, in June, 1807. The meeting is represented as having been one of great interest, and several of the more prominent ministers of the State were in attendance as members, among whom was Dr. Spring of Newburyport, whose presence was regarded as a special occasion for gratulation, as it showed that his Hopkinsian predilections were not sufficient to keep him any longer aloof from the new ecclesiastical organization.

Early in 1808 Dr. Morse wrote to the venerable Dr. Lathrop, of West Springfield, who replied,

in February and March, that a General Association, separate from, and without the approbation of the Convention, he should regard as of 'dangerous tendency, as it might interrupt harmony, produce animosities, jealousies and obloquy, and give advantage to the common enemy.' He also thought the time unfavourable. And not only he could 'see no important end which such Association could answer,' but he was 'not pleased with some of the means taken to accomplish it.' Particularly he could 'not see the necessity of a test.' The Assembly's Catechism was perhaps the best Compendium of Divinity he ever saw; and if he were to propose a test, he could not think of a better. Yet he says:—'If we cannot put confidence enough in Associations to receive their delegates without requiring their consent to a certain test of Orthodoxy, we are not capable of forming a General Association.' He should 'not judge every man heretical who did not consent to every sentence in the Catechism, and who had not joined an Association that required such consent.' He remarked 'the tendency which the requisition of subscriptions had to make hypocrites and to prevent honest inquiry.' From some things he had seen in the Panoplist, and heard in conversation, he suspected there was a design to form a new system of Church discipline, with special reference to the trial of ministers,—'a dangerous attempt which he hoped would not be made.' He deprecated innovations in ecclesiastical as in political constitutions, except in urgent

cases, and feared that if the present one was thrown aside, another would not soon be adopted.

The following explanatory letter was addressed by Dr. Morse to Dr. Lathrop, on the 18th of April, 1808:

“The note in the Panoplist to which you allude had not for its object the erection of any ecclesiastical tribunal incompatible with the spirit of true Congregationalism or the Platform of our churches. It was intended merely to awaken attention to, and to revive the Christian spirit, energy and faithfulness in Church discipline and government of former times, ‘to strengthen the things that remain and are ready to die.’ I am no friend to innovations in ecclesiastical government. I am strongly against them. I conceive there has been, for years past, a growing departure, especially in this region, from the faith once delivered to the saints, and from the order of the Gospel. My desire is that our churches may be brought back to the old paths and good ways of the Fathers of New England, with such modifications and improvements as may be consonant with the Scriptures, and adapted to the present state of society and of the times. I can perceive no reasonable objection against a meeting of ministers in General Association to consult on the best means of promoting the welfare of the churches and to cherish brotherly love. I know not what may be the particular views of *all* the advocates of a General Association; but for myself and those with whom I am conversant, you may be assured we intend nothing which is incompatible with the true spirit of Congregationalism; nothing *schismatical*, unless a plain declaration of our faith, and an honest zeal to maintain it can be so deemed; nothing *hierarchical*, unless an attempt to establish some uniform method of Church government, like that recommended in your communication,* shall be so stigmatized; nothing *unprecedented* in the purest ages of Christianity, and in the most intelligent and correct portions of the Christian world.

* Panoplist, Vol. III, pp. 498-503, September, 1808.

I know that our views are misrepresented by some, and I believe they are misconceived by others.

“The subject of a General Association was brought before the Convention, when President Willard and Dr. Tappan were members of it. They were open and decided advocates of the plan of forming a General Association, and a uniform mode of governing our churches. These good men, and some others who promoted the object, were removed by death before the Report of a Committee, of which they were members, was acted upon by the Convention. There was, from actual returns to the Committee, a majority even of the members present in Convention—(a Body which is not a fair representation of the clergy of the State.) But the opposition by a few members was so violent and so unreasonable that it was thought prudent to drop the subject in that Body, and to resume it in a more practicable form, and to leave each Association and individual minister to act at his pleasure. The experiment of uniting *all* the Congregational clergy of the State in one General Association having thus failed, the advocates of the measure, finding themselves generally of one faith, thought it expedient to adopt the Catechism, as vindicating *their* general views of the doctrines and ordinances of the Gospel. And it is believed that few, if any, of different sentiments would wish to join any General Association. They had the opportunity and have refused. I have never been informed—for I am not a member—that *subscription* to the Catechism has been required as a prerequisite to becoming a member of the General Association. It is rather taken for granted that this Catechism expresses his general views of the Christian doctrines.

“But what has been done already is only a preliminary, and intended to collect such portion of the clergy as are willing to act together for the good of the churches; and when convened, then to deliberate and determine what is best to be done. By their works, whatever they may be, let the General Association be judged. I think it premature to condemn a measure before its specific object is understood. If the General Association, at the beginning, and *from necessity*, consists of men of a particular faith, the door may be open to others, should the

purity, peace and harmony of the churches require it. We took this liberal ground of union in the first instance, but failed. We may attain the same object by pursuing a different course. I have no wish to cause divisions; but I would 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.'

"I have long thought that something like the measure contemplated was indispensable to the preservation of our Congregational Churches. If we proceed ten years longer in our present loose, desultory, diverse and contentious manner of conducting our ecclesiastical government and discipline, the various sectaries (who all act upon a plan and have their General Associations for conference) will well nigh root out our denomination. The State laws already favour them, and probably will do so more and more. I see no way so likely to preserve the things which remain, and which are thus threatened, as a General Association to confer and act together upon the great concerns of our churches; and perhaps, should it be thought best, to revive, revise and re establish our Cambridge Platform.

"I have no wish myself, nor have I heard any one express a wish, to 'form a new system of Church discipline,' much less, with 'special reference to the trial of ministers.'

"I presume, Sir, could you feel it to be your duty to join the General Association, with your brethren in your vicinity, and could you come as a delegate to the meeting in June next at Worcester, and afford the benefit of your counsel and experience, it would have a most conciliating and happy effect, and prevent unfounded suspicions as to the views of that Body. I believe you would find their views not materially different from your own. I contemplate joining the Association with motives and views such as I have now expressed. * * *

"If gentlemen of your age and standing and influence in the churches could feel willing to co-operate in conducting a General Association, I am persuaded all would go harmoniously and agreeably. Opposition would then be limited to men who are no friends of the ecclesiastical government ever practised in the New England churches. But if, by misrepresenting our views, these men can excite the fears and neutralize the exertions of good men, and even induce them to oppose our honest

and well meant efforts to restore the ancient order of our churches, we are reduced to the alternative either of silently and calmly witnessing the corruption, disorganization and destruction of our Congregational churches, or of persisting in our efforts to apply a remedy to these evils at the hazard not only of the violent opposition of the avowed enemies of ecclesiastical government, but,—what is more painful to us,—also of wounding the feelings of men whom we love and venerate as our brethren and fathers. The neutrality and disapprobation of the aged friends of the Platform of our churches in respect to the contemplated measures, will strengthen the advocates for a lax government, and discourage those who would restore the ancient government and discipline; then a party disposed to form a new and rigid Platform of government might be strong enough to do it, and the true, temperate, conciliatory policy must be abandoned. For none to move is to yield the ground to the enemies of ecclesiastical order and to sectaries. For only one class, friendly to a strong government, to move, is to give the ground to the other extreme party. The proper course is for all who are friendly to some known and established plan of government and discipline to meet and act in concert."

The reason why he was not yet himself a member of the General Association is now to be given. The Boston Association to which he belonged, of course did not sympathize with that Body. Being thus in a minority, what was the proper course for him, and others in like circumstances, to take, who were desirous of promoting the designs and enjoying the benefits of the General Association?

Through Dr. Lyman he asked the advice of that Body, and the reply was that it was not thought best for the General Association to be in correspondence with parts of Associations or with individuals, lest it should give occasion to scan-

dal; but that these should devise expedients of their own by which to enter the General Association. Three expedients were suggested by a writer in the Panoplist (Vol. III. p. 18). He adopted the one of dissolving his connection with the Boston Association, and joining with others of his own views in forming a new Association. But this change was not to be effected without considerable labour; and pressed, as he was at this time, (1808), with a great variety of cares, he found it absolutely necessary to postpone it. Meanwhile his brethren, from different quarters, were writing to him, and urging the formation of the new Association at the very earliest period. The project, however, did not take effect until the spring of 1811. At that time a new ecclesiastical Body, under the name of the Union Association, was formed of Orthodox ministers from the Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Middlesex Associations, and Dr. Morse attended, as one of its Delegates, the Sessions of the General Association in Salem, June 25, 1811.

At this meeting Dr. Morse received not only a cordial welcome from the ministers composing it, but that sort of evidence of confidence in his ability that consisted in placing him at once in several positions of high responsibility. He was appointed on no less than five Committees—to make arrangements; to prepare the Narrative of the State of Religion, (of which Committee he was Chairman;) to revise the Rules of the Association; to publish the Report;

and to devise measures for the suppression of Intemperance.

At the next meeting of the General Association, (June, 1812,) he was again appointed on numerous Committees; and also was one of the two delegates chosen to represent the Body in the next General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Philadelphia. He fulfilled the appointment in May, 1813.

As early as 1811 the question of forming Consociations (a union of Congregational Churches by Pastors and Delegates, with a measure of judicial authority) was considerably agitated, but the prevailing opinion seemed to be that it was inexpedient at that time to attempt it. Three years later, however, (in 1814,) in consequence of the discovery of a manuscript among the papers of Cotton Mather, containing a record of the doings of the Massachusetts Convention in 1704-06, which was strongly favourable to Consociations, the General Association appointed a Committee to obtain more definite information concerning the doings of that Body, and to report at the next annual meeting on the expediency of carrying out some such plan as the one proposed at that early day, which was nothing more nor less than the forming of Consociations. The Committee consisted of seven prominent clergymen, Dr. Morse being Chairman. This Committee addressed themselves to their work with great earnestness, and in due time had prepared their report, approving, on the whole, of Con-

sociations, but in a form differing somewhat from that which was proposed in 1705. This Report was presented to the General Association in 1815; and, after being duly discussed, was ordered to be printed and sent to the several Associations, that they might pass their judgment upon it, with a view to an ultimate decision of the question at the next annual meeting. Accordingly, the matter came up at the meeting in June, 1816, and the General Association accepted, as their final action on the subject, a Report which, while it recognizes the desirableness of a more efficient system of discipline, and authorizes the forming of Consociations where the ministers and churches favour it, does not go so far as even to recommend the general adoption of the principle. Dr. Morse was, from the beginning, deeply impressed with the importance of effecting this organization, and his earnest efforts for the object seem to have subjected him afterwards to no small obloquy even from individuals of his own pastoral charge. But the idea was finally abandoned, and has never since been practically revived.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

It is proper to premise that it is not the design, under this head, to present a continuous history of the founding of the Andover Seminary, but only to show the agency that Dr. Morse had in it. And many of the details even of that are necessarily passed over, partly because it is not easy at this day accurately to trace them, and

partly because they were not of sufficient significance to become matter of permanent record.

The first conception of this noble Institution, of which I find any notice, is in connection with the prospect of Dr. Pearson's resigning his Professorship in Harvard College. This resignation was understood, by the Doctor's friends, to have been in consequence of the Unitarian tendencies which had been, for some time, in a process of development in the College, and which were then becoming more strongly marked in the probable election of the Liberal candidate for the Presidency. Dr. Morse, referring to the then existing state of things, in a letter to Dr. Green, dated December 24, 1805, thus shadows forth the incipient project for a new institution:

"These events may probably be the means of founding a new Literary and Theological Institution, on principles and for purposes similar to those on and for which Harvard College was founded. A Phoenix may arise out of the ashes of this ancient Seminary. At least such an event is not improbable. Dr. Pearson has decided to resign his office at the close of the vacation (in March); and he is by far the most efficient officer belonging to that Institution."

Dr. Pearson's purpose to resign his office, which seems to have originated with the election of Mr. Ware to the Professorship of Theology, was carried into effect in March, 1806; and in his Letter of Resignation addressed to the Overseers of the College, he thus sums up the reasons for his taking this painful step:

"In a word, such a gloom is spread over the University, and such is my view of its internal state and external relations, of

its cardinal and constitutional maladies, as to awaken all my fears, and exclude the hope of rendering any effectual service to the interests of religion by continuing my connection with it."

When Dr. Pearson's friends became apprised of his intention, several of them, among whom Dr. Morse was prominent, began to inquire in what way his great talents and acquirements might still be rendered serviceable to the Church; and their deliberations resulted in the conviction that it was best to establish a Theological Seminary and make him one of its Professors.

There were special reasons growing out of the Constitution of Phillips Academy, Andover, for endeavouring to engraft the projected Theological School upon that already venerable Institution. The founders of that Academy had declared the "principal object of their Institution" to be "the promotion of true piety and virtue"; and when the endowment was enlarged by a subsequent bequest, it was arranged that those who were designed for the ministry should receive the instruction of some eminent Calvinistic minister of the Gospel, until a Theological Professor should be appointed. In addition to this, Mr. Samuel Abbot, who was an intimate friend of Dr. Pearson, by a codicil of his will, dated June 11, 1805, diverted the money which he had bequeathed to Harvard College, to a Professorship to be established at Phillips Academy, Andover. The instrument contains this remarkable clause:

"And, furthermore, my will is, that provided said Academy shall, at any future time, be converted into a College, or in

case a College shall be instituted in that parish in Andover in which Phillips Academy is situated, then the said fund be for the establishment of a Professorship of Divinity in said College."

In all the primary movements looking towards this enterprise Dr. Morse bore a prominent part; and letters still exist, not only from himself, but from several other of the most influential Orthodox clergymen of the day, showing that he was most intent upon the accomplishment of this object. In writing to Dr. Lathrop, of West Springfield, on the subject, under date of November 18, 1807, after alluding to the origin of the Institution as above stated, he says:

"It was thought wise and prudent to lay the foundation of the Institution on so broad a scale as to embrace, if I may so speak, all shades of Calvinists, or all who approve the Assembly's Catechism, or the doctrines of the Reformation, in hope that time and friendly intercourse and discussion would bring all together on some middle ground. With these views it was intended that the Professors should be selected from the several shades, so to speak, so as that the confidence of each might be secured by an equal representation."

It came to Dr. Morse's knowledge, at least as early as February, 1806, that Mr. William Bartlett, a distinguished merchant of Newburyport, and a parishioner of Dr. Spring, had intentions of endowing liberally an Institution for theological education at Newbury; also that Mr. Moses Brown, another of Dr. Spring's parishioners, and Mr. Norris, of Salem, would join in this enterprise; the purpose having been suggested, as in

the other case, by the revolution in Harvard College. This was justly regarded as the germ of a rival Hopkinsian Seminary; and, as Dr. Morse deprecated such a measure as tending to divide the Orthodox ranks, he immediately undertook to prevent it, by merging the proposed institution into the one projected by the friends of Dr. Pearson.

A series of articles appeared in the *Panoplist*, in successive numbers, from June, 1806 to June, 1808, written by Mr. Woods, at Dr. Morse's suggestion, the design of which was to reach the grand conclusion that a Theological Seminary, on the Orthodox plan, was loudly called for by the ecclesiastical state of things in that region, and was even essential to the transmission of an incorrupt Christianity to posterity. These articles had an important influence in giving to the public mind the direction which it finally assumed.

Immediately on the resignation of his Professorship at Cambridge, Dr. Pearson removed, with his family, to Andover. Here, in conjunction with Dr. Morse, Samuel Farrar, Samuel Abbot, Mark Newman, Mr. French and Nehemiah Abbot, he formed a Body called the "Andover Associates," having for their object to promote the design of a Theological Seminary at Andover. They first met in July, 1806.

In September following, a paper was read before this Body, by Dr. Pearson, whose mind had been all summer occupied with the subject, on the importance of a Theological Seminary,

which was afterwards printed in the Panoplist.* And the same month a Committee was appointed, of which Dr. Morse was one, to draft the "Outlines of a Theological Seminary," which paper was read before the associates in October following, and also published.† These "Outlines" are substantially the present Constitution of the Theological Seminary, adopted in the fall of 1807.

The next step in the process was the connecting of the Seminary with Phillips Academy, and placing it under the patronage and control of the Board of Trustees, of which Dr. Pearson was President, and Dr. Morse and the other Andover Associates were all members. They proposed to communicate their plan to the Trustees at the next meeting, but it was not then sufficiently matured, and it was actually delayed for several months. Meanwhile the prospect of the union of the different parties seemed to brighten, and on the 17th of October, 1806, Mr. Woods writes thus to Dr. Morse:

"I spent a long evening with Dr. Emmons. As to the College (the Theological Seminary) I think he will co-operate with all his might, and so will other influential men of his stamp, if they can see that Hopkinsians are not neglected in the plan and direction of the Institution. He is pleased with the idea of a *College on purpose to make ministers*. He expressed fears, however, that such ministers would be less respected than those educated at a University. * * * He thought it important to have *one Theological College*, which all the orthodox should join to support."

* Vol. III, pp. 306-316. † *Ib.* pp. 345-348.

To this letter Dr. Morse replies thus on the 21st of October :

“Your interview with Dr. Emmons does my heart good. I am greatly encouraged to hope that a cordial union, so devoutly to be wished by all good men, may yet be effected. Talk with Brother Austin on the subject. Its importance magnifies the more it is contemplated. Call not the Institution a College, but a Theological Seminary. The idea is to admit young men into this school who have received education at some one of our Colleges. I believe a plan can be formed which shall meet the views and feelings of *all evangelical men*. There is no wish to put in the back-ground the Hopkinsians, but to have them unite on generous principles. Do write Dr. Emmons and press the idea of *union* in the General Association and in the Theological School. I wish he could converse with Dr. Dwight on the subject, and know how much *he* desires such a union, as indispensable to the maintenance of evangelical truth in Massachusetts.”

That the plan of the Seminary had, in various respects, been matured at this time, is rendered farther evident from the following extract from a letter, addressed by Dr. Morse, on the 23d of December, to Mr. Charles Taylor, a London bookseller, to whom he sends a list of books to be purchased, to the amount of five hundred dollars :

“These books are to make part of a Library for a Theological Seminary now in process of formation by a number of charitable individuals. It is to be on a broad foundation, and to have three Professors at least. By an article in the Constitution the Professors are to sustain the character of sober, honest, learned and pious men, of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity, according to that system of evangelical doctrine contained in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. This will enable you, Sir, to determine what will be the religious character of the Seminary. Contributions to its library, of ancient and

modern books of value, by men of piety and liberality on your side of the water, would be received and acknowledged with gratitude by the Founders. This institution has to struggle hard against the latitudinarian sentiments, which are prevailing among us at the present time, and whatever is given will aid the cause of evangelical truth. I wish you to show this letter to my friend, the Rev. George Burder, to whom I shall write by this opportunity, and shall refer him to you for the information here communicated, relative to the Seminary, in aid of which his influence also is solicited."

It was now understood that Dr. Pearson and Mr. Woods were to hold Professorships in the new Seminary, but there was to be another, who had not yet been selected. Accordingly, on the 12th of January, 1807, Dr. Morse wrote to Dr. Rodgers of New York, requesting him to confer with the Rev. Dr. Miller, his colleague in the pastorate, and ascertain if he would accept the third Professorship. The application met a negative response; though a subsequent attempt, after the Seminary was established, to secure a representative from the Presbyterian Church for the Andover Faculty, proved successful.

Dr. Morse, regarding, as he did, the matter of union as paramount to every thing else, was endeavoring to reach Mr. Bartlett, through the influence of several clergymen in the neighbourhood who were acquainted with him, and thus bring him to abandon the idea of a separate establishment, when, on the 17th of March, 1807, he received a communication that seemed decisive against his wishes. Mr. Woods came on that day from Newbury expressly to inform him that the

evening before, he had met, by invitation, Messrs. Bartlett and Brown, at the house of their Pastor, Dr. Spring, when the Doctor announced the intention of forming a separate Seminary at Newbury, to which each of the two wealthy parishioners, who were present, pledged ten thousand dollars on the spot; that they named Mr. Woods as Professor of Theology; and that, while he had come to Charlestown with this announcement, Dr. Spring had gone to Salem to inform Mr. Norris of what had been done, and to secure for the object the donation of ten thousand dollars which he had pledged several months before. Mr. Woods, though he seems to have felt somewhat embarrassed by the position in which this appointment had placed him, wrote to Dr. Morse, on the 10th of April, that he was opposed to a separate Institution, and would exert himself to the utmost in favor of union in founding the Andover Seminary.

On the 15th of April, a conference took place in Charlestown, between Dr. Spring, Dr. Pearson and Dr. Morse, of which the latter gives the following account in a letter to Mr. Woods, written the next day:

“ Brother Spring arrived yesterday afternoon, and, with Dr. Pearson, has been here till six o'clock this morning. It was between one and two o'clock in the morning before we retired. You may easily suppose that we have been over the whole ground. Brother Spring says that Dr. Emmons is afraid of union both in General Association and Theological Academy. He will act neither for nor against the former. I hope he will not act against the latter.

“Brother Spring says our conference has produced in him only painful doubt. I hope, since reflection has produced, in some degree, a favourable change in his views, that more information and reflection will ultimately induce entire conviction of the practicability and duty of union. In my opinion, personal considerations as respect him, and you, more especially, call for union. But these, compared with infinitely superior reasons, should not be named. I believe that, as Christians, as ministers of Christ, we are bound in this case to unite.

“I cannot but wonder that, in existing circumstances, in so singular a state of things, when Providence is speaking to us in passing events in a voice so loud and impressive, to combine our influence and efforts to strengthen the things that remain and are ready to die, Christians, like those concerned in this business, should need persuasion to unite. One would suppose that they would all rejoice in the opportunity of doing so, and would accept union, when offered, with eagerness and gratitude. It is to me unaccountable. But I trust it is only a trial placed in our way to test our zeal, fidelity and perseverance in our Master's service, and that, if we are not wanting in our duty, the object will be happily accomplished. Much, under Providence, will depend on you. On all your influence and exertions I confidently calculate. I know your situation is delicate, but you need not, you must not, be afraid to act. I believe Brother Spring is possessed of the whole of our views. He has heard with candour and conferred with frankness, and has pleased and interested both Dr. Pearson and myself. I think he will be led to a result which will be satisfactory to us. Let Dr. Pearson see and talk with the donors. He can best explain to them the Visitorial plan of Union, with which I cannot but think they will be pleased.”

This refers to the Plan of a Board of Visitors with supervisory power over the Trustees of Phillips Academy. This Board was ultimately established, and under it the desired union was effected.

From the middle of April till the middle of

May, Dr Morse was occupied in journeying for his health. He stopped at New Haven, and there enlisted Dr. Dwight heartily in the cause of union; and in New York and Philadelphia looked out for another Professor for the Seminary. Some time during his absence, he received a letter from Mr. Woods, informing him that repeated interviews had been held between Drs. Pearson and Spring; and Messrs. Brown, Bartlett and Norris; that Dr. Pearson had contributed much to the gratification of the others, but that still they decided to have no connection with Phillips Academy, though they were willing the Andoverians should join them in establishing a Seminary at Newbury. They agreed, however, to suspend for the time every operation that would preclude union in a new Institution, and to appoint a conference on the subject after Dr. Morse's return.

This conference was held at Newburyport on the 15th of June; but the death of an infant child prevented Dr. Morse's attendance. The persons assembled on the occasion were Drs. Spring, Emmons and Pearson, Messrs. Brown, Bartlett and Norris, and Samuel Farrar Esq. The various questions pertaining to the Seminary were discussed with great earnestness, and the result, so far as any was arrived at, was altogether unfavourable to the prospect of union. The next week, however, Dr. Morse's hopes were again revived by the appearance of Dr. Spring at the meeting of the General Association at Windsor,

as a delegate from the Essex Middle Association, which had not before been represented in that Body. This he seems to have looked upon as a very important point gained, and as foreshadowing a favourable result in respect to the Seminary.

During the months of July and August vigorous negotiations for union were kept up; and in the last week of August earnest consultations were held on the subject in Salem, Newburyport and Andover. Meanwhile Dr. Dwight had come from Connecticut to add the weight of his influence in favour of union. The result was that the idea of a Seminary at Newbury was abandoned, and the projectors consented that its seat should be at Andover, where further efforts for union were destined to be made.

In a letter to the Trustees of Phillips Academy, communicated at their meeting on the 1st of October, Mr. Abbot, who had reserved to himself the appointment of his own Professor, appointed the Rev. Leonard Woods, and that Body immediately ratified the appointment. The suggestion that Mr. Woods should be the Professor was made to Mr. Abbot by Drs. Pearson and Morse. It was not, however, publicly known until effectual measures had been taken, especially by Dr. Morse, to overcome the scruples of a portion of the members of the Board of Trustees to this selection of a reputed Hopkinsian. When the appointment was made, its conciliatory tendency became manifest; for the Andover Founder, by adopting, as his Professor of Christian Theo-

logy, the man of their choice, provoked the Newbury Founders to reciprocate the civility, by afterwards appointing Dr. Pearson, the Andoverian favourite, to the Professorship of Sacred Literature.

But there was still another difficulty to be encountered, after doctrinal differences had been reconciled. The Hopkinsians expressed apprehensions that the Constitution of Phillips Academy would not admit of a Board of Visitors, with supervisory power over the Trustees, and that, if such a Board were constituted, its acts might hereafter be annulled. But, after considerable consultation on the subject, in which Dr. Morse had a very prominent part, and after having received the opinion of two eminent jurists (His Excellency Caleb Strong and the Hon. George Bliss) in favour of the practicability of the Visitorial Plan of Union, that Plan was finally adopted, as an experiment to be continued for seven years. Accordingly, on the 30th of November, Dr. Spring on the one side, and Drs. Pearson and Morse on the other, met, by appointment, in Dr. Morse's study, at Charlestown, and the next morning they had drawn up and mutually signed the following document :

"1. Upon serious and mature deliberation it appears that Union, founded on Visitorial principles, will be safe, honourable and effectual ; and that the power and influence of a Board of Visitors will be as commanding and extensive as that of any Board of Trustees.

"2. It is mutually understood that there shall be one common and permanent creed,—viz., that exhibited by the Andover

Associates in their late conference with the Gentlemen at Newburyport.

"3. It is mutually understood that the Donors, Messrs. Brown, Bartlett and Norris, shall have the liberty and right of supporting two Professors, one of whom shall be a Professor of Revealed Religion, and as many students as the income of their funds will maintain.

"4. It is mutually understood that the Donors have the sole right of prescribing their own Statutes, in consistency with the object and general regulations of the Institution.

"5. The Visitorial System is understood to place the power of choosing Professors in the Trustees; but that the Visitors possess the right of approving or negating their elections.

"6. Upon the death, resignation or removal of a Professor, a successor shall be chosen within six months; and if the first election be negated, a choice shall be made which shall be approved by the visitors, *toties quoties*, within twelve months from the commencement of the vacancy.

"7. No student shall be placed on this foundation, who has not been previously recommended by a Committee appointed by the Visitors.

"8. It is understood that the tuition of the students of the Seminary shall be gratis.

"9. The funds of the Associate Founders shall be preserved forever, distinct from all other funds whatever, without being blended with any other property, by exchange, sale, purchase, loan or otherwise, and separate accounts kept by the Treasurer; and books and all evidence of property kept in a separate trunk or box prepared for prompt removal in case of any emergency.

"10. It is mutually understood that the Associate Founders defray one half of the expense of the necessary buildings and Library of the Seminary.

"11. The Statutes of the Founders, and the Covenant between the Founders and the Trustees, will be submitted to the examination and approbation of two gentlemen learned in the Law, mutually chosen by the parties,—viz., by the Associate Founders and the Trustees aforesaid.

"It is mutually understood that the proposed coalition com-

mences with the ardent hope that the sacred cause of evangelical truth will be thereby most effectually promoted; and that this connection, after an experiment of seven years, will terminate in perfect and indissoluble union.

ELIPHALET PEARSON,
JEDIDIAH MORSE,
SAMUEL SPRING.

Charlestown Mass., 1st December, 1807."

The Visitorial Plan of Union being thus agreed upon, the next thing was to embody its principles in the Statutes of the Associate Founders; but the attempt to do this suggested other difficulties still of a threatening aspect, which it required great sagacity and perseverance to bring to a successful issue. The object, however, was accomplished, after a few weeks, and Dr. Morse was permitted to see this long cherished wish of union between the two parties fully gratified. He announces the crowning step in the process,—namely, the fact of Mr. Norris' having signed the Constitution,—in a letter to Dr. Pearson, of the 28th of February, 1808, and adds the following reflections:

"Laud Deo. How faithful is the Lord to fulfil his promises. In due time ye shall reap, if ye faint not. Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. In his own way and time, He will accomplish his own purposes in this Institution. How honourable to be employed as instruments of laying the foundation of such an establishment for the advancement of his glory! I ever believed that this thing was of God, and that He would in due time accomplish it. The difficulties which we have been called to encounter, however painful and discouraging at the time, have, I trust, made both ourselves and the Institution better."

The Creed which is given at length in the Associate Statutes, and the Visitorial Plan of Union, the Andover Founders adopted as their own, and submitted them as "Additional Statutes" to their Constitution, for acceptance by the Trustees of Phillip's Academy, on condition that that Body accepted the Statutes of the Associate Foundation. The Statutes of the Associate Foundation were submitted at the same time, and, after a protracted discussion, and one or two adjournments, these also were accepted. The measure was adopted by the following vote:

"That this Board, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the objects of the donations presented, and with the goodness of God in putting it into the hearts of his servants, the Associate Founders, to give so liberally to the offerings of the Lord, do cheerfully accept the same for the purposes and upon the terms and conditions expressed in the same instrument, and that we do covenant and engage faithfully to execute the said trust reposed in us agreeably to the said Statutes, and that we will cordially and actively co-operate with the said Founders in the promotion of an object so intimately connected with the glory of God, and inconceivably momentous to the present and future generations of men, in relation both to time and eternity."

At this meeting Dr. Morse handed to the Trustees Mr. Woods' letter of acceptance of the Abbot Professorship of Christian Theology, dated 27 April.

The opening of the Seminary and the inauguration of the two Professors took place on the 28th of September. The following account of

the public services appeared in the Panoplist of that month :

“ Andover, September 28, 1808. This day the Theological Institution established in this town was opened with the following appropriate solemnities :

“ The Morning Exercises commenced with a Prayer by the Rev. Mr. FRENCH. This was followed by an Historical Summary of the rise and progress of Phillips Academy, by Dr. PEARSON. After this the Constitution of the Theological Academy was read by Dr. PEARSON, the Statutes of the Associate Founders, by the Rev. Dr. MORSE, and the Additional Statutes of the Founders, by Rev. Mr. DANA, of Newburyport.

“ In the afternoon Divine service was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. DANA. A Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. DWIGHT from Matthew xiii., 52: ‘ Therefore every Scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of Heaven,’ etc. To this succeeded the Ordination of Dr. PEARSON. The Consecrating Prayer, by Rev. Dr. SPRING; the Charge, by Rev. Mr. FRENCH; and the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Dr. MORSE.

“ After the Ordination was finished, the Creed was read by Rev. Dr. SPRING and repeated and assented to by the Professors. Rev. Dr. PEARSON was then declared to be a Professor in this Institution, and invested with the rights of office by Dr. DWIGHT, and Rev. LEONARD WOODS by Dr. PEARSON.

“ Professor Woods then delivered his Inaugural Oration, on the Glory and Excellency of the Gospel.

“ Professor PEARSON, in consequence of ill health and fatigue, was obliged to decline delivering his Oration. The solemnities were concluded with a Prayer by Dr. DWIGHT.

“ The Assembly, convened from various parts of our country, on this novel and interesting occasion, was numerous and highly respectable.

“ The auspicious commencement of an Institution, so important to the interests of religion and our country, will, we hope, prove a bright morning of a prosperous day.”

Dr. Morse had an important agency also in the appointment of Dr. Griffin as Bartlett Professor of Pulpit Eloquence. It has already been noticed that, as early as January, 1807, he had, through Dr. Rodgers, inquired of Dr. Miller whether he would accept a Professorship in the then proposed Seminary, to which Dr. M. had returned a decided negative. Before the close of that year he made two visits to New York, the object of each of which was, partly at least, to secure a suitable Professor; and the following extract of a letter from Dr. Miller to Dr. Griffin, then of Newark, dated November 4th, shows the direction in which Dr. Morse's thoughts were turned in the prosecution of his object:

"I wish very much to see you on some particular and very important business. Can you not come in next week,—if only you can spend an hour with me. It is on a subject on which Dr. Morse earnestly desired me to converse with you, and in which he thinks the evangelical interests of Massachusetts, and even of New England, are deeply involved."

Again, on the 24th of November, he writes thus:

"Dr. Morse wishes me to converse with you on two points. The first is a Theological Seminary in Massachusetts. When he last saw you that Institution existed only in design. Now very large funds are actually secured, and the organization is commenced. There are five Professorships: of Natural Theology; of Christian Theology; of Biblical Criticism; of Ecclesiastical History; of Sacred Eloquence. Two are already filled—Mr. Woods is Professor of Christian Theology, and Dr. Pearson, of Harvard College, is Professor of Biblical Criticism. The other three are wished, by the gentlemen who take the

lead in this business, to be got from the Middle and Southern States.

“The second subject is this: Some worthy and influential gentlemen, devoted to the interests of evangelical truth, propose to build a large and handsome church in the heart of Boston, and to call one, if not two, able, evangelical and decided men to undertake the pastoral charge; and to make this, like the Seminary, a centre of Orthodox operations. The persons concerned also wish to get a Pastor for this Church from the Southward.

“Dr. Morse and his friends, before he left Boston, had conversed respecting several Southern gentlemen for the above place. At New Haven he and Dr. Dwight conferred, and the result was a determination to turn their eyes toward the following gentlemen—Mr. Griffin of Newark, Mr. Romeyn of Albany, Messrs. Abeel and Miller of New York. You have the whole matter before you.

“Dr. Morse is much engaged on these subjects. He informs me that the funds of both institutions will be ample, and that discerning, pious people think they see in those institutions great and permanent benefit likely to redound to the interests of religion in Massachusetts and New England, and perhaps in the United States. He considers whoever is invited to take part in these institutions, as having a call not easily or lightly to be put aside.

“The Evangelical men in Massachusetts have also organized a General Association, between which and our (Presbyterian) General Assembly they mean to propose a system of intercourse and co-operation. All these may be considered as parts of one great whole, the object of which is to promote the interests of truth.

“The plan of establishing a new church in Boston is not at present ripe enough to be freely spoken of. Please consider it in confidence.

“P. S. Dr. Morse earnestly wishes you to visit Charlestown and Boston as soon as possible.”

Accordingly Dr. Griffin, and with him the Rev.

Henry Kollock, D. D., of Savannah, visited Andover and Boston in the summer of 1808; and then it was proposed that Dr. Kollock should take the pastorate of the Church in Boston, and Dr. Griffin the Professorship at Andover. The latter was accordingly appointed; but he delayed his acceptance on the ground that he wished to unite the two offices of Co pastor at Boston (for it seems to have been originally contemplated that that should be a collegiate charge) and Professor at Andover. This proposal did not suit the views of the Donors, but a compromise was finally entered into to this effect—that the Professor might preach during half the year in Boston, where also he might reside for four months in the year. On these conditions Dr. Griffin accepted the Professorship late in March, 1809, and was inaugurated on the 20th of June following.

Dr. Pearson, from some cause which perhaps is not well defined, but which some have supposed to have been a feeling of disappointment that the Seminary, after commencing its operations, seemed to lean too much towards Hopkinsianism,—retained his position as Professor but little more than a year. He, however, held his office as President of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy until his death, in 1826. Dr. Morse also remained a member of the Board until *his* death, which occurred in the same year; but he did not share the apprehensions of his friend that the Seminary had not realized the advantages of the Plan of Union. Not only as Trustee,

but in his private capacity, he was always ready to do his utmost in the way of devising and executing measures for the benefit of the Institution.

Dr. Morse's agency in the establishment of the Andover Seminary may perhaps be summed up in the following statement—That he was concerned in the idea of the origination of the Institution; that, as one of the Trustees of Phillips Academy, he exerted a powerful influence in connecting the project with the Academy; that his hand is to be traced in much that was done at Andover during the first year, especially in drawing up the Constitution; that to him is chiefly due the comprehensive and liberal policy of embracing the different classes of Calvinists in the grand enterprise; that when the Hopkinsians projected a similar Institution, on a narrower basis, it was in a great degree through his influence that a course of measures was inaugurated and successfully prosecuted for bringing them to co-operate with the other party; that when, in carrying out the Articles of agreement, new difficulties arose at every step, they were obviated chiefly by his great sagacity and untiring effort; that when, under his advisement, those Articles had been embodied by the two classes of Donors in their respective Statutes, he was chiefly instrumental of securing their adoption by the Trustees of the Academy, by which the foundation was completed; and, finally, that he took part in the opening of the Seminary, and remained till the close of life its active friend and supporter. In

view of this array of facts it admits of no question that he had a most important agency in originating and giving complexion to this venerable institution.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARK STREET CHURCH, BOSTON.

The project for establishing Park Street Church originated as early as 1807. As it was designed especially to sustain the interests of Orthodoxy in the capital of New England, Dr. Morse, as was to be expected, not only sympathized with, but lent his active influence to, the enterprise. On a visit which he made to New York in October, 1807, he was requested, in the prospect of the formation of the Church, by several influential gentlemen who were to be connected with it, to endeavour to find some one suitable to become its Pastor. Dr. Miller was first applied to, but could not be persuaded even to entertain the idea of a separation from his own charge. Proposals were then made to Dr. Kollock, of Savannah, who, as has been already stated, visited Boston in the Summer of 1808, and made an impression by his preaching so favourable that an invitation was at once extended to him to take charge of the proposed Society. This invitation he was at first strongly inclined to accept; and indicated his half formed purpose to this effect, in a letter to Dr. Morse, written shortly after his return to Georgia; but, upon more mature reflection, he was led to a different view of the case,

and in September following returned a negative answer.

Meanwhile measures were taken to organize the Church, and a subscription was opened for building a house of worship. On the evening of the 6th of February, 1809, ten individuals met at the house of William Thurston Esq., afterwards a Trustee; and a Committee appointed by them framed the strictly Calvinistic Confession of Faith, subsequently adopted and still used by that Church.

On the 27th of February, at the invitation of this Committee, were assembled at Mr. Thurston's the Pastors of the three churches in Charlestown, Cambridge and Dorchester, each accompanied by a lay delegate; and by this Ecclesiastical Council the new Church was organized, consisting of twenty-six members. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Morse from Ps. cxviii, 25: "Save, now, I beseech thee, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity." The Old South Church and the Federal Street Church in Boston were also invited to be on the Council, but declined.

The new Church was organized in March, and the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid in the beginning of May following, the Prayer and Address on the occasion being by the Rev. Drs. Holmes and Morse. The building was dedicated the next winter while Dr. Morse was on a visit to South Carolina. Dr. Griffin, who preached on the occasion, writes thus to him under date of 17 January, 1810:

“On the 10th our new church was dedicated, and the contract between the Church and myself explained and publicly renewed. Mr. Codman began the exercises of the day by reading an Anthem, and then made a Dedicatory Prayer. Mr. Huntington followed the Sermon with a Prayer and a Psalm. Dr. Holmes then explained the contract, and led the parties to a public renewal of it, and then prayed. The whole was concluded with the blessing. The house was filled. Next Monday is the day appointed for the sale of our pews. It is believed we shall sell from seventy to a hundred the first day. Last night the Church voted to give Dr. Nott a call.”

Dr. Morse was informed by a letter from Mr. Thurston of the 4th of April that this call had been declined, but that it was renewed, and he was requested to write to Dr. Nott, to induce him, if possible, still to accept it. On hearing of the Rev. Dr. Mason's resignation of his pastoral charge of the First Associate Reformed Church in New York city, he addressed a letter to him from Charleston. S. C., on the 25th of April, from which the following is an extract:

“If your plans are not already formed, and you can suspend, till I see you next month, your determination as to your future course, I pray you to do it. Perhaps Providence intends Boston, Andover or Cambridge as the scene of your future labours. Here you know is a wide and most important field of usefulness. Should your way be directed thither, my heart would be encouraged more than you can imagine, to go home and renew my labors with you in that part of the vineyard of our Lord, which is so awfully overrun with error and torn by divisions. I hope your views have been toward Boston. If not, turn them, I pray you seriously, that way.”

Late in the summer, Dr. Morse met the pew proprietors of Park Street Church, at their re-

quest, as their Moderator, for the purpose of concurring with the church members who had voted unanimously a second time to call Dr. Nott. At the close of the meeting, the Moderator was requested to write and urge Dr. Nott to accept the call. With this request he complied, but to no purpose, as the call was again declined.

Dr. Griffin had continued to supply the pulpit after the dedication of the church, as far as his engagements at Andover would allow. After Dr. Kollock had declined their call in September, 1809, a call was presented to Dr. Griffin, which he also declined; but it was renewed in February, 1811. After hesitating for a long time, he resigned his Professorship at Andover, and was installed Pastor of Park Street Church on the 31st of July, 1811. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Worcester, of Salem, and the Introductory Prayer was offered by Dr. Morse. The establishment of this church Dr. M. regarded as marking an epoch in the religious history of New England.

THE DORCHESTER CONTROVERSY.

From October, 1811, till May, 1812, Dr. Morse was actively engaged in assisting his friend, the Rev. John Codman, of Dorchester, in the prosecution of a controversy which threatened, at one time, to drive him from his pulpit. Mr. Codman was settled on the 7th of December, 1808, as Pastor of the Second Church and Congregation, then lately organized in Dorchester. While a

student of Divinity at Hingham, under the Rev. Henry Ware, (afterwards Professor in Harvard College), in 1803, four printed sermons, on Predestination, by the Rev. William Cooper, of Brattle Street Church, Boston, were put into his hands, with a request by his teacher that he would write a Review of them for the Monthly Anthology. But, on perusing them, he became a convert to the doctrine that he was expected to condemn, and, though he wrote the Review, as requested, it appeared, not in the Monthly Anthology, but in the Panoplist.* His convictions in favour of the Orthodox system were subsequently rendered clearer and stronger by a residence for some time in Edinburgh, and an attendance on the Theological Lectures in connection with the University there.

After his settlement in Dorchester he came to have scruples in respect to indiscriminate exchanges with the surrounding clergy, on the ground that a portion of them had abandoned doctrines which he regarded as fundamental in the Christian system. This course proved offensive to some prominent persons in his congregation, and their complaints ripened into personal charges, which, on the 30th of October, 1811, a Mutual Council was called to adjudicate.

The Letter Missive to the Churches represented on the occasion, is dated 4 October, and runs thus: "to hear and determine certain arti-

* Vol. I., No. 1, for June, 1805.

cles of charge presented by certain aggrieved brethren of the Church, and the Parish Committee against their Pastor." When Dr. Lyman, who was one of the ministers selected, received the letter, in the expectation of not responding to the call by personal attendance, he addressed a letter to Dr. Morse, complaining of the very limited powers with which the Council were invested, and reprobating the course which the liberal party were disposed to pursue. He, however, in consequence of being informed that his absence "might impede the course of justice, and destroy the equality necessary to give contentment and safety to parties in a controversy," changed his purpose, made the journey to Dorchester, and took his seat in the Council.

When the Council convened, it consisted of twelve Pastors, each with a lay delegate. As half of these were chosen by the Complainants and half by the Pastor, they took their complexion accordingly.* When called to decide whether there was just cause of complaint against the Rev. Mr. Codman for having neglected to exchange ministerial labours with the ministers of the Boston Association generally, they were

* The names of the Pastors were as follows: Chosen by the complainants: Rev. John Reed, D. D., Bridgewater; Rev. R. R. Elliot, Watertown; Rev. Thomas Thacher, Dedham; Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D., Worcester; Rev. Samuel Kendall, D. D., Western. Chosen by the Pastor: Rev. Thomas Prentiss, D. D., Medfield; Rev. Joseph Lyman, D. D., Hatfield; Rev. William Greenough, Newton; Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D., Worcester; Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D., Charlestown; Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., Salem.

equally divided, after a session of ten days, so that they left the case substantially as they found it.

Mr. Codman's friends were not a little encouraged by this result to hope that the controversy would now cease, and that he would be unembarrassed in the exercise of his own discretion in respect to the matter of exchanges; but in this they were disappointed. In consequence of the continued dissatisfaction of the Liberal party, the Pastor and his friends united with them in calling another Mutual Council, which convened on the 12th of May, 1812. This Council was constituted like the former, half Liberal and half Orthodox. The only question presented was,—“Is it expedient that the ministerial and pastoral relation between the Rev. Mr. Codman and the Second Parish in Dorchester be dissolved?” The casting vote was given by the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Lathrop, of West Springfield, and was in the negative; so that Mr. Codman still remained Pastor. But the Moderator had appended to his decision the following note:

“I gave my vote in the negative on a full belief and strong persuasion that, from this time forward, Mr. Codman would open a more free and liberal intercourse with his ministerial brethren, and thus remove the only objection alleged against him, and the only reason urged for his dismissal. If his future conduct should be the same as in time past in this respect, I should be much disappointed and grieved; and if I should find myself thus disappointed, I should certainly have no hesi-

tancy in giving my vote for his dismissal, if called in Providence to give my voice on the question."

This note was regarded by Mr. Codman's friends as of somewhat dubious import, though Mr. C. subsequently received an explanation of it from the writer that must have relieved him, in some degree, of his embarrassment. Two months later the Parish Committee addressed a letter to Mr. Codman, claiming that the Council had sanctioned their complaints, and demanding a categorical answer whether or not he intended to exchange indiscriminately with twelve ministers (naming them) of the Boston Association. He showed the letter to his friend, Dr. Morse, who made it the subject of a communication to Dr. Lathrop, in which he expresses the fears he had entertained from the first that the meaning of his note would be perverted, and assures Dr. Lathrop that, in the state of ecclesiastical affairs in the region of Boston, the declining to exchange freely with all the Congregational ministers around him was not a sufficient reason for depriving a church of a Pastor to whom they were tenderly attached, who filled an important sphere of influence, and whose labours had been abundantly blessed. He adds:

"If such a principle were admitted as correct, there is not a faithful minister in this whole region, holding the doctrines which you hold, Sir, who would be permitted long to remain in his station. In every parish there would be found a sufficient number, (at least as many as existed originally in the Dorchester Society, which did not exceed three or four,) on this principle to remove him."

The dissatisfied members continued for a few months longer to urge Mr. Codman's dismissal; but at length, in December, 1812, they accepted the terms of compromise, which had been previously offered them, and, their pews being purchased at cost by the Pastor and his friends, they withdrew their names from the parish roll. Thus terminated a controversy of about a year and a half, which was the first decisive step towards the division of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts.

PUBLISHING THE PAMPHLET ON AMERICAN UNITARIANISM.

In the spring of 1815, Dr. Morse learned, through one of his sons, that a book had lately been issued from the London press, containing an account of Unitarianism in this country—it was the *Memoir of the Life of Theophilus Lindsey* by Thomas Belsham. On obtaining the loan of a copy of this work from a gentleman in Boston, he found, as had been reported to him, a chapter devoted to the History of American Unitarianism. This chapter he caused to be transcribed, and published in a pamphlet, entitled "American Unitarianism, or a Brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America, compiled from Documents and Information communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D., and William Wells, Jr. Esq., of Boston, and from other Unitarian gentlemen in this country." By the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Essex Street, London. Extracted from

the 'Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey,' published in London in 1812, and now published for the benefit of the Christian Churches in this country, without note or alteration."

First in the pamphlet appear Letters of Dr. Freeman, containing an account of the introduction of the Unitarian Liturgy in the Stone Chapel, and other events in the progress of Unitarianism in this country previous to the year 1800. These letters contain also accounts of some later attempts to form a few Unitarian churches in the States of Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. Then follows a letter from William Wells, Jr., Esq., dated Boston, 21 March, 1812, from which the following is an extract:

"With regard to the progress of Unitarianism, . . . its tenets have spread very extensively in New England, but I believe there is only one church professedly Unitarian. . . Most of our Boston clergy and respectable laymen (of whom we have many enlightened theologians) are Unitarian. Nor do they think it at all necessary to conceal their sentiments upon these subjects, but express them without the least hesitation when they judge it proper. I may safely say, the general habit of thinking and speaking upon this question in Boston is Unitarian. At the same time, the controversy is seldom or never introduced into the pulpit. I except the Stone Chapel Church. If publications make their appearance attacking Unitarian sentiments, they are commonly answered with spirit and ability; but the majority of those who are Unitarians are perhaps of those sentiments without any distinct consciousness of being so. Like the first Christians, finding no sentiments but these in the New Testament, and not accustomed to hear the language of the New Testament strained and warped by theological system-makers, they adopt naturally a just mode of thinking. This state of things appears to me so

favourable to the dissemination of correct sentiments, that I should perhaps regret a great degree of excitement in the public mind upon these subjects. The majority would eventually be against us. The ignorant, the violent, the ambitious, and the cunning, would carry the multitude with them in religion as they do in politics. One Dr. M—, in a contest for spreading his own sentiments among the great body of the people, would, at least for a time, beat ten Priestleys."

The letter goes on to deprecate controversy, and to give reasons why it should be avoided.

Mr. Belsham thus expresses his doubts in respect to the correctness of the views contained in the above extract :

"Being myself a friend to ingenuousness and candour, I could wish to see all who are truly Unitarians, openly such, and teaching the doctrine of the simple, indivisible unity of God, as well as to practise the rites of Unitarian worship. But I would not presume to judge for another. There may possibly be reasons for caution which do not occur to me, and of which I am not competent to judge. The time, however, must come,—perhaps it is near,—when truth will no longer endure confinement."

Though the *Memoirs of the Life of Lindsey* appeared in London in 1812, there were but few individuals in this country who knew of the existence of such a work until some three years after its publication. One of these was John Adams, as appears from the following letter of his to Thomas Jefferson. The letter to which he alludes was one of Jefferson's to Dr. Priestley, contained in Belsham's book :

BRAINTREE, June 10, 1818.

"Other parts of this letter may hereafter be considered, if I can keep the book long enough; but only four copies have

arrived in Boston, and they have spread terror, as yet however in secret."

The Pamphlet is introduced to the American Public by the following Preface:

"When such radical and essential changes take place in the religion of a country as have been witnessed in some parts of New England, particularly in Boston and the region about it, during the last thirty years, it is gratifying to inquiring minds to know from correct and undisputed sources and documents, in what manner and by what steps such changes have been effected. The Publishers of this pamphlet are happy that they have it in their power to satisfy the inquisitive on this subject. The information desired will be found in the following pages.

"It is proper in this place to admonish the reader that it is not our object to decide the great question,—which has the preference,—the *old faith* of the Fathers of New England, which Unitarians (to give them their own title) reject as irrational and unscriptural; or that which they have desired, under the idea of *reform*, to introduce into its place. On this question every one in this land of freedom of opinion, and of abundant means of information, must judge for himself. To his own Master each must stand or fall. We mean here to offer no opinion of our own; to introduce nothing of controversy; but merely to give a plain history of very important facts, derived from unquestionable sources, disclosing the instruments and operations by which these great and visible changes in the religious faith of so many of our Clergy, of the Churches, and of the University, in this part of New England, have been accomplished. This publication seems now to be required, and even necessary; because those who have been chiefly concerned in conducting these operations, have deemed it expedient till this stage of their process, to conceal from the mass of the Christian community their ultimate designs. The History, therefore, which we now lay before the public, will be, in its most material parts, new to most of our readers, and, as we believe, interesting to all. Though this History is now before the public, we are not quite certain that all the advocates of

the changes in the religion of our country, which it relates, are agreed as to the expediency and seasonableness of the present disclosure, or are disposed to commend Mr. Belsham for making it, in the manner he has done, on the other side of the Atlantic. The care which has been manifested to limit the knowledge of this extraordinary work during many months, (probably two years,) since its arrival in Boston, indicates pretty plainly the unwillingness of those who possessed copies of it, to have its contents generally known. On this subject, however, we would not be positive. Appearances may have deceived us. The gentlemen who received this work from its author, may have had other and very satisfactory reasons for this apparent concealment of it for so long a period. If so, we may, and we hope we shall, receive their thanks, and the thanks also of other American Unitarians, in bringing before the public their own history in so unexceptionable a form, from the pen of a man, considered deservedly as standing at the head of their denomination, who derived his facts and information confessedly from gentlemen in this country, who were best acquainted with the subject; who have been principals in the History which they narrate, and who wrote, moreover, evidently not for the public eye, but only for the information of private, confidential friends, and of course what they conceived to be naked and undisguised truth. Rarely, indeed, has the Christian public been favoured with a portion of history, which has had as high claims to attention and credit, for the reasons above stated, as that which is contained in the following pages. We may, therefore, without presumption, anticipate the pleasure we shall afford to all denominations of Christians by giving them, in a cheap form, this very interesting portion of ecclesiastical history.

“We have another reason for making this publication. Many complaints have been made that the Boston clergy are ‘slanderosly reported’ to be Unitarians. This pamphlet will show who are the ‘slanderers,’ if indeed they deserve this epithet, and exculpate some who have been falsely accused in this thing.”

The pamphlet excited great interest, as was indicated by the fact that, within a little more

than a month, five editions, of five hundred each, were printed and sold. Dr. Morse sent a copy to John Adams, not aware evidently that he had any previous knowledge of the book, accompanied with the following note :

“ 10 May. The enclosed pamphlet may not have fallen under your eye. It contains some things which may amuse and interest you.”

It brought from the venerable statesman this characteristic reply, which is here given entire, though part of it has already been quoted :

[“ This letter must not be printed.”]

“ QUINCY, May 15, 1815.

“ Dear Doctor: I thank you for your favour of the 10th and the pamphlet enclosed,—‘ American Unitarianism.’ I have turned over its leaves and found nothing that was not familiarly known to me.

“ In the Preface Unitarianism is represented as only thirty years old in New England. I can testify as a witness to its old age. Sixty-five years ago, my own minister, the Rev. Samuel Bryant, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the West Church in Boston, the Rev. Mr. Shute, of Hingham, the Rev. John Brown, of Cohasset, and perhaps equal to all, if not above all, the Rev. Mr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians.

“ Among the Laity, how many could I name, Lawyers, Physicians, Tradesmen, Farmers. I could fill a sheet, but at present will name only one, Richard Cranch, a man who had studied Divinity, Jewish and Christian Antiquities, more than any clergyman now existing in New England.

“ More than fifty years ago, I read Dr. Samuel Clark, Emlyn and Dr. Waterland. Do you expect, my dear Doctor, to teach me any thing new in favour of Athanasianism ?

“ There is, my dear Doctor, at present existing in the world a Church Philosophic as subtle and learned, and as hypocritical, as the Holy Roman Catholic, Apostolic and Œcumenical

Church. This Philosophical Church was originally English. Voltaire learned it from Lord Herbert, Hobbs, Morgan, Collins, Shaftsbury, Bolingbroke, &c. You may depend upon it your exertions will promote the Church Philosophic more than the Church Athanasian or Presbyterian.

"This and the coming age will not be ruled by Inquisitions and Jesuits. The restoration of Napoleon has been caused by the resuscitation of Inquisitions and Jesuits.

"I am and wish to be your friend,

"Rev. Dr. MORSE.

JOHN ADAMS."

How this letter came to be published, in face of the distinct prohibition at the beginning, is thus explained by Dr. Morse :

"9 September, 1815. I find that a copy of your letter (not from me) has found its way on Change in Boston, and copies have been multiplied and sent into different parts of the country. In these circumstances, I presume, Sir, you will have no objection to its being printed. Otherwise, it may produce effects, from the manner in which it was circulated, which were not anticipated by you, and which it would not be pleasant to me to contemplate. I had no expectation nor design to enlist you, Sir, in the controversy, when I sent you the Pamphlet; but I supposed merely that the letters of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Jefferson particularly might amuse you. Such an answer to my letter and communication was not expected. But the information it contains is highly important and very interesting, and such as I should be very glad, with your permission, to lay before the public. Any further information which you may possess on this subject will be gratefully received."

The publication of this pamphlet proved the harbinger of a controversy that was continued through several years, being conducted chiefly by Dr. Worcester, Professors Woods and Stuart, and Mr. Evarts, the Editor of the Panoplist, on the Orthodox side, while Dr. Channing, Professor

Ware, and the Editor of the General Repository and Review were the principal writers in favour of Unitarianism. The pamphlets on both sides were written with marked ability, and withal with great fairness; and it may reasonably be doubted whether there is to be found in the English language a discussion of the same themes equally luminous and satisfactory.

III.

HIS LABOURS AS A PHILANTHROPIST.

As Dr. Morse's ministry fell within the period signalized by the opening of the modern era of Christian benevolence, it was to be expected, considering the great energies of his intellectual and moral nature, that he would acquire an honoured name among the Philanthropists of his generation. Such an expectation is fully justified and met in the history of his life. To the success of nearly all the leading benevolent enterprises of his day he was not only a cordial well-wisher but an efficient contributor. The design of this chapter is to present him in the relation he sustained to some of the more prominent of these objects.

Society for Propagating the Gospel.

First, in the order of time, were the benevolent efforts which he put forth in connection with the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America,—the oldest Missionary Society in the United States.

In 1787 the Society in Scotland for the propagation of Christian knowledge constituted a number of gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity

a Board of Commissioners, to disburse that portion of their funds which was appropriated to the evangelizing of the Indians. The gentlemen appointed to this work were painfully impressed by the idea that such an object should attract less attention at home than abroad; and they resolved to wipe away the reproach by forming an organization with reference to the same work. The result was that, within a very short time, was formed "the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America." It was incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature in December of that year, but had not the requisite funds for missionary operations, till it received what is called the 'Alford Donation'—a bequest of thirteen thousand dollars from John Alford, a wealthy inhabitant of Charlestown, who had died a short time before Mr. Morse's settlement. Of this Society Mr. Morse was elected a member in 1792; and appointed Assistant Secretary in 1795; and on the death of Dr. Thacher in 1802, he succeeded him as Secretary.

In the summer of 1796 the Society in Scotland requested their Board of Commissioners in Boston "to send a deputation of their number to the Onondaga country (in the State of New York), to examine into the state of religion in the mission." Dr. Belknap and Dr. Morse were selected to perform this service. They were gone on their mission for several weeks; and the Report which they presented on their return, is preserved in

the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The effect of this visit upon Dr. Belknap, who was of a cool and cautious temperament, was to convince him of the utter hopelessness of all efforts to civilize and Christianize the Indians; while Dr. Morse, on the other hand, with his more sanguine habit of mind, was encouraged to prosecute the work with unfaltering zeal. Referring to this journey, in a letter to Governor Jay, (21 April, 1797), he says:

“On my way from Oneida last summer, I met in New York with Mr. Jones, (Comptroller of the State), who cheered me with the information that the sale of the Indian lands would supply the funds necessary to support missionaries among the Indians of your State. Should you, Sir, and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs think proper so to appropriate the money, the Society in Boston will use their best endeavours to procure and recommend suitable persons for missionaries.”

Besides this mission patronized by the “Board of Commissioners” of the Society in Scotland, the Society for propagating the Gospel had missions among the Indians at Marshpee and Martha’s Vineyard, Massachusetts; Narragansett, Rhode Island; Penobscot, Maine; and Wyandotte, Ohio. In the other department of the Society’s labours,—the supply of religious instruction to the destitute settlements of whites, from four to nine missionaries were employed at this period,—their term of service varying from three weeks to twelve months—in Maine, Rhode Island, Ver-

mont and New York. His personal labours in one of these fields may here properly be noticed.

Early in the present century the spiritual wants of the fishermen, inhabiting the Isles of Shoals, off Portsmouth, N. H., attracted the attention of the Society for propagating the Gospel. As Assistant Secretary of that Society he received a letter, in April, 1799, from Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newburyport, who was deeply interested in behalf of these poor people, containing a most graphic account of their physical as well as spiritual degradation, and earnestly invoking the Society's aid for their relief and improvement. The application was successful, and the Society voted the sum of one hundred dollars a year towards the support of a religious teacher, and sent a missionary to labour among them for three months. In the summer of 1800, Dr. Morse, by the appointment and at the expense of the Society, visited these Islands in the capacity of a missionary. His mission occupied ten days,—from the 5th to the 15th of August. He kept a journal, which, on his return, was submitted to the Society as his Report, and which is preserved in manuscript in their archives. The following extracts may give some idea of the manner in which he was occupied during this period:

“7 August (Thursday).—I have visited every family and most of them several times, and inquired particularly into their circumstances. From no individual did I receive the least personal disrespect during my stay, and my reception was as

favourable and respectful as ought to be expected from people in their circumstances. When I informed them whence I came, by whose request and the object of my mission, they seemed generally deeply affected, and several shed tears, and expressed surprise that people at such a distance should think of them, and be even more concerned for them than they were for themselves. At three o'clock I preached a lecture to an audience of about seventy persons, who behaved with decency, were attentive and solemn. After service I gave notice that all who wished to have their children baptized, must make it known to me previously to the Sabbath, that I might converse with them on the subject. This notice was generally regarded. Appointed a lecture for the next day at three o'clock on Star Island.

"8 August (Friday)—Spent the morning in catechising and instructing about a dozen children. Distributed such portions of the books sent by the Society as I thought most needed. Agreeably to appointment, went to Star Island at three o'clock, P. M., and preached at the house of Mrs. Maco. Two-thirds of the people, as nearly as I could judge, attended. After service, gave notice that I should spend the next day (Saturday) in catechising the children and visiting the people at their houses.

"9 August (Saturday)—Twenty-four children assembled. Spent two hours in hearing them read, catechising, praying with and instructing them. Two or three could read tolerably well; but the greater part appeared totally ignorant. The afternoon I spent in conversing with those who were desirous of having their children baptized, and in visiting the people at their own houses.

"In regard to Baptism, I found some difficulty in my own mind to determine who were the proper subjects. Several heads of families had had some of their children baptized, as opportunity offered. In respect to these parents, it appeared to me proper that the rest of their children should be admitted to the same privilege. To other parents I endeavoured to explain the nature and design of the ordinance, questioned them as to their faith in the Christian religion, informed them

of the obligations which an admission to this ordinance laid them under to see that their children were properly educated, and to set a good example before them; and in cases where the answers were satisfactory, I allowed them to bring their children for baptism.

"To-day I was told of two couples who had lived together as man and wife for a number of years, but who had not been married, and each had several children. I asked myself whether it would not now be proper to marry them? After consideration I decided the matter in the affirmative. It would be improper, I thought, to separate them, or to suffer them to continue to live together unmarried. Further, the marrying of them would tend to keep up a respect for the marriage institution. As I found these islanders without civil law and in a state of nature, I presumed upon my right, as a minister of Christ, to marry them, which I accordingly did the next day; not, however, without reproving them for their past sin, representing to them the importance of the marriage covenant, and inculcating upon them its duties.

"10 August (Sunday).—Never did I spend a Sabbath more laboriously and more satisfactorily than this. The people very generally assembled, and with great apparent cheerfulness. I preached morning and afternoon. At the conclusion of the afternoon service and in the evening I baptized thirty-one children.

"11 August (Monday).—Went round to every family on Star Island to bid them farewell. Many of the people manifested the usual sensibilities on such occasions, and several expressed their thanks for my visit, their obligations to the Society, and their earnest desires not to be forgotten."

Having accomplished his mission at the Isles, he took leave of the people, and went first to Portsmouth, where he called on a number of prominent individuals, representing to them the necessities of the Islanders, and informing them of what the Society had done for them, and what

he supposed they were still ready to do. He was much gratified to find that these gentlemen were ready to assist in building them a meeting-house, and in furnishing them the means of instruction and comfort. From Portsmouth he passed on to Exeter, where he saw Governor Gilman, Judge Tenney, Judge Peabody, and others of high standing, all of whom expressed their hearty approval of the object of his mission, and their willingness not only to contribute to it themselves, but to endeavour to secure aid to it from the Legislature. Thence he proceeded to Newburyport, where he had a cordial welcome from his friend Mr. Tyng, who listened eagerly and gratefully to the account which he had to give of the Islanders. At the suggestion of the gentlemen whom he had met in Portsmouth, he proposed to Mr. Tyng that a subscription paper in aid of the object for which he was labouring, should be printed, and circulated in the principal towns between Portsmouth and Boston; and this, he was gratified to find, met Mr. T.'s cordial approbation. The paper was accordingly drafted at once, and a number of copies printed for distribution. The people of Newburyport entered with great spirit into the enterprise, and so much was done within a few hours as to render it almost certain that not many months would elapse before the Islanders would have a decent place of worship. He distributed the subscription papers in the several towns through which he passed on his homeward way from Newburyport, and was encouraged to

expect considerable success. The closing record of his journey is :

“ 15 August (Friday).—At 5 P. M. arrived at Charlestown, from a ten days' journey, the most pleasant and prosperous that I ever performed in the course of my life.”

The new meeting-house was completed by the end of October. It was a small edifice built of stone, and with a steeple ; so that it served the double purpose of a place of worship for the inhabitants and a landmark for seamen. On the 14th of November, Dr. Morse went, by invitation of Mr. Tyng, and accompanied by Mr. John Low, the Society's newly appointed missionary to the Islands, and the same afternoon dedicated the meeting-house, preaching an appropriate sermon on the occasion. In the evening the inhabitants assembled at his lodgings, and entered into a covenant for their future conduct, agreeably to articles which had been prepared by Mr. Tyng. In the spring of 1801 Mr. Low was succeeded in this mission by Mr. Josiah Stevens, whom the New Hampshire Legislature constituted Justice of the Peace, that he might thus restrain some immoralities which he could not reach from the pulpit. He died greatly lamented in 1804.

While this missionary work was thus going forward, Dr. Thacher was the Secretary of the Society ; but, owing to his delicate health, the duties of the office were performed chiefly by Dr. Morse. In the fall of 1802 Dr. Thacher went to Savannah, by the advice of his physi-

cian, and in December the Society received tidings of his death. What Dr. Morse's estimate of his character was, may be gathered from the following extract of a letter which he addressed to the Rev. Dr. Kemp, Secretary of the Society in Scotland, 4 February, 1803 :

"I am sorry that my first official letter to you must announce melancholy tidings. Our worthy and excellent friend Dr. Thacher is no more! He died at Savannah, in Georgia, the 10th of December. His remains have been since brought to Boston. His disease was pulmonary. His end was peace. He died in the full faith of the doctrines he had preached, which were the doctrines of grace, and in the hope that is full of immortality. His death I consider as an irreparable loss to his family, his congregation, and to the Society for Propagating the Gospel and Board of Commissioners, of which he was the worthy and faithful Secretary. I feel quite unworthy to succeed him in that office, to which I have been appointed since his death."

Though aided by a Board of Directors, the greater part of the labour performed by the Society devolved on the Secretary. The period in which he held this office—about seven years—witnessed to a great enlargement of the Society's operations. The State of Massachusetts which, from 1794 to 1803, had only granted in all one thousand dollars, made now an annual donation of this same sum for four years, commencing with 1804. In addition to these several grants from the State, the Society, for several years, held a public religious service, at which its claims were presented in a Discourse by some one of its members, and a collection taken up in aid of the

object. The first service was held in Brattle Street Church, Boston, on the 19th of January, 1804, much having previously been done to give both publicity and interest to the occasion. Dr. Morse preached the Annual Sermon before the Society, in 1810, which was published. He resigned his office as Secretary of the Society, in 1810, but continued still a member of the Select Committee, and retained the Secretaryship of the Board of Commissioners.

MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT SOCIETY.

The republication of Dr. Morse's American Geography in England had a very decided influence in promoting emigration from Europe to this country. The Rev. William Wells, Dr. Priestley, and several other distinguished Dissenting ministers, addressed letters to him, assuring him of the important service he had rendered to many people on that side of the Atlantic, by inducing them to seek a permanent home in the United States. To this no doubt may be traced the origin, about the close of the year 1793, of "the Massachusetts Society for the Information and Advice of Immigrants." Of this Society, the eminent merchant, Thomas Russell, his parishioner, was President, and himself the Corresponding Secretary. In the Prospectus, still preserved, in his hand-writing, he says:

"The inhabitants of New England, satisfied with the natural increase of their population, have, hitherto, rather discouraged than countenanced foreigners from settling among them.

Hence few Europeans have come to us since 1640. The great body of the present inhabitants are the offspring of about twenty-one thousand persons, who came over previous to that period, driven from their native land by persecution and oppression. This wise policy has preserved a homogeneity of habits, manners, language, government and religion. But, owing to the present disturbed state of Europe, causing large emigrations and jeoparding our commerce with that quarter of the globe, it becomes a question now whether a change of policy on our part is not required alike by humanity and self-interest."

Such were the motives that prompted to the formation of this Society. It was established under very favourable auspices, and numbered, on the original list of its members, upwards of fifty of the prominent clergymen and laymen of Boston and its vicinity.

Within a year afterwards a similar Society was formed in New York, and another in Philadelphia, with both of which the Massachusetts Society held correspondence. To the Secretary of the latter Dr. Morse writes, December 22, 1794 :

" Our Society originated from the evident necessity of some such institution at a period when foreigners were flowing in upon us in great numbers, seeking a quiet retreat and peaceful settlement in our happy country. To show a friendly attention to these people according to their several necessities and views, to do to them as we would wish them to do to us in like circumstances, are the objects of our Association. It is with pleasure we hear that other similar Bodies are formed in New York and Philadelphia. By our mutual correspondence the advantages to Emigrants will be increased. It is desirable that such Associations should be formed in other capital towns in the United States. In this Commonwealth are established iron, glass, woolen and duck manufactories ; and workmen are much

wanted. Should any such land in Philadelphia, and need employment, let them come this way."

On the 26th of April, 1795, he writes :

"The current of immigration is turned principally to the Southward. Few, during the past year, have come to New England, so that our Society has had little to do."

For the reason stated in the last extract, the Massachusetts Society first suspended, and in a few years ceased altogether, its operations. But no one probably had more influence in originating it, or in promoting its interests during the period of its continuance, than Dr. Morse.

IN AID OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NAVY YARD AT CHARLESTOWN.

While Dr. Morse, even in his philanthropic movements, habitually recognized the fact that he was a Christian minister, and, as such, directed his efforts generally to the moral and spiritual improvement of his fellow men, or to the relief of human suffering, he did not hesitate, as opportunity offered, to put forth his energies in aid of the secular interests of the community. One occasion on which he did this was the establishment of the two docks, in other words, the Navy Yard, at Charlestown. On the 29th of March, 1799, he writes thus to Benjamin Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy :

"I perceive that Congress has passed an Act authorizing the establishment of 'two Docks for the convenience of repairing the public ships and vessels, in suitable places in the United States.'
• • • • •

After stating the advantages that Charlestown offers for this purpose, he adds:

“I have no particular interest to serve in this business, separate from that of my country.”

He subsequently obtained from Col. John May an accurate account of the tides in Boston Harbour, with other information, which he forwarded in October following to the Secretary.

Early the next year (1800) he was absent from home six weeks, part of which time he spent in Philadelphia, his fellow townsmen having commissioned him to promote their object by his personal influence with the Government. On his return to Charlestown he writes to his father-in-law, Judge Breese:

“The people seem pleased with what I have done respecting the Dock;” and a few days later, he writes,—“We are all alive respecting the Dock. On Thursday we are to have a town meeting on the subject, to determine at what price the Government shall have the land, provided they conclude to establish the Dock here. Some of the land-owners are very obstinate. The Bostonians are attempting to get the Dock on Noddle’s Island. I think they will not succeed.”

At the Town meeting, on the 27th of March, Dr. Morse was appointed to furnish instructions to the Agent commissioned to prosecute their cause at the seat of Government. The matter was kept awhile in abeyance; and President Adams, in the mean time, wrote to him, express-

ing some doubt of the final issue; but the result was fully in accordance with Dr. Morse's wishes.

IN BEHALF OF THE AFRICANS.

During Mr. Morse's sojourn in Georgia, previous to his settlement in Charlestown, both his thoughts and sensibilities seem to have been deeply exercised in respect to the abject condition of the slaves. On the death of one of them in the family in which he lived he makes the following touching reflections:

"To day Sullivan, one of the negro fellows, died very suddenly. The negroes lay it to heart. Sullivan's wife is much affected, which shows that the negroes have sensibility. The death of a negro is considered by his master as only the loss of so much property, just as the loss of cattle is with us at the North. If a valuable negro die, it calls forth the remark that some old worn-out slave could have been better spared. Can this be right? Are not the slaves immortal beings? Should they not have the opportunity of rising in the scale of humanity as the whites have?"

No doubt the observation which he made at this period on the degradation incident to Slavery, predisposed him to the course of vigorous effort which he afterwards commenced and prosecuted in aid of the improvement of the African race. In the fall of 1802, while engaged, on a Saturday evening, in making his preparation for the Sabbath, he was disturbed by the noise of a profane rabble in the street; and, taking his cane in his hand, went out to see what he could do to disperse them. As it was bright moonlight, he saw at once that they were coloured

people, and the thought of their degraded condition disposed him at once to a kindly forbearance. Instead of assuming towards them a menacing attitude, he calmly and affectionately expostulated with them, and the desired effect was produced—they obeyed his counsels and went away.

This circumstance produced an effect upon his mind that reached much beyond the moment—he reproached himself for having done little or nothing for these wretched outcasts from society, and resolved that he would institute measures at once for the improvement of their condition. It was during this winter of 1802–03 that he delivered his first course of Saturday evening Lectures to the young people of his congregation. But now, in addition, he delivered a discourse every Sunday evening to the negroes assembled in the town school-house. In this service he felt the deepest interest. In May, 1803, he writes to his father:

“From December to April I gave lectures to the negroes every Sabbath evening. From one hundred to three hundred attended from this town and Boston. They were very attentive, serious and grateful, and the meetings have, by the Divine blessing, contributed much to their reformation.”

This benevolent service which he was performing became known to many of his friends in different parts of the country, and some of them, among whom were Dr. Lyman, and Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton, then a member of Congress, ad-

dressed letters to him, expressing their warmest sympathy in these benevolent labours.

Early in the year 1803 he induced Mr. Oliver Brown, a member of his congregation, and at that time a student in Harvard College, to spend his long winter vacation in teaching the negroes, and for this purpose he provided him a school-room in Boston.

In March of the same year he was called on by Mr. Williams,—afterwards the Rev. Thomas Williams, still living at a very advanced age. This gentleman had visited him in Charlestown two years before, and thus had become personally and favourably known to him. He was now a school teacher in Norwich Landing; and being known to take a deep interest in the welfare of the coloured people, Dr. Morse, after learning from a judicious friend in Norwich that he was qualified for the service in which he wished to employ him, had invited him again to his house. He immediately arranged with him for taking charge of the school, and he entered at once upon the work; and Dr. Morse subsequently procured for him a license to preach, and also the Chaplaincy of the Boston Almshouse. The school grew and became a permanent institution, with a Board of Trustees, of which Dr. Morse was a leading member. Among others who co-operated with him in this good work were the late President Kirkland of Harvard College, Lieutenant Governor William Phillips, Dr. Channing and Mr. Stephen Higginson Jr.

In the spring of 1805, it was proposed to build a church for the coloured people, to be under the direction of this Board of Trustees; and the means for accomplishing it were provided by subscription. On this occasion sixty-eight of the coloured people petitioned that the building should serve the double purpose of a school-room and a place of worship. To this the Trustees assented, only recommending in their answer, which was drawn up by Dr. Morse, that "the building, if rented, should be for all denominations to which the Africans now belong, and be under a special Board of Trustees, in which these denominations shall be severally represented;" and concluding with a promise of their co-operation if these conditions were complied with. To this object Dr. Morse subscribed one hundred dollars,—a liberal sum, especially for a clergyman of that day.

The 14th of July, 1808, was observed by the Africans and their descendants in Boston as a day of Thanksgiving, in commemoration of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, by the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and Denmark. With the express approbation of Governor Sullivan and the selectmen of the town, about two hundred coloured people marched in procession through several streets to the African meeting-house, where religious services were performed in the presence of a large assembly, including many clergymen and others from the neighbouring towns. Dr. Morse preached on the

occasion, from the text,—“If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” It was a noble effort, designed to lead those to whom it was especially addressed, to look beyond mere earthly freedom, and seek that higher freedom from sin and its consequences, which it is the design of the Gospel to impart. The Discourse was published, with an Appendix containing valuable information in respect to the abolition of the Slave-trade, not only in this country but in Great Britain.

His kind offices to this class of people secured to him, in large measure, their confidence and affection, and they often came to ask his advice. His sons were then in College; and they remember once, on coming home to spend their vacation, how much they were surprised to find the yard filled with negroes, and what a relief it was to them to be told that it was a peaceful gathering of coloured people from Boston and the vicinity, come to ask the advice of their friend Dr. Morse on some matter regarding their welfare.

In 1812 they consulted him on the expediency of migrating to Sierra Leone, and showed him letters from Captain Paul Cuffee, encouraging them to such an enterprise. That actively benevolent man had, the year before, made a voyage in his own vessel (the brig Traveller) to the Western coast of Africa, to ascertain for himself the advantages which the British Colony of Sierra Leone afforded as a settlement for his

coloured brethren in America. On his return he wrote thus to those in Boston :

“ If the war does not prevent, I intend, by advice of friends, to send a vessel to Sierra Leone in October. I have visited Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, where the people of colour propose forming themselves into societies. They are put in possession of all the information I can give them. I think you might conclude on a similar plan of Association; and if any should be desirous of going, such society would aid in forwarding their views.”

Dr. Morse thought favourably of the project and encouraged it. After the close of the war, the vessel sailed from New Bedford, 9 December, 1815, with thirty-eight coloured persons of Boston, who bore the following letter from him to the Governor of the Colony :

“ BOSTON, 10 November, 1815.

“ To His Exc’y Charles Will. Maxwell: Sir—From the Reports of the Directors of the African Institution and of the London Church Missionary Society, and from the statements of Captain Paul Cuffee, I am made fully acquainted with the history for the present year, of the wise and benevolent establishment over which you are called, in the Providence of God, to preside. It has ever had my hearty approbation and my good wishes for its prosperity. The account of its progress I have read from time to time with deep interest, and I have strong confidence that it will continue to grow in importance and influence, and prove a great and widely extended and lasting blessing to that portion of Africa which has suffered most severely from the Slave-trade.

“ I have taken the liberty to write you, Sir, at this time, for the purpose of introducing to your protection and patronage the persons of African descent, herein named, all of Boston, who, with their families, go out with Captain Paul Cuffee, with a view to settle at Sierra Leone, in expectation of being admitted

to share in the privileges afforded to settlers. From the certificates of character which they will show you, signed by respectable citizens of Boston,—all which certificates I have read and know them to be genuine,—as well as from my own personal knowledge of their character, I have reason to believe they will prove to be wholesome inhabitants, and a valuable acquisition to your Colony. And as most of them, I trust, are truly pious, and as some of them have considerable knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel, I trust they will be the instruments, by their exertions and example, of spreading the blessings of the Christian religion among their countrymen. Going among strangers in a distant land, with small pecuniary means and little knowledge of the world, they will need a friend in whom they may confide for advice, direction and support. That friend, I have no doubt, from my knowledge of your character, they will find in you.

“ Each family is furnished, by our Charitable Societies, with a Bible, Psalm Book, and some other useful books. More, I doubt not, will be readily furnished, as they may need, by your Church Missionary Society.”

Two months after their arrival one of the company writes him from Sierre Leone (3 April, 1816) of their safe arrival after a passage of fifty-five days; of their friendly reception by the Governor, who gave a town lot and from fifty to fifty-five acres of land for cultivation to each householder, according to the number of persons composing his family; of their abundant supply of rice, corn and other food; of the three or four schools, one of which contained an hundred and fifty female children; of the churches, five in number, &c.

Capt. Cuffee was applied to the next year to convey a second company of Colonists to Sierra

Leone, and, in reply to Dr. Morse's inquiries, he writes:

"Westport, 10 August, 1816. The prospect of my going to Africa this fall is unfavourable. When I went out before, there was not such provision for receiving my passengers as I could wish; so that the expense fell heavily on me. I had to supply these people at my own cost with provisions till they could furnish themselves by raising crops. I had not procured a license to protect me while in the Colony. I am now in further correspondence with my friend, Mr. Allen of London, on the subject. When suitable provision can be made, I shall be ready and willing, Providence permitting, to serve my brethren in any way that may tend to their advancement. Meanwhile I recommend the people of colour in Boston not to flatter themselves with too great prospects. After a year or two of progress, they can form a better judgment of the wisdom of this emigration. . . . I am convinced that Africa is the country in which they may rise to be a people, if they will only prepare themselves for self-government, and especially leave off that monstrous evil, Intemperance."

The benevolent purposes of the writer of this letter were broken off by death shortly after its date; but there is no doubt that the service which he actually performed is to be reckoned as a link in the chain of causes from which sprang that noble institution, the American Colonization Society.

CHAPLAINCY OF THE STATE PRISON.

On the erection of the State Prison in Charlestown Dr. Morse was appointed, by the Governor of Massachusetts, Chaplain and Visitor of that important institution. His certificate of appointment is dated 17 October, 1805. In a journal

that he kept during the year and a half that he held these offices, from January, 1806 to June, 1807, he says :

“Have attended meetings of visitors twenty-six times. There have been preached to the prisoners by myself, or by those I have engaged, fifty-three sermons. Have visited the prison in person, or have employed some one to go in my place, to instruct the prisoners and pray with them, as nearly as I can ascertain, two hundred and fifty times. More time than all the above labours required has been spent in attending to the friends of prisoners, or to persons whose curiosity has led them to view the prison.”

In his letter to Governor Sullivan, of June 5, 1807, in which he tenders his resignation of these offices, he says :

“I have endeavoured faithfully to discharge the very arduous duties which have devolved on me during the infancy and forming period of this important institution. Nothing but an ardent desire to see an institution congenial with my own feelings for an unhappy class of men, put into successful operation, would have induced me, already crowded with other professional employments, to accept my appointment. I have continued to hold the offices against the advice and urgent solicitations of my friends, reiterated for a year past, and I am now constrained to yield to their wishes, and to those of the people of my charge, whose affection is necessary to my usefulness.”

In token of their respect and affection, a letter was addressed to him, signed by fifty-six of the prisoners, expressing their gratitude for his excellent instructions and advice, and their regret to part with so firm and faithful a friend.

CIRCULATION OF RELIGIOUS TRACTS.

With Dr. Morse's great facility at discovering means and opportunities of doing good, it is not strange that the distribution of Religious Tracts should have early engaged his attention. The pamphlet on Infant Baptism, by Doctors Hemmenway, Lathrop, Strong and Williams, which have been already referred to, were tracts which he printed, published and distributed. As Assistant Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, it fell to him to distribute gratuitously the books and tracts to the purchase of which a portion of their funds was applied. But this was only the beginning of his labours in this department.

In October, 1802, he addressed a letter to the Rev. George Burder, of the London Tract Society (formed in 1799), in which he writes thus:

"In my own parish a few individuals who choose not to let their left hand know what their right hand doeth, have, within the last four months purchased and in part distributed more than twenty thousand religious tracts of different kinds. A wonderful disposition prevails to promote in this manner the interests of religion."

But the distribution began at an earlier period than that indicated in the preceding extract; for in January of that year (1802) the Society's Missionary at Freeport, Maine, the Rev. Alfred Johnson, speaks of a bundle of books just received from him, and alludes to another previously sent, adding:

"I do not know a charity so cheap, that is so useful. The blessing of many ready to perish comes upon you. I labour among four hundred families, mostly young and poor, and am often asked for the books. Do your Geographies furnish you with this large stream of charities? Or do you beg to give?"

The true answer to this inquiry seems to have been that his well known charitable spirit gave him great power, which he used to the best advantage, in putting in requisition the liberality of others. Both in and beyond his own parish, there were numbers of generous individuals who heartily engaged with him in this work. Lieutenant Governor Samuel Phillips, then lately deceased, had left a bequest of five thousand dollars, the income of which was to be appropriated to the purchase of religious books and tracts, for distribution among the poor. The dispensing of this charity was committed to the Trustees of Phillips Academy, of whom Dr. Morse was one. In a letter to the Rev. George Burder, written about this time, he mentions that this legacy of Governor Phillips had suggested the idea of a new Society, which he says will probably be formed in a few weeks, and asks for the printed Constitutions, &c., of similar Societies in England. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the intended formation of which he here refers to, was not established till September, 1803.

But meanwhile his zeal in the promotion of this good cause suffered no abatement. In the fall of 1802 there were printed, under his super-

intendence, editions of no less than nineteen Tracts, amounting to thirty-two thousand eight hundred and six copies. Of these publications some were selections from the writings of Edwards and Doddridge, and others reprints of English Tracts which he had received from the venerable Dr. Erskine of Scotland. The largest amount subscribed for this purpose was by his parishioner, Richard Devens; which led his Pastor to say of him, in an obituary notice, five years later, that "he gave away one hundred thousand tracts, Bibles, &c., during his life-time."

The Tracts were sent chiefly to the new settlements in Maine, Kentucky and Tennessee. They were put up in parcels of sixty each; and a package, containing from fifteen to forty parcels, was sent to a responsible person, minister or layman, in each town, with a letter of which the following is a sample:

"CHARLESTOWN, 18 September, 1802.

"My Dear Sir: On the 15th instant I put on board the schooner William Henry one box of books, and one package containing twenty-seven small parcels, which I hope you received safely. Similar packages are sent to all the towns in Maine. They are put into my hands by persons whose names are not to be disclosed. I have to request you to send one of these bundles, as soon as convenient, to each minister in Kennebeck county, and, where there is no minister, to some other suitable man in the town, and to accompany each package with a letter like the one addressed to you, in yours. They are to be distributed at the discretion of the minister or other person to whom they are committed. You will please to send me a receipt for the packages you receive, and take a receipt for each one delivered, and send to me the receipts, that I may

exhibit them as vouchers of my fidelity to the gentlemen who put the books into my hands.

"I wish to be particularly informed, and as early as convenient, what reception the books meet with from those to whom they are given, and of any good effects produced. Such information will govern future proceedings of the kind. If these do good, more will be sent.

"I persuade myself you will consider this business worthy of your attention; and that the good you may do in thus dispensing the charity of benevolent men, and in collecting and transmitting to me the fruits of this charity, will be an ample reward for the labour you may bestow.

"With esteem, your friend and brother, J. MORSE."

The late Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, then a resident of Prince Edward county, Va., writes him, under date of 19th of November, 1802, as follows:

"I am much pleased with the hint given of a plan on foot to institute a Society for the circulation of useful Tracts. I am persuaded much good might be done by such means. In this country especially, where religious books are so scarce among the lower classes of society, vast advantages would result from the circulation of good books or pamphlets. It occurs to me that if suitable persons could be procured to carry such about the country for sale in carts (as the Connecticut people do their small articles of merchandise), the desired ends would be answered more completely than in any other way. A cheap assortment of valuable religious books and tracts would sell very well, and easily repay the expense incurred.

"I greatly wish that some plan could be devised to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the poor ignorant negroes of this country. What occurs to me as most likely to be useful is the distribution of Bibles, Testaments, Hymn Books, &c., to such as would learn to read. The effect of such a measure would be very great, I know from fact. Formerly such books were sent over by the Society in London, and were given to

such as expressed a great desire to learn. And I am acquainted with a considerable number who were induced by these means to learn to read. And what is remarkable, some of them were grown up before they were brought from Africa. I know an old African, who, I suppose, is nearly ninety, who retains to this day the Bible given to him fifty years ago. I am acquainted also with the case of a negro woman, who is supposed to be a hundred years old, who can read the Bible without spectacles, who also was taught by the same means. If your benevolent Society would turn their attention to these unfortunate creatures, I would undertake the distribution of any books or tracts they would please to furnish."

The Hampshire (in Massachusetts) Missionary Society, established in 1802, undertook, among its other benevolent agencies, the distribution of Books and Tracts in the new settlements. Of this Society, his intimate friend, Dr. Lyman, of Hatfield, was a Trustee; and the letters that passed between them at this period (spring and summer of 1803) showed the deep interest which they respectively felt in the subject. The publications of the Hampshire Society being different from those issued under Dr. Morse's supervision, frequent exchanges were made by the two friends for the supply of their respective fields. They also made a joint effort for publishing works, which neither party felt able to publish alone. It was the day of small things; and an edition of three thousand copies of Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress' required the combined efforts of the Hampshire Missionary Society, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the Phillips Fund; and when only two thousand copies had been

subscribed for, and the contract with the printer was likely to fail, because one thousand copies would remain on hand, said Dr. Morse,—“Let the three thousand be printed, agreeably to the contract—I will take what are not taken by subscribers and the Societies.”

The Constitution of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—the outlines of which had been, on the 15th of April previous, read and referred to a Committee—was discussed, adopted and signed, on the 1st of September, 1803, by twelve associates,—namely, Samuel Abbot, Daniel Chaplin, William Coombs, Joseph Dana, Jonathan French, Caleb Gannett, William Greenough, Abiel Holmes, Jedidiah Morse, Eliphallet Pearson, John Phillips and John Treadwell. They had “solemnly associated themselves for the benevolent purpose of promoting evangelical truth and piety; in the first place by a charitable distribution of some of the best religious books and tracts among poor and pious Christians; to whom such writings may be peculiarly grateful, and also among the inhabitants of new towns and plantations, or other places where the means of religious knowledge and instruction are but sparingly enjoyed; and in process of time, if ability permit, and circumstances appear to require it, by supporting charity schools or pious missionaries in the places just described, for the express purpose of instructing and establishing the young and ignorant in the truths of the Gospel, and

in the great doctrines and duties of our holy religion."

Dr. Morse was appointed Secretary of this Society. His personal 'Record' was now superseded; and in the Society's Books he entered the names of donors and amounts of donations. He also still kept up an extensive correspondence with charitable individuals, and with kindred Societies at home and abroad. He continued to hold the office of Secretary till the period of his removal from Charlestown. The letter gratefully acknowledging his services, on the resignation of his office, is dated 25 May, 1819.

The idea out of which grew the New England, now the American, Tract Society, originated at the weekly Monday evening meeting of the Professors of the Theological Seminary at Andover, in January, 1814; and the co-operation of Dr. Morse, from his known experience in that department of Christian charity, was at once solicited. Before the close of the month he and Mr. Evarts were consulted in regard to the plan, and were appointed with Samuel Farrar, John Adams, Principal of the Phillips Academy, and the Rev. John Codman, a temporary Executive Committee, Dr. Morse being the Chairman. In a list of sixty founders by donations early in 1814, only three subscribed a larger amount than himself.

It devolved partly upon him also to select tracts and secure funds for their publication. In March a Circular Letter was issued by the Executive Committee, soliciting aid by subscrip-

tions and by the formation of Auxiliary Societies. They succeeded thus in printing editions of fifty tracts, making in the aggregate two hundred and ninety-seven thousand copies.

When the Society was organized, on the 23d of May, he was chosen Vice President and Chairman of the Executive Committee, and held both offices till his removal from Charlestown, in 1820. In the first Annual Report, May, 1816, he speaks of the organization as not being a Charitable Society, engaging in the gratuitous distribution of tracts, but furnishing them in ample measure and on easy terms to existing Tract Societies, and other benevolent agencies, for this purpose. He states that all the pecuniary demands against the Society have been met; and also that a permanent connection has been formed with the printers on such terms that the tracts will be printed to any amount required. He adds:

“This completes the system, and, in an important sense, makes it easy, consistent and perpetual. The Committee have, therefore, the satisfaction to announce that, at the close of the first year, a degree of perfection has been attained in the internal state of the Society, and in the extent of its operations, altogether unlooked for at its origin.”

CIRCULATION OF THE BIBLE.

Dr. Morse's interest in Bible Societies preceded by several years the formation of the first Bible Society in the United States. In the summer of 1805, when he established the Panoplist, he inserted in the third Number a notice of

the then recent formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and, from time to time, in subsequent Numbers, he recorded the rapid growth of that noble institution in funds, and the extension of its influence on the Continent of Europe in the formation of other Bible Societies in Germany, France and Prussia, to furnish the bread of life to famishing millions.

The idea of forming a similar Society in this country had been suggested as early as 1806, and again in 1807, but it did not take effect until December, 1808, when such a Society was formed in Philadelphia; and a few months later was formed the Connecticut Bible Society.

A meeting being called for the 6th of July in Boston to consider the expediency of forming a similar State Association for Massachusetts, he wrote to Robert Ralston, Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. James Gray, Corresponding Secretary, of the Philadelphia Society, from whom he received, in due time, the desired information concerning the condition and prospects of that institution. This information he laid before the meeting at which the Massachusetts Bible Society was formed in Boston, on the 13th of July, 1809,—William Phillips, Esq., being chosen President.

On his journey to the South in 1809, he addressed a letter to Mr. Ralston, suggesting the desirableness of a National Bible Society, and suggesting the outline of a plan on which he thought it should be formed. The answer was

not favourable to engaging immediately in such an enterprise. Mr. Ralston writes in reply :

“ Your valuable and interesting letter has been shown to Dr. Green and Mr. Janeway, and the important subject it contains maturely reflected upon. The result is a belief that a General Bible Society, at the present time, will not be expedient. * * * The plan you suggest, whenever it shall be proper to make the attempt, is considered a very good one,—that of conducting the business in a similar manner to the National Bank and its branches.”

He now applied himself the more earnestly to the formation of local Societies; and his efforts in this way were eminently successful. Before the close of his visit to the South he wrote to his father,—“ Three Bible Societies are in a fair way to be established—at Charleston, Beaufort and Savannah.” To the formation of each of these he was an efficient contributor. That in Beaufort was formed in March before he returned to the North. Seven hundred dollars were raised in that small town, three hundred of which were appropriated to purchase Bibles in Philadelphia. After his return home, he had the pleasure to hear of the formation of the Bible Society of Charleston, its President being General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. And at a little later period came the gratifying intelligence that a similar Society was formed in Savannah, under the most favourable auspices. Though the two last mentioned Societies were formed after he left the South, it is believed that both of them had their origin in his intense and ever active desire to do good.

At a meeting called at Concord, Massachusetts, in February, 1814, he was appointed, with six others, to draft the Constitution of the Middlesex (County) Bible Society, which was adopted the next month. Of this Society he was chosen one of the five Vice Presidents.

The American Bible Society was formed in 1816. Early in that year the New York and New Jersey Bible Societies issued their call for a Convention of Delegates from Bible Societies disposed to concur in the measure, to meet in the city of New York the second Wednesday of the ensuing May. He was present at that meeting, and was one of the Committee of eleven, appointed to draft the Constitution and the Address to the People. Of this meeting he gives on the spot the following account :

“ 10th of May.—On Wednesday (the 8th) the Delegates and others, a very respectable Body, some from distant parts of the Union, met, and as Dr. Boudinot could not be present, nor Governor Jay, Mr. Wallace, a respectable Episcopalian and layman, the friend and relative of Dr. Boudinot, was appointed to the chair, and Dr. Romeyn and Mr. (Lyman) Beecher, Secretaries. The discussion was animated, frank, independent and conciliatory ; and late in the afternoon the vote to form an independent National Society passed unanimously. A Committee of eleven members was appointed to draft a Constitution and an Address to the People, and the meeting adjourned to this day, 10 o'clock, to receive the Report of the Committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Nott, of Schenectady, the Rev. Dr. Mason, of New York, (who has prepared the Address), Samuel Bayard, Esq., Rev. S. Wilmer and Rev. Dr. Jones, of New Jersey, Rev. L. Beecher, of Connecticut, Charles Wright, Esq., of Long Island, Rev. John H. Rice, of Virginia, Rev.

Dr. Morse, of Massachusetts, William Jay, Esq., of Westchester County, N. Y., and Rev. Dr. Blythe, of Kentucky. The Committee sat yesterday all day; and this morning they have unanimously agreed on a Constitution and Address, which are to be reported an hour hence. We hope these will be unanimously adopted. There is great interest taken in this matter, and by such men as, with the blessing of Heaven, will give it a strong impulse. Our hopes are high. We think jealousies will subside. Every thing will be done to remove them."

A few hours later, at the close of the meeting, he writes:

"I have great pleasure in informing you that the Constitution and Address and measures for the complete organization of the Society, after a few hours of interesting discussion, were all unanimously, and with a marvellous cordiality, adopted by a very full Convention. A unanimity in so mixed a Body of all denominations of Christians,—Quakers and Roman Catholics among the rest,—so unexpected, perfect and affectionate, had a surprising effect on the Convention, and drew tears of joy from many eyes. It has been one of the most interesting and happiest meetings of the kind that I ever attended. It excites much interest in this city. We have adjourned till to-morrow ten o'clock. Meanwhile the thirty-six Managers, already constituted, will meet and appoint, agreeably to the Constitution, the rest of the officers of the Society. On the Sabbath public notice is to be given from the pulpits to the citizens to meet on Monday, and enrol their names as members of the Society. A strong impulse will be given to the institution in this city. Every thing augurs well."

The deep interest which Dr. Morse thus manifested in the American Bible Society, at its formation, never subsequently waned; and though, owing to the circumstances in which he was placed, his active efforts in its behalf were not

continued, yet he never ceased to regard it with the warmest interest as one of the grand agencies employed by the American Church for the conversion of the world.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Dr. Morse, in becoming a member of the General Association in June 1811, became eligible to a seat in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. At their first meeting, which occurred the previous year (1810), on motion of Drs. Worcester and Spring, the General Association had appointed four individuals from Connecticut,—namely, His Excellency John Treadwell, Timothy Dwight, D. D., General Jedidiah Huntington, and the Rev. Calvin Chapin; and four from Massachusetts,—namely, Joseph Lyman, D. D., William Bartlett, Esq., the Rev. Samuel Worcester and Deacon Samuel H. Walley," a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to devise ways and means, and adopt measures for promoting the spread of the Gospel in Heathen lands." This Committee had been chosen for the year only, and the subsequent election of the Connecticut members was confided to the General Association of that State. At the meeting of 1811 Deacon Walley resigned his seat in the Board, but the other Massachusetts members were re-elected, and Dr. Morse was added to their number.

Early in the year 1812 the American Board sent out its first band of missionaries to India,—

consisting of Messrs. Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott and Samuel Newell and wives, and Messrs. Gordon Hall and Luther Rice. While they were waiting for an opportunity to embark, the Prudential Committee,—Dr. Spring, Dr. Worcester and Mr. Bartlett, learned that a vessel, the Harmony of Philadelphia, was about to sail for Calcutta, and would take the missionaries as passengers; whereupon they met at Newburyport, on the 27th of January, to take the subject into consideration. The result of their deliberations was a unanimous agreement in the opinion that they ought to embrace the opportunity which then offered for conveying their missionaries to their allotted field. But, in order to accomplish their object, they found it necessary to raise, within a week or ten days, at least two thousand dollars more than they could then command. The desired sum seems to have been obtained; for the Ordination took place on the 5th of February. The service was performed in the Tabernacle Church, Salem; and the churches represented in the Council were Dr. Spring's, Dr. Morse's, and the Tabernacle. The other ministers invited were Dr. Griffin, Dr. Woods, and the Rev. Moses Stuart, the three Professors in the Andover Theological Seminary. Dr. Woods preached the Sermon, Dr. Morse offered the Consecrating Prayer, and Dr. Spring delivered the Charge.

Six days later (12 February) Dr. Morse's name, with Dr. Worcester's, was signed to a petition

presented to the Massachusetts Legislature for a Charter for the Board. Owing, as he believed, to a prejudice which some of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives had contracted against himself, and especially to a want of sympathy with the religious views maintained by the Board, the bill failed to pass; but it was called up by the next Legislature and became a law. By this Act of Incorporation the Board became independent of the General Association, who, at their annual meeting, the same month, (Doctors Spring and Morse being present), "Voted that the measures adopted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in procuring the Act of Incorporation for securing its funds, meet the entire approbation of this Body."

In consequence of the War existing at this time between Great Britain and the United States, the East India Company manifested little sympathy with the American missionary enterprise, suspecting that there was some political plot concealed under the guise of religion. In these circumstances, Dr. Morse wrote, in behalf of the American Board, in August, 1814, to Mr. Wilberforce, invoking his aid and that of Mr. Charles Grant, a member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, in removing these prejudices and securing to the missionaries the requisite facilities for the prosecution of their work. Mr. Wilberforce replies early in October:

"Two days ago, I received your letter. * * * I will write to Mr. Grant. * * * I greatly fear we shall fail, though I promise you I will use all my best endeavours, and I think I may venture to promise the same for my friend, Mr. Grant, and for several others also. But you will perhaps be surprised to hear that, notwithstanding all that has passed in the House of Commons the present spring, the East India Directors refused the very first application which was made under the new charter for leave for a missionary to go out. And, by the way, I might tell you that one of the arguments urged against it was the misconduct of some of your country's missionaries, who had gone without leave, and it was alleged contrary to their own engagement, to Bombay from Calcutta, and had shown some letters which Mr. Thompson, your country's Chaplain, had written to them, thereby, by the way, I heard, exciting so much anger against him, that there was once an idea of removing or punishing him for this misconduct. It is to be regretted also that some of your missionaries should become Baptists, almost immediately after their arrival in India. It is an indication, the ill-disposed will say, of an unsettled mind, and suggests the suspicion that the Society which selected them was hasty or misjudging. I write to you with the freedom of a friend, and trusting that you will not suppose I keep behind more than I express. Neither need I, I am persuaded, enforce on you the practical inference fairly to be drawn from these various incidents.

"12 October. I have received from my dear friend, Mr. Charles Grant, a letter confirming but too fully all my gloomy anticipations. Indeed he suggests, and I quite concur with him in the opinion, that it would be more prudent not to present to the Court of Directors the petition (of the Board), on the ground of its probably increasing the obstacles another time, without doing any good now. I trust, after what I have published to the world as my sentiments, I need not assure you that you cannot condemn or regret this conduct of the Court of Directors more strongly than I do."

But, notwithstanding all these discouragements, Mr. Grant finally prevailed, and through his in-

fluence mainly that Body "avowed their belief that the object of the American Missionaries was simply the promotion of religion, and authorized the Governor of Bombay, Sir Evan Nepean, to allow them to remain."

Dr. Morse's interest in the American Board continued undiminished till the close of life. He was elected a member of the Prudential Committee in 1815, and continued in this responsible position until his final removal from Charlestown. The Reports of the Board in successive years show that he was most punctual in his attendance on its annual meetings, and always ready to perform any service that might be allotted to him. In 1821, when the Board met at Springfield, Mass., he preached the Anniversary Sermon; and though the sermon was prepared on short notice, as he was called unexpectedly to take the place of the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, who was prevented by ill health from fulfilling the appointment, yet it was eminently appropriate and was written with marked ability. As his influence had much to do in moulding the character of the institution in its incipient stages, so he evidently bore it upon his heart to the last; and it is safe to say that to scarcely any other individual was it more indebted than to him for the elements of its remarkable and enduring success.

CHARLESTOWN ASSOCIATION FOR THE REFORMATION OF MORALS.

Early in 1813 Dr. Morse engaged in the formation of the "Charlestown Association for the Reformation of Morals." He drafted the Constitution of the Society, and was chosen its President. The object of the Society was to discountenance and suppress, especially among the youth, the prevailing vices of idleness, falsehood, disobedience to parents, gambling of every sort, intemperance, profaneness, dishonesty, and Sabbath-breaking, with their kindred vices.

In November the Standing Committee of this Society issued a printed Circular Letter, calling the public attention to the alarming increase of the business of distilling and vending ardent spirits.

Dr. Porter, of the Andover Theological Seminary, writes him, February 13, 1814:

"I congratulate you on the auspicious progress of your measures of Reform. While the State Society drags its slow length along, your Charlestown Circular is producing effect extensively." A letter to him from a clergyman in Vermont states that in the town where he resided a similar Society had been formed, and adds: "Moral Societies are forming generally, I believe, through this State."

IN BEHALF OF THE INDIANS.

Dr. Morse's interest in behalf of the Indians began to discover itself as early as 1796, when, as already related, as a member of the Society in Boston for Propagating the Gospel among the

Indians, and others in North America, he made a visit, in company with Dr. Belknap, to the Stockbridge tribe in Oneida County, N. Y. In 1810, when he was obliged, on account of feeble health, to resign his Secretaryship, he still remained in official connection with this Society, and was always ready to promote its interests by any means in his power. In December, 1817, he acted with Dr. Holmes, as the Society's Committee, to confer with De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, in relation to the taking of some more active measures by that State for improving the condition of the Indians within its borders. At this time there was a desire extensively manifested by these Indians to remove to the West.

To the Stockbridge, Delaware and some other tribes of Indians, a large tract of land on White River, a branch of the Wabash in Indiana, had been given more than a century before, by the Miamis; and more than eight hundred of the Delaware tribe had actually removed thither. In the spring of 1817 it was stated, in one of the Boston newspapers, that the Delawares had sold out the rights of the Stockbridge tribe to white men. Alarmed by this report, the Stockbridge Indians wrote to the Delawares, who promptly denied the charge, and said they were waiting to see their brothers: "When we rise in the morning, we have our eyes fixed towards the way you are coming, hoping you will sit down by us as a nation." This statement was confirmed by a

letter, written about the same time, by Mr. Johnson, the Indian Agent.

While he was thus encouraged in regard to the success of this project of emigration, he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Campbell, Secretary of the Society in Scotland, (February, 1818,) from which the following is an extract:

“Other ways of spending this money (the money appropriated to the support of Moor’s Indian School) and also the income of other funds in your treasury, destined to the benefit of the Indians in this country, have lately been opened in Providence in a wonderful manner. The subject, as it has presented itself to my view, is too copious for a letter. I refer you and your Board to the accompanying printed and manuscript documents for some important details. Summarily I would say, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (whose last Reports I send you) have established a mission and schools among the Cherokee Indians with hopeful prospects; and are preparing to make like establishments among the Choctaws Chickasaws and Creeks. The United States Government favours the object and lends its aid.

“There is a remarkable desire among the Indians extensively to receive the offered blessings. The Stockbridge, Oneida, Seneca and other tribes, having become reduced in numbers, are disposed to sell their rich lands, and to remove to the tract of country reserved for the Delawares on White River in Indiana.” He then suggests that the Society in Scotland appoint an Agent to visit the Government of New York, and mature the business which had been put in a favourable train by his former communications with Governor Clinton; to visit the several Indian tribes in that State, ascertain their views, plan for them, aid them in the disposal of their lands and in their removal. He concludes thus: “Any member of our Board, whom you would appoint, (should you think proper to appoint one), would not decline a service of so great importance as I conceive this to be.”

In June following, Mr. Sergeant, the Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians in Oneida County, writes to him thus:

“Five families of my people will set off in about three weeks for White River.” “But,” he adds, “they are still troubled by reports that the State Government of Indiana intend to purchase the Indian lands, which, if they should do so by a stretch of power,—for the United States Government has this exclusive right,—there will be an end to the proposed plan.”

In December Mr. Sergeant writes again:

“The families left in August, consisting of a third part of my church-members, and a quarter part of the tribes—in all from sixty to seventy souls from Oneida. They did not set out on their journey so soon by a month as they intended; and when they arrived, the lands had all been sold. The poor Delawares had been forced to sell their lands. When remonstrated with by the Stockbridge Indians, they were much affected, and said they would write to the President of the United States, and tell him how greatly they had been deceived by their pretended white friends in Ohio and Indiana.”

But their lands were sold, and the Delawares had no longer any territory east of the Mississippi. All this seemed indeed disheartening, and yet Dr. Morse's ever hopeful spirit could see light in the distance.

The next summer (1819) he received, in reply to his letter to Dr. Campbell, a Commission from the Society in Scotland, dated 1 April, 1819, as their Agent, the sum of fifty pounds being voted to defray his expenses. In his acceptance of this Commission, originated his Indian Agency; and he would have engaged in it during that

summer, but for the parish troubles which detained him in Charlestown. Being now wholly released from these troubles, his Indian Agency became with him the all-engrossing object.

It was an eminently favourable time for the prosecution of such an enterprise. To aid the Government to apply judiciously the annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars, which Congress had made for civilizing the Indians, Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, had just then (3 September, 1819) issued a Circular, by order of Mr. Monroe, to disclose the views of the President, and to obtain information from various individuals and Societies, whose attention was directed to this benevolent object.

Among those to whom the Circular was sent was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. To this Circular the Prudential Committee of that Board, of which Dr. Morse was a member, had replied; and, under the impression made by this Circular and the answer to it, he wrote thus to Dr Campbell, on the 14th of September, 1819:

“I expect in about a month to commence my tour of survey of the Indian Tribes of our country, with a view to find a suitable place for establishing a mission among them. Circumstances have prevented my going earlier; and indeed this is the best season of the year for the purpose. Events of recent occurrence favour our project, and encourage the hope of ultimate success. There are many remains of Indian tribes scattered over the thickly settled parts of our country, on valuable reservations of lands, who are in a degraded condition, a prey to the vices and frauds of their white neighbours and

diminishing in numbers. They amount now probably to fifteen or twenty thousand. I have conceived a plan for the rescue of these outcasts from civilized society, dwelling yet in the midst of a Christian people. I propose,—clothed with the authority I possess from your honourable and highly respected Board, and probably with that of some other respectable Societies in this country,—to apply in person to the Government of the United States,—who are known to favour such plans,—to give or sell, in some suitable part of our territory, a tract of country sufficiently large to accommodate these scattered and parted tribes, and then use my endeavours personally with them, severally, to sell their lands and remove to this new residence. Their lands are valuable, and will sell for such sums as, when invested in our public funds and secured to their benefit, will be ample for the supply of all their wants. The establishment should consist of a sufficient number of missionaries, school-masters, merchants and farmers; the Indians to hold their lands by the same tenure as their white neighbours, become freemen and citizens, and ultimately be represented in the Government. This will be, I believe, the first attempt of the kind on so large a scale to elevate this unhappy race; and should it succeed, your Board will have the satisfaction of having made it."

With this plan in view, he left home on the 20th of October, 1819, and went first to New York, where he conferred with the Managers of the United Foreign Mission Society, who encouraged the enterprise. Thence he proceeded to Albany, and Westward to Oneida County; and at the latter place had an interview with the Chiefs of the Stockbridge Indians, and their missionary, Mr. Sergeant, and was requested by them to make known to the United States Government, when he should be in Washington, their concurrence in his views.

The Northern Missionary Society, in the North-

ern part of the State of New York, also commissioned him as their agent. The Rev. Dr. Chester, of Albany, thus notified him of his appointment:

“Albany, 23 November, 1819. I have much pleasure in informing you that our wishes are fully accomplished. Our meeting yesterday was respectable and perfectly unanimous. The Society has taken up the object with great zeal; and I feel confident that, though no other Society should come forward to your aid, ours will give you all the aid in its power. The Society agreed to employ you for three months. And you are to prosecute your inquiries in your own way. They voted that they had so much confidence in your ability, zeal and discretion, that they would prescribe no duties, but leave the whole to yourself. You would have been gratified with the cordial expressions of regard for your character. . . . As soon as I get your commission from the Secretary, I will forward it to you at Charlestown.”

He returned to his family in Charlestown early in December, but left home again the first week in the new year, and, after visiting Albany and New York, proceeded to Washington, where he arrived on the 20th of January, to lay his plan before the National Government. His arrival was very opportune; for the Secretary of War had just then (15 January, 1820) communicated to the House of Representatives his Report on the subject of civilizing the Indians, in which he says:

“No part of the appropriation of ten thousand dollars annually, made at the last session, for the civilization of the Indians, has yet been applied. The President was of the opinion that the object of the Act would be more certainly effected by applying the sum appropriated, in aid of the efforts of Societies or individuals, who might feel disposed to bestow their time and

resources to effect the object contemplated by it; and a Circular was addressed to those individuals and Societies who have directed their attention to the civilization of the Indians."

Shortly after his arrival in Washington, he had a very gratifying interview of several hours with President Monroe, in which he communicated freely his views in respect to the object of his mission, and had the pleasure to hear the President express his hearty concurrence with them. The same day (January 26) he writes :

" I have just returned from visiting the Secretaries, Mr. Calhoun particularly, with whom my business chiefly lies. It is agreed by the President and the Secretary of War that I shall be appointed the Agent of the United States Government, to make next summer and winter the tours I proposed. My commission and instructions are to be made out immediately. All my hopes and desires are accomplished. Thanks to God for his goodness."

His Commission, which was delivered to him by the Secretary, on the 7th of February, is as follows :

" DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 7th February, 1820.

" Sir: I have laid before the President your proposition to make a visit of observation and inspection to the various Indian tribes in our immediate neighbourhood, in order to acquire a more accurate knowledge of their actual condition, and to devise the most suitable plan to advance their civilization and happiness. The President approves of the proposed arrangements, and has directed me to allow you the sum of five hundred dollars towards the expense of your contemplated journey; and he further authorizes me to state to you that, should your actual expense exceed that sum, the excess will be allowed you, provided the state of the appropriation for the

Indian Department will, at the end of the year, justify the allowance.

“It is desirable that you should make your visit to the Northern tribes next spring and summer, and to the Southern the next autumn and winter, as it is the wish of the Department to have your Report as early as practicable, in order to avail itself of it in the future application of the fund for the civilization of the Indians.

“I enclose a general letter of introduction to the Superintendents and Agents for Indian Affairs, with a list of their names and residences, who will afford you all the information and facilities in their power.

“Your attention will be directed to ascertain the actual condition of the various tribes which you may visit, in a religious, moral and political point of view, and your Report to the Department, which you will make at such times as will be convenient, will comprehend all such facts, with your reflections on them, as will go to illustrate this interesting subject. You will particularly ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of the various tribes which you may visit, and those adjacent, the extent of territory, with the nature of the soil and climate of the country occupied by them; their mode of life, customs, laws and political institutions; and the character and disposition of their most influential men. You will also report your opinion as to the improvements that may be made, and the new establishments, to promote the objects of the Government, in civilizing the Indians, which can be advantageously formed.

“The moral condition of the Indians will necessarily be very dependent on the character of the trade with them, and a subject so important will of course claim your attention. You will report such facts as may come within your knowledge, as will go to show the state of the trade with them, and the character of the traders, and will suggest such improvements in the present system of Indian trade as, in your opinion, will render it better calculated to secure peace between them and us, and will contribute more efficiently to advance their moral condition.

"You are so fully apprised of the views of the President in your intended visit to the Indian tribes, that a further enumeration of the objects which are thought interesting, is deemed unnecessary; satisfied as I am that your zeal and intelligence will permit nothing to escape your observation, which may be useful to be known to the Government.

"After you have collected your materials, you will digest the whole into one body, and present it in such form, and accompany it with such reflections and suggestions as you may deem necessary to accomplish the interesting objects which it is intended to promote by your tour.

"I have the honour to be

"Your obedient Servant,

"J. C. CALHOUN."

Dr. Morse was now greatly encouraged in his enterprise by letters which he received from several of his brethren in the ministry, particularly Dr. Green and Dr. Lyman, whose views of the general subject exactly corresponded with his own. He had the pleasure also to know that the Secretary of War was fully in sympathy with all his proposed movements.

In fulfilment of his Commission from the United States Government, Dr. Morse set out from New Haven on the 10th of May, 1820, with his youngest son, Mr. Richard C. Morse, who, at my request, furnishes the following account of their long tour:

"There was much in the incidents of the journey, adapted to recruit my father's health and spirits. We were so fortunate as to be on our way when the Middle section of the Erie Canal, reaching from Utica to Montezuma,—ninety-six miles, was just opened for naviga-

tion,—the first completed portion of that great work. We left Utica on a fine morning, 22d of May, 1820, as passengers in the Canal boat 'Montezuma,' which was gaily dressed with flags, and provided with a band of music, and chartered to convey the Canal Commissioners, DeWitt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer and Myron Holley, to examine the works for the first time along the whole line. Mr. Clinton had just been chosen Governor of the State, after a sharp political contest, and his voyage was a triumphal march; at every landing he was received by his constituents with salvos of artillery and Congratulatory Addresses. The rumour, too, of the American Geographer's coming had flown before him, and at more than one stopping place, the Governor was content to divide with him the curiosity of the by-standers.

"Of the Canal he says in his Journal:

"This noblest of all the internal improvements in our favoured country was begun 4 July, 1817, about two miles West of Rome. Judge Jonas Platt has the honour of striking the first stroke in opening this canal. Among the projectors, or more correctly the suggesters, of it, probably, the first was Elkanah Watson Esq., who, in this and various other projects and enterprises for public improvements, has been a benefactor to his country. Its prominent and efficient patron is His Excellency Dewitt Clinton, to whose wisdom, energy, perseverance and commanding influence this country will, to the latest posterity, be indebted for the accomplishment of this splendid and immeasurably useful work."

"The letter of introduction which he bore from the Secretary of War to the Superintendents and

Agents for Indian Affairs, and his own widely known and venerable character, procured for him every attention from the intelligent gentlemen whom we met with on our way, and at the military posts where we stopped.

“From Canandaigua to Mackinaw, and during our stay of a fortnight at the latter place, we had the company of Dr. William Beaumont, of Plattsburg, Post Surgeon of the Third Regiment of the United States Army, a gentleman of much skill in his profession, and of most amiable and kind dispositions. ‘To his medical care,’ my father says, ‘I feel indebted, under Providence, for the degree of health which enabled me to perform my duty to the Government, probably even for my life.’

“Among the passengers who crossed Lake Erie with us was Charles Stuart Esq., of Canada, who took a deep interest in the object of the mission, and expressed the hope that the British Government would co-operate with our own in some common plan for the benefit of the Indians. Other intelligent gentlemen, British subjects, whom we met at Detroit, expressed similar views; and these conversations suggested to him the idea of the visit to Canada, which he made in the following summer, (1821).

“Twelve days were spent in Detroit, where much valuable information was gathered on the topics suggested in his Commission, and we waited for the return of the Steamboat Walk-in-the-Water from Buffalo to take us farther up the great Lakes.

The boat brought Colonel (now General) Wool on his way, as Inspector General, to visit the Northern Military Posts. His route was identical with the one prescribed for us, comprising Mackinaw, Green Bay, Chicago, Prairie du Chien, St Peters on the Mississippi, Fort Armstrong and St Louis. With the pleasing prospect of being, during all this long journey, under his powerful escort, and favoured with his company, we left Detroit with him, and also with General Macomb and Mr. Stuart, members of the American Fur Company, and other intelligent fellow passengers, and went to Mackinaw. But here an important change was made in his plan, and the idea of going through the wilderness to the Mississippi River, was abandoned. The reason for this step he thus gives to Mr. Calhoun in a letter :

‘Mackinaw, 22 June, 1820.—The day after my arrival here, I was taken quite ill and kept my bed a great part of the day. General Macomb, Col. Wool, and Captain Pierce, and the Physician of the Post, held an informal consultation on my case without my knowledge, and Col. Wool was deputed to inform me that it was their unanimous opinion that I must not think of going farther; that the remaining part of our journey, by far the most difficult to perform, should I attempt it, would imminently hazard my life; that I could not endure the exposures and fatigues inseparable from the wilderness, in which I must travel nearly three thousand miles before reaching again the settled parts of our country. When Col. Wool first mentioned these things and the unanimity of opinion expressed by the gentlemen, my mind reluctantly at the thought of relinquishing so large a part of my route. But the reasons afterwards stated by them and my own reflections, and the view of my fields of labour, which opened here and at Green Bay and other places to the South, have satisfied me that, aside from my fee-

ble health, which of itself would have been sufficient, other weighty considerations make it my duty to yield to their decision as wise.'

"So only the hardy soldier could penetrate the wilderness—the puny citizen must be content to peep into its borders.

'But he found enough to do. For Mackinaw was the resort in the summer season of Indian traders throughout the whole Northwestern section of our country, North of latitude 40°, quite to the Pacific Ocean. Here also five or six thousand Indians assembled every year, some of them living five hundred miles Westward, with whom he could communicate through the Government's Interpreters. Thus the Indians were brought to him, and he could confer with them better even than in their homes.'

"We had arrived in the harbour of Mackinaw in the evening of the 16th of June, and the next morning, from the deck of the steamboat we looked upon the town, the forts towering at a giddy height above it, a swarm of Indian canoes drawn up on the beach, along which were pitched fifty or a hundred lodges,—cone-shaped bark tents,—filled with three or four hundred Indians, men, women and children, come to receive their annuities from the United States Government, and to trade. The sight of these degraded beings moved his heart; and so did the condition of the white population destitute of religious instruction. There had not been, he writes in his journal, a Protestant sermon preached in the place for ten years or more. During our fortnight's stay, the Gospel was preached by us in the Court House to full and attentive audiences.

At his suggestion and by his personal aid, a Sabbath School and a day School were formed for the children; a Bible Society, auxiliary to the American Society, and a Tract Society, auxiliary to the New England (now American) Tract Society.

“We left Mackinaw the 3d of July, to attend by appointment a Council of the Ottawa Indians held at their lodges, thirty-six miles from Mackinaw on the Northwest point of the Michigan Peninsula. To this spot we were conveyed in two canoes, each paddled by eight Indians. On this occasion an incident occurred which illustrates the sagacity of the Indians in penetrating the artifices of those with whom they deal. Col. Boyd, the United States Agent at Mackinaw, had accompanied us for the purpose of purchasing of these Indians the Martin Islands,—two small islands lying four miles East of Mackinaw, desirable for the use of the Government, abounding with gypsum, and also being well-wooded and possessing a good soil. ‘These Islands,’ said he to the Indians, ‘are already virtually sold by you. I have named the price, your Chiefs have assented to it, the money is ready to be paid, and now I bring the Treaty drawn up for us mutually to sign, that so the United States may own the Islands in fee.’ Thinking they might scruple to part with them, he added,—‘Understand, it is not for the soil nor for the timber that your Father buys the land, but for the gypsum which he will give to his red children

to enrich their grounds.' He had overshot his mark. The Indians retired as usual for consultation, and returned with this answer,—that 'since their Father did not want the soil nor the timber, they would keep these and make him welcome to the gypsum.' The Agent had now to change his tactics, and witness the chuckling of the Indians among themselves, as slowly, and with affected reluctance, one by one, they put down their names to the treaty, enjoying all the while his embarrassment at their detection of his petty manoeuvre.

"Here we embarked on the Revenue Cutter Dallas, Capt. Kapp, designated to convey us to Green Bay, where we arrived the 9th of July and remained a fortnight in the hospitable family of the Commander of the Military Post,—Col. J. Smith. My father found a most eligible place for the establishment of a Mission Family, and wrote, accordingly, to the Secretary of War, urging the co-operation of the United States Government in aid of the object, and promising to propose to the Northern Missionary Society of New York to occupy the field. Accordingly, on his way home, in August, he met the Directors of this Society in Albany, and the result of his application was communicated to him by the Rev. Dr. Chester, in a letter, as follows:

'7 September. By order of the Northern Missionary Society as well as from the dictates of my own feelings, I inform you that, after a most animated discussion, it was unanimously resolved, in full meeting, to commence the establishment of

Mission Family at Mackinaw and Green Bay immediately. The Board passed a high compliment on yourself. I will forward you the Report as soon as it is out of the press.'

"We found the Menominees of Green Bay distressed by an attempt of wicked speculators to defraud them of valuable lands. The Indian Agent, acting professedly in behalf of the United States Government, had drawn up a Treaty, conveying away a Tract of their land, on both sides of Fox River, extending from the mouth of that stream upwards, and comprising forty miles square, for an annuity of eight hundred dollars! The real Chiefs, having the blood of former Chiefs running in their veins, were opposed to the sale, and refused to meet in Council at the Agent's request, who thereupon assumed in his own name to create other Chiefs, and forwarded the Treaty, signed by them, to Washington. One of the signers of the spurious Treaty had been killed in the quarrel between the contending parties. My father, on learning these facts on the spot, wrote to the Secretary of War:

'14th July. I have seen a copy of Col. Boyer's Treaty, by which the United States obtain a very valuable tract of land on Fox River. I wish the President and Senate to be in possession of all the information necessary to enable them to act wisely in the case. Before the Treaty is submitted to the Senate, I shall probably be in Washington, and will defer till then what I have to communicate on the subject.'

"The mischief of this wicked Treaty began at once to appear. For we had hardly left that region on our return home when we learned that

a delegation of the Stockbridge Indians, consisting of the Rev. Eleazar Williams and others, furnished with letters from the United States Government, were on their way to Green Bay to purchase lands of the Menominees, but, meeting friends who told them what had taken place, they gave up their purpose of emigrating and went back to their homes. The sequel will show that his intervention was not too late. Rev. Mr. Sergeant wrote to him on the 22d of October:

‘The Menominees told the Delegates that there was no difficulty in the way of their settlement among them but this hateful Treaty; for they would much rather their kindred should occupy their lands than the whites.’ He adds: ‘If, Sir, through your influence with the President and the Senate, this treaty should be set aside, and the lands retained by the rightful owners, you will do more to establish the honour and respectability of the Government, and the cause of civilization and religion, than ten missionaries could do in a life-time.’

“The Stockbridge Indians addressed a letter to the President, dated 6th of November, expressing their disappointment and asking redress. Their request did not pass unheeded. My father wrote to Dr. Chester, of Albany, from Washington, on the 15th of December,—‘I have happily succeeded with the President and the Secretary of War in preventing the ratification of Col. Boyer’s Treaty. The Government, from what I stated to them, were satisfied that it was an iniquitous transaction.’

“Mr. Calhoun replied to the Stockbridge Indians as follows:

‘DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 14 April, 1821.

‘Brothers: Your communication of the 6th of November last was duly received. I regret extremely that you have returned without accomplishing the object of your visit to the Michigan Territory. The Treaty which has been the cause of your disappointment was made by the U. S. Agent at Green Bay without proper authority, and it affords me satisfaction to inform you that the President, after delaying to submit it to the Senate for the purpose of obtaining all the information concerning it, finally concluded, under all the circumstances, to withhold it altogether. The Treaty, therefore, was not ratified, and the territory ceded by it is consequently in the same situation as previously. I am pleased to find that it is your intention to visit the country this summer with the same views, in which I hope you will be entirely successful.’

“Thus, by my father’s representations, the Indian Agent was defeated in his attempt to cheat the Menominees; though eventually the United States Government purchased the lands, and the Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi.”

The Southern tour, which it was proposed in his Commission that Dr. Morse should take during the fall and winter, was given up, because the Missionaries of the American Board among the Cherokees and Choctaws could furnish the United States Government with all necessary information. He now occupied himself at home and at Washington with gathering further materials, for which the War Department furnished him with every facility, and compiling his Report. On the 14th of February, 1821, he sent to Mr. Calhoun the first part of this important document, including the Table of the Indians of

the United States; names of Tribes, number of souls, and place of residence of each tribe.

Not only was it too late to present it to Congress, but the President and Secretary of War were so burdened with pressing engagements that they found it impossible to read it before the close of the session. After they had read it, the manuscript was returned to him, agreeably to his request, by Mr. Calhoun, accompanied by a communication of which the following is an extract :

“ War Department, 2d of April, 1821. The President has perused with care the portions of your Report, contained in your two last favours, and I have directions, in returning them to you, to express his wish that you should draw up your Report on all points as *full* as you may judge advisable, and according to *your* views of the policy which ought to be adopted in our relations with the Indians. Much of the value of the Report will depend on its presenting the *entire* and *individual* views of one who has reflected so much on the subject of which it treats, and has taken so much pains to be correctly informed. . . . The proper course at present would seem to be to obtain all the light which may be practicable in relation to the Indians, and the existing intercourse with them; to digest the whole with care, and be prepared to present to Congress a well digested body of facts, and a system which would be fully sustained by such facts. It was with a view to this in part that you were originally employed by the President, and he doubts not that the fruits of your research and representations will constitute materially a correct decision.”

Agreeably to a purpose which he had formed while on his journey to the West, the preceding year, he visited Canada in the summer of 1821, and spent several weeks in the prosecution o’

what had now become his favourite object. This visit resulted in his acquiring much valuable information concerning the Indians of that country, and enlisting the sympathy and promise of co-operation of the officers of the Government and other influential men of the Province in efforts to promote their welfare.

About the close of the year he visited Washington again, and remained there during the winter to finish his Report. In due time he delivered it to the President, who sent it, on the 27th of January, with a Message, to the House of Representatives. Here it remained with the Committee on Indian Affairs till the close of the Session, the 4th of March, when it was given back to its author, by his request, and the next summer was published by him, in New Haven, at his own expense.

Among the commendatory notices which it received from various quarters was an article in the North American Review, from which the following is an extract:

"We have read this volume with great interest, which is perhaps the highest compliment in our power to pay to a closely printed book of five hundred pages."

Among others to whom a copy of the Report was sent was the eminent Prussian, William Von Humboldt, from whom the following complimentary notice was received, communicated to the author by the late John Pickering, LL. D. :

“SALEM, 18 June, 1823.

“I have just received a letter from William Von Humboldt, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of your Report on Indian Affairs, from which I have the pleasure to send you the following extract, translated from the original :

‘The work of Dr. Morse has interested me greatly. I first read it through from one end to the other, and now continually refer to it from time to time. It does not, as you remark, contain many data in respect to the languages of the Indians. But in an indirect way I have found it extremely interesting, in a double point of view, and indeed essential in the studies to which I have devoted myself. On the one hand it gives valuable details respecting the numbers, names and strength of the various tribes throughout a great part of North America, and designates with much greater accuracy and authenticity the different districts they occupy than is to be found in any other work. And, on the other hand, only in this book can foreigners find exact and just notions of the relations existing between the Indians and the United States Government, of the degree of civilization to which the former have arrived, and that which your Government, alike wise and humane, wishes them to attain to.

“The geographical details are absolutely indispensable, if one wishes to form a clear idea of the distribution of the different idioms over such a vast territory ; and it would be impossible to note the emigrations, affinities and ramifications of these different tribes, without this essential aid.

“As to their moral and intellectual state, it is very curious to distinguish what these savages owe (if we may so speak) to nature, and which consequently they possessed, perhaps too in a superior degree, before they knew the Europeans, from what they have since acquired. I have been surprised to see by their speeches, their replies, and their slight sketches of poetry, with what talents nature has endowed them. It would be interesting for Mr. Morse to communicate some of these speeches (which he gives us) *in the original language*. Some originals already are preserved in other works, but it would be very useful to add to the number.

"I beg you, Sir, to thank Mr. Morse warmly for the pleasure he has afforded me by the present of his work; and to request him urgently also, in my name, to publish soon the materials which he says he possesses, respecting the idioms of those Indian nations, which were the subjects of his inquiries."

With the publication of his Report the labours of his Indian Agency terminated. That Agency had kept him constantly occupied for three years. Yet the pecuniary appropriations to the object by the United States Government, and the two Societies under whose auspices he had engaged in the work, were so scanty that they did not cover his travelling expenses, and his whole time and services were given gratuitously. He, however, found an ample recompense in the belief that, sooner or later, his mission would prove fruitful in blessings to the poor Indians.

In his Report he had suggested the idea of forming a Society for the benefit of the Indian Tribes within the United States; and chiefly through his instrumentality, such a Society was actually formed while he was in Washington, (7 February, 1822,) the officers chosen, and the annual meeting appointed to be held in December, at the opening of Congress, in 1823. The distance from his home and his feeble health prevented his personal attendance.

James Madison writes to him, under date of February 26, 1822, as follows:

"Esteeming, as I do, the objects of the institution, I cannot decline the honorary relation to it which has been conferred on me; though good wishes be the only returns I shall be able to make.

“Beside the general motive of benevolence, the remnants of the tribes within our limits have special claims on our endeavours to save them from the extinction to which they are hastening, and from the vices which have been doubled by our intercourse with them. This cannot be done without substituting for the torpid indolence of the wigwam, and the precarious supplies of the chase, the comforts and habits of civilized life. With the progress of these may be sown those elements of moral and intellectual improvement, which will either not be received into the savage mind, or be soon stifled by savage manners.

“The Constitution of the Society very properly embraces the object of gathering whatever information may relate to the opinions, the government, the social condition, &c., of this untutored race. Materials may thus be obtained for a just picture of the human character, as fashioned by circumstances which are yielding to others which must efface all the peculiarities of the original.’

Mr. Calhoun writes to him thus on the 16th of December :

“I partake with you in your deep solicitude in relation to the Indians within our limits. We owe them all the aid which we can bestow, to raise them from their present depressed condition to that of civilization and happiness. And if we permit the present opportunity to pass without suitable efforts for that purpose, it is to be feared that, in a few years, it will be too late to do any thing.

“I have no doubt that a Society duly organized would do much, if it could be brought into activity; but it seems to me that that activity can only be given, in the first place, by the religious and benevolent. If persons, occupying high public offices, were to move first, it would be attributed to political motives, and would tend to repress rather than advance the object. If you could give the impulse from Religious Societies, much might be done. But till then I fear the Society will languish.”

IV.

HIS LABOURS AS A GEOGRAPHER.

Dr. Morse's career as a Geographer commenced as early as the winter of 1783-84, while he was teaching a school in New Haven, and pursuing at the same time the study of Theology. The English Geography by Guthrie was the only Compend then in use in any of our schools; and that was lamentably deficient in what related to our own country. To supply this deficiency he gathered information from all the sources within his reach, and imparted it in lectures to his pupils. Aware that the same need was felt in other schools, he was led to frame the substance of his lectures into a book; and this was published in 1784,—the first Geography of any kind ever published in America. It was a duodecimo of two hundred and fourteen pages, entitled "Geography made easy." This, taken in connection with his subsequent efforts in the same direction, fairly entitles him to the distinction of being the Father of American Geography.

In consequence of the very rapid sale of this edition, indicating clearly that the work had met an important demand of the times, he formed the purpose of publishing an enlarged and improved edition; and, with a view to this he

framed a series of comprehensive geographical questions, which were circulated widely, through the newspapers, and by means of his correspondence with intelligent gentlemen in the different States; and his success seems to have fully equalled his expectations; though, owing to certain circumstances, the next edition of the work was not published until several years afterwards.

One important end that he had in view in going to Georgia, was to collect information in aid of his geographical enterprise; for he had become convinced that, to succeed in this, it was absolutely essential that he should personally explore, at least to a considerable extent, the regions which he described. The same idea had been suggested to him by several gentlemen of high standing, among whom was the Rev. Dr. Belknap, who thus writes to him in a letter of the 28th of July, 1784:

“To be a true Geographer it is necessary to be a Traveller. To depend on distant and incidental information is not safe; and there is a material difference between describing a place that we have seen and one that we have not seen. I would advise you to collect as little as possible from second-hand authors. The best descriptions are given by eye-witnesses, provided they are honest. As water passing through various strata of earth acquires different tinctures, so a story, told by a succession of writers, partakes of the humours, inattention and prejudices of them all.”

About half the time, during his absence from New Haven, he devoted to collecting material for his Geography; and, besides this, he secured the vigorous co-operation of many highly intel-

ligent men, among whom was Dr. Ramsay, of Charleston, the celebrated Historian. It was at this time also that he first conceived the idea of a Gazetteer of the United States,—a work to which, in due time, his skill and industry proved abundantly adequate.

On his return from Georgia, Mr. Morse had become so deeply interested in his geographical pursuits, that he thought it his duty to suspend, for a short time, the active exercise of the ministry, for the sake of devoting himself exclusively to them. His correspondence with reference to the work he had in hand had now become very extensive; and, as his materials were constantly accumulating, the prospect of publication seemed to become more and more distant, while his energies and industry were proportionally taxed. There was much in the then existing state of the country to call for just such a work as he contemplated. The United States were now first assuming a fixed national character in the adoption of the Constitution; and it seemed especially desirable that some authentic and correct account of the country, including its territorial extent, its natural resources, its governmental institutions, its systems of education and religion, should be given to the world. To an object of so much importance as this, Mr. Morse felt at liberty to devote himself for a time, to the exclusion of all other public engagements.

Not long after his return from the South, he learned that Captain Thomas Hutchins, Geogra-

pher General of the United States, had projected the plan of an American Gazetteer,—just the work which he had himself determined to undertake. Regarding Hutchins as more competent than himself to perform such a service, he at once relinquished the idea of attempting it, and offered him the material he had collected. Instead, however, of accepting the offer, the Geographer General relinquished his own design, in favour of Mr. Morse, committing to him all the collections he had made, together with his maps and explanatory pamphlets. Dr. Belknap also had formed a similar purpose,—that of producing a Universal Gazetteer; but, on being informed, by Mr. Ebenezer Hazard, that Mr. Morse had anticipated him in the idea, he, too, abandoned the purpose, not doubting that the enterprise had fallen into hands every way competent to its execution.

The following letter addressed by Mr. Morse to Dr. Belknap, 18 January, 1788, forms a good illustration of the spirit with which he was pursuing his geographical inquiries:

“Dear Sir: Though I have not the honour of a personal acquaintance, yet your writings and reputation are such that I presume upon your indulgence, while I send you the enclosed manuscript Geography of New Hampshire.” After referring to a letter which Dr. Belknap had addressed to him, some eighteen months before, relative to the first edition of his Geography, he goes on to say,—“Since that time I have travelled through all the States, with a particular view of collecting the necessary information for a second publication on the same subject. I have been, in some good degree, successful.

The work, which will be enlarged to an octavo volume, of at least four hundred pages, is preparing for the press with all suitable expedition.

“That the book may be as complete and accurate as possible, I propose, when I shall have written my account of each State, from the best materials I have collected, to send it to some gentlemen, who will be capable of correcting the errors of the description, and of supplying deficiencies. With this view I have taken the liberty, Sir, to enclose you the account of New Hampshire. I have left blank leaves for your corrections and additions. Do not spare me in the former, nor deny me the latter. I know of no one more capable of assisting me in both than yourself.

“The nature of the work does not admit of much originality. The book must derive its merit—if it have any—from the accuracy and good judgment with which it is *compiled*, rather than the genius with which it is *composed*. To save me from the odious character of a Plagiarist, general credit will be given in the preface for all selections inserted in the work. To particularize such would be needless and endless. This is my apology for having made so much use of your publications in the enclosed account of New Hampshire.

“I shall wish also to submit my account of Massachusetts, when written, to your inspection, (if I do not trouble you too much,) to be shown by you to such of your literary friends as you may think proper.

“I have been, for some time, making Collections for a Gazetteer of the United States.”

Dr. Belknap, in reply to this letter, gave him a list of authors, which he might advantageously consult for desired information, at the same time assuring him that he might freely command his services, whenever they were, in any way, useful to him.

The following letter, bearing upon the same subject, was addressed to Mr. Morse, a few weeks

before the date of the preceding, by the Hon. William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, who was a fine classical scholar, an earnest Christian, and one of the most illustrious patriots of the Revolution. It was in reply to a letter which Mr. Morse had written, proposing to dedicate the contemplated work to the Governor:

“TRENTON, 1 November, 1787.

“Rev. Sir: I received your letter of the 26th of October yesterday. Since I sent a description of three of our Counties to Mr. Whittlesey, (whose death I sincerely deplore,) I have received that of one or two others, which shall be at your service, when you do me the pleasure of what you have given me the agreeable expectation,—I mean a personal visit at my Hermitage, *alias* Liberty Hall, in the vicinity of Elizabethtown.

“That I have received the descriptions of so few of our Counties as you mention, I now find, or at least am told, is my own fault. Although I had a number of copies made of your queries, immediately after you delivered them to me last fall and, as I thought a sufficient number to give one to each of our Council, yet some members of that Body tell me they went home without one, and that I promised to send them after the rising of the Legislature; but that they never received them. If the case be really so, (of which, however, I have not the least recollection, nor greater faith than I have in St. Athanasius!) I can atone for my neglect only by delivering them at our present sitting, and pressing those members to transmit to me their answers as speedily as possible. The Legislature expecting to adjourn next week, it is probable that I may receive them seasonably enough before your intended publication. If I do, I shall make it my business to forward them to you without loss of time,—with this condition, (which I wish to have annexed to those already sent,) that you either return them to me, after you have extracted from them what you may think proper to insert in the book, or copies of them. My reason is that those already sent, and I hope the same of those to come,

contain a more particular description of this State than I imagine I shall ever obtain in any other way; and the poor Governor of New Jersey has not at present a creature in his house that can copy them except himself, and to make such copies himself, he verily hath not sufficient leisure.

“As to your kind and polite offer, Sir, to dedicate the work to me, with my permission, I confess myself under great obligations for your intention. I have no other objections against it than these two, (the last of which it is, however, in your power to obviate). In the first place, I do not know what umbrage such a choice of your patron might not give to the Governor” (Jonathan Trumbull) “of your own State, who, I am persuaded, has been very prompt to promote your undertaking, and is, by all accounts, a gentleman of a very amiable character. Secondly, next to my dislike of being slandered, I hate to receive any praise that I do not deserve; and, according to the usual run of Dedications, incense is offered to those who are no Deities.

“Relative to the map, I doubt, Sir, whether I have sufficient skill to comply with your request; but, if I can, I will procure a person to do it, that has.

“As to news from this point of the ‘terraqueous globe,’ I can inform you of one fact that gives me great pleasure. It is that both branches of our Legislature are unanimous in laying before the people the Constitution planned by the late Convention; and I hope, and doubt not, that the citizens of Connecticut will be as ready to adopt it as I have reason to think we shall; and then I think we shall even make my native country, New York, a little sickish of her opposition to it.

“I am, Rev. Sir,

“Your most humble servant,

“WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.”

The following letter from the French Consul in New York, dated 28 February, 1788, shows the deep interest which *he* took in the enterprise:

“Sir: I have perused with infinite pleasure your proposals for publishing an American Geography. This country, now be-

come independent, is so populous and interesting as to deserve being better known. I beg you to put my name on your list of subscribers; and I know a gentleman in Paris who could procure the sale of many copies of the work. When you come here, I wish you would take the trouble of calling on me—I might give you some useful hints. I should introduce you to our Vice-Consul, who could furnish you with much important information; and if an introduction to our Minister Plenipotentiary would be acceptable, I would, with great pleasure, present to him the author of an intended work, which I am sure will earn the applause of every man here and in Europe, who feels himself interested in the progress of American knowledge and genius.

“ I am, with infinite respect,

“ Your very humble servant,

“ ST. JOHN, *Consul of France.*”

The above are but a specimen of the many letters he received from prominent individuals in various parts of the country, who regarded it a privilege to become his helpers in the important work in which he was engaged.

In accepting an invitation to supply the pulpit of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, of New York, for two months, in the spring of 1788, he was influenced partly by the consideration that a residence in New York would bring him into the neighbourhood of Elizabethtown, where his book was to be printed, while it would afford him the best facilities for obtaining additional information.

But now there occurred a fresh cause for the delay of his publication. Though the Constitution had been framed, much the greater part of the States had not yet adopted it; and, as its ratification would mark a most important epoch

in our national history, it seemed proper that not only that fact but the Constitution itself should find a place in the contemplated work. The Hon. Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster General, with whom Mr. Morse had now come into intimate relations, wrote him an earnest letter on the subject; and this, together with his own mature reflection, and the hope of gaining further information by the delay, led him to postpone the publication a while longer.

In accepting the call from the Church in Charlestown, in December, 1788, he intimated that, on account of an unexpected delay in the business in which he was engaged, it would be impossible for him to commence his labours there until the close of winter or the opening of spring. The business to which he referred was the publication of his Geography. With a view to hasten this as far as possible, he went to reside temporarily at Elizabethtown, and, after his arrival there, he had to encounter some unexpected obstacles, which were a source of great annoyance to him. He writes to Dr. Belknap:

“ My work goes on heavily. I can compare it to nothing but sleighing in wet weather, in a gravelly road, without snow. I cannot even guess when the book will be printed.”

But the time for the publication of his Geography had now nearly come; though there were obstacles to its profitable circulation, both abroad and in this country, that still occasioned him much embarrassment. He had hoped, and had

been encouraged on high authority to believe, that he might be able to control its sale in England; but the result of his inquiries on the subject was a full conviction that there was no law to permit an author to secure a copy-right, except in the country where the book was originally published. The most advantageous arrangement he could make, was to send five hundred copies to Mr. Stockdale, a London bookseller, who had been recommended to him by Dr. Ramsay, and two hundred more to Paris, which had been ordered through the agency of the French Consul in New York.

In regard to our own country, his embarrassment arose from the fact that there was no *national* copy-right law. An author could control the sale of his book only in the State in which it was printed—to the other States the copy-right did not extend. By the new Constitution there had been delegated to Congress the power of “securing, for limited times, to Authors and Inventors the exclusive right to their writings and discoveries;” but no law had yet been passed by that Body on the subject. Applications, however, were now made for it, particularly one by Dr. Ramsay, which proved availing; and the desired law was enacted in May, 1790. The Copy-right of the Geography is registered on the 15th of September following.

This edition of the Geography, which appeared in March, 1789, is an octavo volume of five hundred and thirty-four pages,—more than seven-

eighths of its contents being occupied with the United States. In addition to what is strictly geographical, it contains a large amount of historical and political information, well fitted to meet an important exigency, especially of the time at which it appeared. Some of Mr. Morse's most intelligent friends were of the opinion that he misjudged in not making it *exclusively* a Geography of America; but his reason for adopting a different course was that he designed his book for schools, and intended that it should take the place of certain English works, then exclusively in use. Dr. Rainsay, in a letter written in June, 1798, thus hints at the monopoly of the English booksellers, in connection with their ungracious treatment of every thing American:

“They affect a contempt of every production that is American, and a total indifference to what is going on, on this side of the Atlantic. Even Mr. Jefferson's book does not sell. The truth is, they do not wish to encourage literature or manufactures among us. Their unmerited and severe strictures on the literary performances of Americans have made me more an American than ever. I have escaped pretty well; but you have doubtless seen what they have said of Mr. Adams', Mr. Jefferson's and Mr. Dwight's performances.”

Mr. Morse, instead of yielding to the idea that his Geography should be confined to our own country, so far enlarged, in his next edition, his account of other parts of the world, as to make it occupy about half of the entire work.

Almost as soon as the book was in print, it became certain that it was destined to be an entire success. In a letter dated at New Haven

April 1,—only four days after its publication, he writes thus :

“Shall I tell you that my Geography is already introduced into Yale College as a text-book ? This is a flattering circumstance, and will tend, more than any thing, to give the book a reputation.”

Various distinguished individuals, among whom were Drs. Belknap, Stiles, Wheelock, Ramsay and Mr. Hazard, who were every way capable of estimating the importance of the work he had performed, offered him their congratulations on the great service he had rendered to the country and the world. In less than five months from the date of publication, one half of the edition (which consisted of three thousand copies) was sold; and within less than a year a second edition was called for. This, however, did not appear until 1793; but, meanwhile, an Abridgment for the use of schools—a duodecimo volume of three hundred and twenty-two pages—appeared in 1790, and passed rapidly through several large editions.

Of the five hundred copies stipulated to be taken by Stockdale, the London publisher, only forty were sent; but editions were soon published in London, Edinburgh, Dublin and elsewhere, some with due acknowledgment of the authorship, and others without any acknowledgment at all; and thus the work became extensively known in Great Britain and Ireland. Though he received no pecuniary benefit from the sale of his book abroad, he received gratifying testimonials

to its value from many prominent individuals, and among them some of the most distinguished men of the age.

The Rev. Dr. Price, the great friend of American liberty, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the book from the author, says, 29th March, 1790:

“I think this indeed a curious and valuable work, and hope that the reception of it by the public will be so favourable as to reward you, in some degree, for the pains you have taken about it.”

Dr. Rippon, a celebrated Baptist clergyman, compiler of the well known Hymn Book, and Editor of a Monthly Magazine, writes to him thus, 30th, June 1791:

“The large octavo Geography was lent me for a few days. I applied for three copies, but was too late, all of that edition being sold. And permit me to inform you that they were sold at the immoderate price of nine shillings sterling. The price should not have been more than six or seven shillings, allowing for the maps, binding and quantity of matter. I mention this that you may know how the work has been treated, and be prepared to lay a plan which shall expedite the sale of so masterly a performance. I fear some bookseller here has made an exchange with a bookseller or agent of yours in America, and has put his own price on a scarce article. I feel interested in the spread of your work, or I would not have presumed to write so freely.”

Dr. Priestley, well known in the scientific, political and religious world, writes, under date of August 24th, 1793:

“I think myself greatly obliged to you for the perusal of your excellent treatise of Geography. We had but a very

imperfect idea of America before, and it has contributed not a little to the spirit of emigration that now prevails in this country. But the chief incentive is the spirit of bigotry encouraged by the Court, that makes it very unpleasant and almost unsafe for the friends of liberty, civil or religious, to continue here. One of my sons will deliver this, and it is my wish to settle them all with you, in order to follow them myself, some time hence. My friends, Mr. Wells and Mr. Toulmin, are already gone,—the former, I understand, under your kind patronage, and a worthier man you could not befriend. Great numbers would go, if they knew how to get to America, or how to live after they were there."

The Rev. Dr. John Erskine, of Edinburgh, writes, 7 March, 1796 :

"Your American Geography has met with universal acceptance. It has been translated into German, and in Britain has been printed by two or three compilers, some with and some without acknowledgment to whom they were indebted, besides a fair and honourable republication."

Professor Ebeling, the distinguished German Geographer, opened a correspondence with Mr. Morse in October, 1793. After complimenting him as "the first who has cut a road through a vast wilderness," he says of himself :

"As early as 1777 I had contemplated writing a Geography of America, but suspended my purpose because of the great and rapid changes then going on in your country. I am now glad of my delay ; for I find I was misled by following English authors, and had imbibed from them prejudices which the perusal of your work has happily removed."

The sale of the Geography of 1789 was so rapid and extensive that, within less than a year from its publication, a new edition was called

for. The Abridgment had been published in Boston in January, 1790, making a duodecimo volume of three hundred and twenty-one pages. The printers of this volume (Thomas & Andrews) proposed to the author the next spring that they should become the publishers of his larger work. Mr. Carey, of Philadelphia, also made similar proposals, but the Boston printers urged their claim on the ground of their having printed his smaller work, and withal of their living in his immediate neighbourhood; and they had even imported type in anticipation of the job. In the spring of 1792 he contracted with them to print all future editions of his two works: "the American Geography," and its Abridgment, "the Geography made Easy," for fourteen years,—the term during which the copy-right lasted. In pursuance of this contract, the parties entered at once upon an edition of the first mentioned work,—“the American Geography.”

The amount of labour which he performed now in the revision of his Geography and the duties of the Pastorate, it is not easy to estimate. He writes to his father on the 12th of July:

“Two printers are engaged on the work. They have printed about one hundred pages. They will go on faster as they proceed. I shall not do my part so fast as they do theirs. But my health and spirits are good. I hope to finish the work in the fall through a kind Providence. I am encouraged to believe I am doing good, not only to my own country but abroad. Late letters from London say that the Geography is well received by the candid and judicious. The London edition sells fast. All the Reviewers speak well of it. I enclose Stock-

dale's advertisement, in which is the Monthly Review's notice of the work. I mention these things to encourage you, Sir, to let me go on, without anxiety. I hope I shall not injure my health. And I find my mind, after being engaged in geographical pursuits, returns with ease and pleasure to my theological studies. I hope the Geography has done and will do great good, and that it will appear, in due season, that I have not mis-spent my time in writing it, whatever some good people may think to the contrary."

Though he calls the new work a second edition of the Geography of 1789, it is really much more; for, instead of being confined chiefly to the United States, it is a general system of Geography, and the title is altered accordingly from "American" to "the American *Universal* Geography." It consists of two volumes, octavo, containing together more than sixteen hundred pages. The first volume relates wholly to the Western Continent, and chiefly to the United States, and is properly a second edition of the former work.—the rapid growth of the country in four years having rendered necessary many additions and corrections. The second volume, devoted to the Eastern Continent, is compiled from European works, chiefly from Guthrie's Geography; and he was induced to publish it from a wish to supply Americans with a book better suited to their tastes and their wants than one which was wholly of European origin.

When the work appeared, it was received with great favour, and brought to him many testimonies of warm approval from both sides of the Atlantic. Among other letters was the follow-

ing from General Washington, acknowledging a copy of the work, dated Philadelphia, 17 July, 1793:

“Rev. Sir: I should have, at an earlier moment, acknowledged the receipt of your polite letter of the 25th of June, and returned my best thanks for the acceptable work which accompanied it, had I not been at Mount Vernon when they reached this place. You will, therefore, be pleased now, Sir, to accept the thanks and acknowledgments which are due for your polite attention in sending me a set of the American Universal Geography. And, at the same time, be assured that you have my best wishes that you may be amply rewarded for the time and labour spent in preparing so valuable a work.

“With due consideration, I am, Rev. Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

But, notwithstanding the general approving voice in respect to the work, there were some few instances of decided and open dissent. Of these the most marked was a pamphlet which appeared in the fall of 1793, entitled “Remarks on the American Geography, by J. F.” A copy of this pamphlet was sent to Mr. Morse by the author, accompanied by the following note:

“1 October, 1793. Dear Sir: I take the liberty to present you a small pamphlet, containing Remarks on the last edition of your Geography. Though I have given the public nothing more than the initials of my name, yet to you I acknowledge myself to be the author. Perhaps in some places you may charge me with too much severity; but I assure you that I have suppressed many observations, which, though they appeared to be well founded, I was afraid might give you pain. As a man, as a gentleman, and as a Christian, I respect your character. But I conceive that every work that is offered for sale, however

worthy the author of it may be, is a proper subject for criticism, and that you have no reason to be offended if your mistakes and prejudices are fairly and impartially pointed out. I hope you will believe me when I say that nothing is farther from my thoughts than to injure the sale of your Geography. A fugitive pamphlet, which perhaps may never be read, or if read will soon be forgotten, cannot possibly hurt the reputation of a book which has been recommended by some of the most distinguished characters in the United States, and which has been introduced into almost all our schools and Colleges. As far as my small influence extends, I have always been ready to do honour to your work. When I was one of the School Committee of Boston, I cheerfully voted for the introduction of your Abridgment into our Reading Schools; and not long ago I republished in the *Centinel* an *English Review*, in which your *American Geography* is highly applauded. These facts will show you that I owe you no ill will, but that my object in writing the *Remarks* is to induce you to render the future editions of your *Geography* more worthy of yourself, and more honourable to your country.

“With respect, I am, Dear Sir,

“Your friend and humble servant,

“JAMES FREEMAN.”

To this letter he replied :

“Charlestown, 2 October, 1793. Sir: Last evening, at a late hour, I received your letter of yesterday, accompanied with ‘a pamphlet containing *Remarks* on the last edition of my *Geography*,’ for which I take the earliest opportunity to return you my thanks. Depend on it, Sir, I shall give it an attentive and candid reading. After the perusal, should I think proper, in my own vindication, to publish *Observations* on your pamphlet, I presume you will have no objections to my introducing them to the public with your letter. I can surely have no reason to be offended when ‘my mistakes and prejudices are fairly pointed out;’ and if I find this to be the case in your *Remarks*, you may rest assured of receiving my most sincere thanks. How far your sending me your criticisms through the

medium of the press, rather than in a more private manner, comports with the professions you make of friendship for me, and of having no thought to injure the sale of my Geography, I shall perhaps be better able to determine when I have read your pamphlet. A needless public exposure of the faults of any person, when their correction can as well be effected in a more private manner, is, upon every principle of honour, friendship and religion, unjustifiable. And if a man finds himself compelled, from a sense of duty, to accuse his friend before the public tribunal, he ought at least previously to acquaint him with the charges he means to exhibit against him, and hear what he has to say in his own vindication. A real friend would certainly do this. But this you have not done.

"Your pamphlet may or may not 'hurt the reputation of the Geography.' If it should not, (and you say it cannot possibly), I see no necessity for your having published it. For if the faults of the work are of such a nature as, if publicly known, would not lessen its reputation in the public mind, then they must be faults of no great magnitude and importance, and inherent in the nature of the work, such as a candid mind would easily account for and excuse, and therefore such as might, without injury to the public, have been seasonably corrected in a future edition. But if the errors are such as to demand public and severe censure even by a professed friend, the publication of them can hardly avoid hurting the reputation of the work. I must confess I am at present at a loss to know how to reconcile your conduct with your professions. But I suspend any further remarks till I shall have examined your pamphlet.

"In the mean time, after grateful acknowledgments for all your influence and endeavours to promote the honour and extend the sale of my work,

"I subscribe myself, Sir, with respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"J. MORSE."

Dr. Morse, both then and at a later period, expressed the undoubting conviction that this pamphlet would not have been written but for

the antagonism that existed between the writer of it and himself, in their theological views. The Rev. Dr. Jenks of Boston, an intimate personal friend of Dr. Freeman, in reply to a note addressed to him on the subject by one of Dr. Morse's sons, in November, 1859, says :

“ You are right, I think, in attributing the severity of this criticism on the Geography, in part at least, to the *odium theologicum* of that contentious period. No doubt exists in my own mind, however, that your much honoured and much abused father made use of these animadversions in subsequent editions of his work.”

If this was really so, as it undoubtedly was, it only proved that, whatever might have been Dr. Morse's sense of injury, it did not lead him to undervalue correct criticism.

Some two years after this there appeared another anonymous pamphlet entitled “Letter to the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, A. M., Author of the American Universal Geography, by a Citizen of Williamsburg, Virginia.” The writer, known afterwards to be St. George Tucker, was at the time Professor of Law in William and Mary College, Williamsburg, and had been dissatisfied with some remarks in the Geography of 1789, which he considered as reflecting upon the moral and religious character of his townsmen. He did not observe the usual civility of sending a copy of the Letter to the person to whom it was publicly addressed ; but Dr. Morse borrowed the pamphlet from the Historical Society ; and, having read it, returned it with his criticisms,

accompanied by a request that they also might be deposited in the archives of the Society. In view of the same facts which had provoked Judge Tucker's indignation, another still more eminent Virginian, James Madison, in a note, written in May, 1792, had said :

"The only part of your account of Virginia, which, on a bare perusal, might seem to need correction, is that relating to the manners of the country; and here a native should always be diffident, especially when the colours of the picture appear to him to be unjust to the original, towards which he may be supposed not to be impartial."

In May, 1794, a year after the publication of the Geography of '93, he writes thus to Professor Ebeling :

"Since the year 1784, when I published my first juvenile Essay, there have been printed in America twenty thousand six hundred copies of my Geography, including in this number the copies of the several editions of the Abridgment of the larger work for the use of schools. * * * I am as sensible as any person of the defects of my work. I have trodden an unbeaten path. I have had every thing to collect anew. My sources of information have not always been accurate. Many have failed and much remains yet to be done. The field before me is extensive, and I sometimes contemplate it with a misgiving heart. I have but a slender constitution, a large and growing parish, many interruptions inseparable from my situation, and, as you know from the nature of geographical labour, an extensive correspondence. In such forbidding circumstances, to undertake the description of an unexplored, or but partially explored country, rising into importance with unexampled rapidity; and to attempt, in successive editions of an Universal Geography, to keep pace with the progress of this age of discoveries, of changes, and of revolutions, are objects from which I shrink when I think of their difficulty and magnitude."

But, notwithstanding the difficulty to which he refers in this letter, he had already set himself to the task of preparing a third edition; and, in view of his greatly increased amount of material, he had half formed the purpose of enlarging his book and issuing it in the quarto form. But, before venturing upon this plan, he consulted Dr. Stiles, in whose judgment and friendship he had great confidence, and received from him the following characteristic advice, in a letter dated Yale College, 19 February, 1794:

“As to the quarto edition, you know that it can be purchased by but few. But if Mr. Thomas (the printer) will adventure it, were I in your case, I should make no objection; though I think your principal profit can be expected only from the octavo edition.

“In *Philosophy*, Desaguliers wrote first a convenient volume, which rose into repute, and induced him to augment it into two quarto volumes,—excellent indeed, but it spoiled his market, or confined it to the opulent only.

“Gravesande wrote two convenient volumes of *Philosophy* in octavo. It had a run, was excellent, its reputation high. His literature and his ambition enlarged the work to two quarto volumes, ended the sale, and put it to sleep.

“Salmon enlarged his *Grammar of Geography* to a folio, and it is lost in oblivion. Guthrie is in the road to death by enlarging itself, like the Roman empire, to ruin and suicide. Mr. Morse has gotten a *Geography* superior to all of them. It has grown uncommonly under his hands; and if it goes on growing with his universal information, it will grow itself into oblivion.

“My advice is to restrict it with absolute permanency to two convenient octavo volumes, and there abide fixed as fate. Alterations and corrections may be made, but I would take out as much as I put in. Then let the volumes be printed in octavo or quarto—it is immaterial. Only never let the matter

exceed the comprehension of two octavo volumes. If you do, somebody else will start up, with even a single octavo, like Gordon, and put you to sleep. I have thought you in danger of too copious an enlargement, in order to comprehend and communicate all the curious, learned and entertaining discoveries and accurate observations and information of modern travellers. Stop where you are. Retrench and substitute, if you find new and more profitable matter. Otherwise you will get into the histories of Empires and of the World instead of Geography. And then the world will leave you for Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, Rollin, Robertson, and perhaps for the ancient Latin and Greek Historians. In short, they want you for Geography, and others for History. And though some summary and succinct History may be well to be conjoined with Geography, yet '*sunt vesti denique fines.*'"

This advice was followed, the idea of a quarto abandoned, and three years after, (in 1796,) the third edition of the work, consisting of four thousand five hundred copies, and fifteen hundred copies extra of the first volume, appeared in the same form with its predecessors. Two hundred pages were added, and the number of maps was increased from eleven to twenty-eight.

Though he had conceived the idea of publishing an American Gazetteer as early as 1786, and had it in a state of considerable forwardness in the spring of 1790, yet so manifold were his professional engagements, and so much time was necessarily given to the preparation of the several editions of his Geography, that he was obliged to delay the issue of his Gazetteer much beyond his wishes and expectations. In 1793 Mr. Noah Webster entered into an engagement to assist him in compiling the Gazetteer, but, in conse

quence of his removal to New York to become the Editor of a daily newspaper, which required his whole time, he was obliged to withdraw from the engagement. The Rev. Samuel Austin also, who had been Mr. Morse's College classmate, and had co-operated with him for some time in the *Gazetteer*, had grown weary of the delay of publication, and had retired from the enterprise, leaving him without any coadjutor. He now employed a gentleman from Aberdeen, Scotland, resident in Boston, to prosecute the compilation of the work from such material as he should furnish; and most of it seems to have been gathered from his own *Geography*. Early in the year 1796, proposals to print and publish the work were issued by T. and J. Swords, of New York; but, in consequence of some pecuniary embarrassment to which they were subsequently subjected, they abandoned the project even after the printing had actually commenced; and the work was now transferred to Boston, where it could be done directly under the author's eye. The book appeared in May, 1797,—an octavo volume of six hundred pages. Copies of it were sent by the author to various distinguished persons, one of whom, the most eminent of all, returned the following acknowledgment:

“Mount Vernon, 20 June, 1797. Dear Sir: The last Eastern mail brought me your favour of the 1st instant. I beg you to accept my best acknowledgments, and the assurance of my belief that it will be found a most useful and valuable work. As evidence of this belief, I had, just before the receipt of your

letter, requested my correspondent in Philadelphia (where I found they were to be had) to send me a copy. And for the kind and flattering sentiment, which you have expressed for me and Mrs. Washington in the former, I offer you my grateful thanks; being, with much esteem and respect, Dear Sir, your obliged and obedient humble servant,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Though a law securing to authors the copy-right of their works had been passed by Congress in 1790, he was not, owing to various circumstances, without a measure of distrust as to the security of his rights; and this distrust was fully justified by subsequent developments. In October, 1794, he was informed by the London publisher (Stockdale) of a Geography just then published by three persons confined in Newgate prison. This was no other than Winterbotham's Geography. The book was reprinted in New York, by John Reid, an English bookseller. It turned out that six hundred pages, out of the two thousand which the work contained, were copied verbatim from Morse's American Geography, being nearly the whole of that work. Belknap, Jefferson, and several other American authors, shared a like fate; but Morse was the only one who did not consent to pass over the offence in silence. He felt that it was a duty that he owed to the public not less than to himself to test the efficiency of the copy-right law. He therefore commenced a suit immediately, having for his counsel James Kent (afterwards Chancellor of New York) and Alexander Hamilton, the latter

of whom kindly proffered his services in the following note :

“ NEW YORK, January 4, 1795.

“ To the Rev. J. Morse, D. D.—Sir: You will confer a favour upon me to allow me to render you the little service which may be in my power on the present occasion, and without compensation. Be assured it will give me real pleasure, and let that be my recompense.

Mr. Kent and I have conferred on your affair. It is necessary for us to see the book in question, in order to a safe opinion. Can one be had?

“ With respect and esteem,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ALEXANDER HAMILTON.”

The book was sent as requested; but, before prosecuting his claim, the author made amicable overtures to the offending party, through his friend, Mr. Noah Webster, which, however, were rejected. About the same time he received a letter from Stockdale, the London Publisher, informing him that the London quarto and octavo editions of his American Geography would not all be sold for some years, “owing to that villainous Newgate compilation,”—adding, “If you can prevent its publication in America, by all means do it, as it will injure your work greatly.”

The case, after having undergone considerable delay in the Courts, was finally decided in April, 1798, to Dr. Morse's entire satisfaction. There were allowed to him the nett profits arising from the sale of seventeen hundred copies of the first volume of his Geography,—equal to the number of copies of Winterbotham's Geography that had

been sold. But as it was not so much damages as the establishment of a principle, fixing literary property on a firm basis, that he contended for, he afterwards consented to take less than half the sum proposed by the Clerk of the Court as a fair settlement, and even allowed Reid to sell the eleven hundred copies of his book which remained on hand, notwithstanding the Court had ruled to the contrary—to this generous act he was prompted from hearing that the man who had thus wantonly assailed his rights, had an amiable, deserving family, who would suffer by an infliction of the whole penalty imposed by the verdict. The principle established by this lawsuit was one of great importance; and the case has ever since been recognized as a precedent, securing to authors the benefit of the copy-right law.

One effect of the American Geography abroad was to promote immigration to this country. Accordingly, we find the Rev. William Wells, of Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, England, writing thus to Dr. Morse, under date of September, 1791:

‘Having read your Abridgment of American Geography, I take the liberty of addressing you this letter. I am a Protestant Dissenting minister, keep a boarding school for boys, and occupy a little farm. I have also a large family of my own. I have long talked of going to America. My reasons for wishing to remove from England are the enormous burden of public and parochial taxes, the corrupt system of government, and the resentment and bitterness raised against Dissenters by the late Birmingham riots.’

In another letter, bearing date ^{JUNE} January, 1792, Mr. Wells says:

“Stockdale has published an edition of your Geography, which I have,—a valuable book and much read. A gentleman of distinction for abilities, character and fortune in this neighbourhood, tells his children—‘Study the book, as North America is the place you will probably go to.’ People here are on tiptoe to be gone, and were some few to lead the way, and give a good account of things, multitudes would follow.”

The year after the date of this letter, Mr. Wells came over with his family, and established himself at Brattleboro’, Vt. He was the father of the late William Wells, for many years a distinguished publisher and bookseller in Boston.

Some other Dissenting ministers addressed him in a similar strain, in behalf not only of themselves, but their friends, who were strongly predisposed to find a home in this country, from the ideas in respect to it which his Geography had communicated to them.

The American Gazetteer was considered incomplete without a second volume, which should embrace the other three-quarters of the Globe. But this required an amount of labour which he could not undertake, unassisted, in addition to his professional engagements and numerous other cares already devolved upon him; but, happily, he was allowed to put in requisition the aid of his friend, the Rev. Dr. Elijah Parish, of Byfield, who was every way competent to such a service. Accordingly, the Gazetteer of the Eastern Continent was in due time completed; and in 1802 it

was published as the joint production of the two men. In 1804 they published a second and revised edition of the first volume, or *American Gazetteer*, and in 1808, of the second volume, or *Gazetteer of the Eastern Continent*.

A fourth edition, of three thousand copies, of the *American Universal Geography* was published in 1801; and in 1805, a fifth edition of five thousand copies; both without being much enlarged, but enriched with new matter, to the exclusion of what had become obsolete or less important. The sale of this work, from its first publication, had been about one thousand copies a year; and in the fall of 1810, he issued a printed Circular which he scattered among intelligent men throughout the country, requesting of them geographical information in aid of a sixth edition. This edition was published in due time, and also consisted of five thousand copies.

In its preparation Dr. Morse was assisted by Sereno E. Dwight, Esq., then just admitted to the Bar in New Haven, but afterwards Pastor of the Park Street Church, Boston. Mr. Dwight had been for some time gathering and arranging materials for a work on Geography, intending to complete and publish it in his own name. Dr. Morse, having become apprised of this, proposed to him that the materials thus collected, with some others which he himself would furnish, should be moulded into a new edition, which should still bear his own name. To this pro-

posal Mr. Dwight cheerfully gave his consent; and the work was thus ultimately written, much after the plan of the Geography of Pinkerton. There were some doubtful points to be settled in respect to the publication, partly between the authors and the publishers; but their views were at last entirely harmonious. The time occupied in preparing the work was about fourteen months—from December, 1810 to January, 1812; and during nearly the whole of this period Mr. Dwight gave to it not less than ten hours a day. His name would have appeared on the title page, if he had not particularly requested that it should be withheld, on the ground that it would be unfavourable to his professional prospects to have the impression get abroad that he was not exclusively devoted to the Law. In a letter addressed by Mr. Dwight to Dr. Morse, 26 May, 1812, he says:

“Your generous approbation of the part of the Geography executed by me, is extremely gratifying to my feelings. I also freely acknowledge that without the assistance furnished by you, particularly in the American volume and in Hassel’s Tables, the undertaking on my part would have been hopeless.”

Mr. Dwight subsequently prepared for the author an Abridgment of this Geography, in an octavo volume of five hundred pages, of which an edition of three thousand copies was published in 1814.

From this period, or perhaps a little earlier, nearly the whole labour of editing Dr. Morse’s principal geographical works was devolved on

his son, Mr. Sidney E. Morse. He rewrote the duodecimo School Geography in 1820, the octavo Geography in 1822, and, in connection with his brother, Mr. Richard C. Morse, the Universal Gazetteer, in one royal octavo volume in 1823. He also prepared the Atlases to accompany all these works.

A year or two before his death, Dr. Morse amused himself with the preparation of a 24 mo. Geography for small children, which was published, and was highly spoken of by those who used it. This was the last of his geographical works.

After Dr. Morse's death, his son continued to prepare new editions of the School Geography; and having invented a mode of engraving, adapted especially to the production of plates for printing maps, in connection with type, under the common printing press, he applied the new art, named Cerography, to the illustration of a School Geography, which was published in 1844 by the Harpers. The cheapness of the book, in connection with its great value, gave it at once an immense circulation. More than one hundred thousand copies were put into the market during the first year, and the work continued to be disposed of at this rate for a number of years.

V.

HIS LABOURS IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF AUTHORSHIP.

Closely allied to a taste for Geography is the taste for History; and the two were united in Dr. Morse. His Geography of course embodied a large amount of historic material; but he had collected a much larger amount, and had formed the purpose, which, however, was, in great measure defeated by death, of giving to the world the full benefit of his researches in this department.

Dr. Morse's first distinct historical publication dates back to about the commencement of the present century. By request of Thomas Dobson, the Philadelphia publisher, he wrote the article, *New England*, in the supplement of the American edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica in 1801. The article attracted much attention in literary circles, and a wish was expressed by several prominent individuals that it might be republished in a volume by itself. Accordingly, with Mr. Dobson's consent, and the editorial assistance of the Rev. Elijah Parish, it was revised, enlarged, divided into chapters, and issued from the press early in the fall of 1804, in a duodecimo volume of three hundred eighty-eight pages, with

the title.—“ A Compendious History of New England, designed for Schools and Private Families. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D., and Elijah Parish, A. M.” This work was very favourably received, and reached its third edition in 1820.

In the fall of 1806 the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D. D., the Historian of Connecticut, made overtures to Dr. Morse to continue and complete the History of the United States, in the preparation of which he (Dr. T.) had already engaged. He was disposed to listen to the proposal, and, on consulting his friend, John Adams, on the subject, he received from him a letter containing valuable historical information which concludes thus :

“ I cannot pretend to any extraordinary knowledge of the history of this country, or of what a General History of it ought to contain; nor is my letter written with sufficient care for publication. But as this is equally true of every other thing of mine that has been published, you are quite at liberty to make whatever use of this you please. My life has passed in too much hurry to allow me to keep any thing nine years or nine minutes under correction. The task you have undertaken is very arduous, but if any industry can accomplish it, you will be more adequate to it than any other man I know. My house, library, letters, written or received, shall be open to you, as well as any papers I possess, whenever you please. You will find them indeed *rudis indigestaque moles*, and enough to try the patience of Job; but whether they will, after all, be of much use to you, I doubt.”

Notwithstanding Dr. Morse was, from the first, disposed to entertain Dr. Trumbull's proposal favourably, so much time passed before he responded to it definitely, that his friend grew im-

patient, and began to think that he must put in requisition the services of some other person. At length, however, Dr. Morse gave a definite answer in the affirmative. But the burden of cares, which he found it impossible to throw off, kept him from doing any thing towards the fulfilment of his purpose for several years. In 1809 subscription papers were issued for the publication of the first volume, which had already been written by Dr. Trumbull. The manuscript was submitted, through Dr. Morse, to Mr. Adams, who, after carefully reading it, with eyes that were scarcely able to perform their office, returned it with the strongest expressions of approbation. The next year (1810) the first volume was published under Dr. Morse's auspices, and, by Dr. Trumbull's request, he retained the papers relating to the remainder of the History, which had been previously deposited with him. Several other eminent men were requested to carry forward the work, but none of them could be induced to undertake it.

Here the matter rested several years longer. In 1815, being partially relieved from other cares, Dr. Morse yielded to the desire, still expressed, that he would himself undertake to write the History. Accordingly, he applied to several eminent men, among whom were John Jay, Mr. Wilberforce, and John Adams, for further material in aid of his undertaking; and from Mr. Adams he received several letters of great interest, which he was able to turn to good account.

But the work for which those letters were solicited, was again unavoidably postponed, though the purpose to prepare and ultimately issue it, was still firmly adhered to. After his removal to New Haven, he compiled a History of the American Revolution, which was published, of which the letters of Mr. Adams, above referred to, form a part. In the Preface he says,—“The Compiler of this work is pledged to complete the history of the United States, begun by the late venerable Dr. Trumbull. He intends, should his life and health be prolonged, to fulfil his engagement in three or four volumes, in the course of as many years.” This was written on the 4th of October, 1824, less than two years before his death. His purpose in respect to the continuation of Trumbull’s History he did not live to accomplish.

Besides the Geographical and Historical works referred to in this chapter and the one immediately preceding, Dr. Morse published the following, some of which have already been noticed in connection with the events that called them forth:

A Sermon at Charlestown on the Death of Richard Cury, Esq.	1790
A Thanksgiving Sermon at Charlestown.	1795
A Sermon at Charlestown on the death of the Hon. Thomas Russell	1796
A Sermon at Charlestown on the Death of the Hon. James Russell.	1798
A Sermon at Charlestown on the National Fast. .	1798
A Sermon at Concord before the Freemasons’ Lodge	1798

A Thanksgiving Sermon at Charlestown.....	1798
A Sermon at Charlestown on the National Fast..	1799
An Address to the Students of Phillips Academy, Andover	1799
A Sermon at Charlestown on the Death of Wash- ington	1800
An Introductory Address at the Dedication of the Baptist Meeting-house, Charlestown	1801
A Sermon at Boston before the Massachusetts Humane Society.....	1801
A Sermon at Boston before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company.....	1803
A Sermon at Marblehead at the Ordination of Hezekiah May	1803
True Reasons on which the Election of a Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College was Opposed at the Board of Overseers	1805
A Sermon at Charlestown on the Death of Mrs. Mary Russell	1806
A Sermon before the Managers of the Boston Female Asylum	1807
A Sermon at Boston at the Ordination of Joshua Huntington	1808
A Sermon at Boston on the Anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.....	1808
A Sermon at Boston before the Society for Propa- gating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.....	1810
A Sermon at Boston before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers	1812
A Sermon at Charlestown on a day of Fasting and Prayer in consequence of a Declaration of War with Great Britain.....	1812
An Appeal to the Public in respect to the Revolu- tion in Harvard College, and the events which have followed it.....	1814
A Sermon before the Society for Foreign Mis- sions in Boston and the vicinity.....	1815

A Sermon at West Brookfield at the Ordination of Eliakim Phelps.....	1816
A Sermon at Springfield before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions..	1821
Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs, with a Tour among the Indians in 1820	1822

VI.

HIS LABOURS IN CONNECTION WITH THE POLITICS OF HIS DAY AND OTHER KINDRED SUBJECTS.

Dr. Morse, though a minister of the Gospel, and deeply sensible of his obligations as a minister, was not unmindful of the relations he sustained as a citizen, and he thought it fitting that he should recognize those relations by corresponding acts. Besides, a considerable portion of his ministry fell into a period of high political excitement,—when great questions involving the nation's weal or woe were in the process of being settled; and, as he regarded these questions as having a vital bearing upon the religious interests of the country, he could not conscientiously remain passive in respect to them. Accordingly, he did not hesitate to avow his opinions openly and boldly, though at the expense of incurring no small degree of party odium. He was an earnest, outspoken Federalist; a staunch advocate for the administrations of Washington and John Adams, and in full sympathy with the views of Jay and Hamilton. The first important political measure mentioned in his correspondence, is the well known Treaty with Great Britain, known as Jay's Treaty, by which points of dispute, threatening war, were amicably adjusted. The Treaty,

after being discussed and adopted by the Senate in secret session, was ratified by the President, and published as a law early in the summer of 1795. On the 12th of August, he writes to his father thus concerning it:

“The Treaty which many—chiefly Jacobins—do not like, has created much heat and fever among us, without any just cause. It is, and I doubt not will some months hence be acknowledged to be, a blessing to our country, especially as it secures to us the continuance of Peace, which could not have been preserved on other terms. The opposers of the Treaty have behaved as men do when in a violent passion. Reason and truth have had little to do in their proceedings, and the thinking ones among them begin to be ashamed of their conduct. Our dependence is on the stability and good sense of the yeomanry of the land, who, I am happy to learn from various quarters, are disposed to confide in their rulers. In the seaports there will always be mobs at the beck of artful demagogues.”

Of this last remark a practical illustration was furnished shortly after in connection with his own experience. On a certain evening the effigy of Mr. Jay was burnt by a tumultuous assemblage on Charlestown Square; and Dr. Morse happened, at the time, to be at Judge Gorham's, before whose door the tragic farce was enacted. Against the better judgment of his friends, but in obedience to his own patriotic impulses, he went out to remonstrate with the mob; but scarcely had he made his appearance there, when a blow on the head from a brickbat rendered it necessary that he should be taken home. He was not, however, seriously injured. One of his friends,

who called to ascertain the extent of the injury, inquired if his brain was hurt; to which he replied,—“No, if I had had any brains. I should not have been there.”

In January, 1798, he writes thus to Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh:

“As the war is likely to be continued in Europe, I fear that, notwithstanding the upright and strictly neutral conduct of our Government towards the belligerent powers, we shall be forced into it. The French treat us shamefully, and seem determined either to subject us to their influence and control,—which they never can do,—or to plunge us into the war. They have a busy, intriguing and unprincipled party among us, which, though numerous, is, I hope, diminishing. They would sacrifice freedom, government, independence, all that is dear, to serve France. Our Commissioners for Peace we have little expectation will succeed. Should they be sent home unsuccessful, I see nothing but disgrace and war before us. The policy of France, from our first connection with that insidious nation, is now pretty fully understood among the enlightened and unprejudiced of our citizens, whom now I think it is impossible for them to deceive. They can and will disquiet us through the influence of their party in this country, but I trust they will not be permitted to subvert our excellent Government. The prejudices of the American people against Great Britain are subsiding, and now is the time to do them away forever, and to cement our national union by a just, upright and friendly conduct.”

On the 9th of May, 1798, he preached a Fast Sermon, which was printed; and, on the 29th of November following, a Thanksgiving Sermon, which was also printed. To the latter there was an elaborate Appendix, in illustration of some parts of the Discourse, “exhibiting proofs of the early existence, progress and deleterious effects

of French intrigue and influence in the United States." The Discourse, including the Appendix, was written with great ability and characteristic fervour, and drew forth many testimonies of high approbation from distinguished men, of which the following are a specimen.

General Washington, in a letter dated Mount Vernon, February 28, 1799, writes thus:

"The letter with which you were pleased to favour me, dated the 1st instant, accompanying your Thanksgiving Sermon, came duly to hand. For the latter I pray you to accept my thanks. I have read it and the Appendix with pleasure, and wish the latter at least could meet a more general circulation than it probably will have; as it contains important information as little known out of a small circle as the dissemination of it would be useful, if spread through the community."

The Hon. Dwight Foster, United States Senator from Massachusetts, writes thus from Philadelphia on the 6th of February:

"The valuable information the Discourse contains will be of great service in the present situation of affairs in the United States. Some gentlemen here are desirous to have it more generally circulated. Members of Congress from the South wish for copies to send to their constituents. A large number could be disposed of immediately in Virginia and elsewhere, if sent to this place."

The Hon. Robert Goodloe Harper, of Maryland, at that time the Federal leader in the House of Representatives, says, in a letter dated the 14th of February:

"The Appendix contains much curious and important matter, fully confirming the doctrines long contended for by the sup-

porters of the American Government, and highly worthy of attention at all times, and especially at the present. Having been requested to collect the most valuable tracts on American affairs for the use of a gentleman high in office in England,—I mean Sir William Scott, Judge of the Admiralty, I have taken the liberty of adding yours to the number. I intend also to prevail on our printers to republish it.”

The Sermon gained a wide circulation. Though thirteen hundred copies were originally printed, a second edition was issued in the course of a few months; and, through the generous contribution of several gentlemen in Boston, a copy was sent gratuitously to every clergyman in Massachusetts. Mr. John Lang, the well known editor of the New York Gazette, pronounced the Discourse the best he had met with on the subject of our controversy with France, and expressed the opinion that the information contained in the notes was deserving of the widest circulation—he requested, therefore, that he might be permitted to republish the entire pamphlet in his paper. To this Dr. Morse consented, and, accordingly, the Sermon, with the Appendix, appeared in six successive numbers.

But the political and religious bearings of the question of French influence were so intertwined that it was not easy to separate them; and, on both grounds, he resisted that influence with all the energy of his nature. In his printed Thanksgiving Sermon of '95, he condemns the French Revolution as at once the offspring of Infidelity and the means of its growth. In January, 1797,

• Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, informed him of an organized effort in Europe for the extirpation of Christianity. He says:

• “A Society was created first under the name of the ‘Illuminati;’ and, when they had been prohibited under that name, they found means, under the name of the German Union, to get control of the greater part of the literary journals, periodical publications, circulating libraries, and reading clubs, nay, even of printers and booksellers through Germany, so as to prevent, as much as possible, the sale and spread of pieces of any ability, in which the doctrines of true Christianity were defended.” He adds,—“Full accounts of these artifices have been published in the last ten years of ‘The latest Facts in regard to Religion,’—a work which, for nineteen years, has been carried on by Küester, a worthy Professor at Giessen, from which and other materials a learned gentleman here is preparing an account of these manœuvres.”

• The work here referred to was by Professor Robison of Edinburgh, and was entitled “Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe,” carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies, collected from good authorities. It was first published in Scotland in the fall of 1797, and such was the interest which it awakened that the whole of the first edition was sold within a few days. It was sent immediately to this country, and published almost simultaneously in New York and Philadelphia. The work came into Dr. Morse’s hands first in April, 1798, and he read it with great eagerness and interest. In the Fast Sermon which he preached and published in May following, he says:

“There are too many evidences that this order (of Illuminati) has had its branches established in some form or other, and its emissaries secretly at work in this country for several years past. From their private papers which have been discovered and are now published, it appears that, as early as 1786, they had several Societies in America. And it is well known that some men, high in office, have expressed sentiments accordant to the principles and views of this Society,”

Some of the Society of Freemasons found fault with his commendatory remarks upon the book, but, on becoming satisfied that they were not implicated in the charge of conspiracy, they withdrew their censure as unfounded. The very next month he preached before the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts a Sermon which was printed by their request; and he afterwards received from them more than one token of good-will.

The book was denounced by many as containing charges that had no foundation except in the illiberal and enthusiastic brain that generated them; and those who accepted and recommended it were stigmatized as the victims of cherished prejudice or a pitiable credulity. Dr. Morse felt that he owed to himself and the public a vindication of his course in respect to the matter; and, accordingly, in the summer of 1798, he wrote and published in the *Massachusetts Mercury*, a Boston newspaper, half a dozen articles, in which he presented the case with great clearness and fulness. In the fourth number he says:

“I have the best authority to support me in the assertion that not a few of the most distinguished, respectable and worthy men among us, in civil as well as ecclesiastical life, have given

credit and approbation to the book in question, in regard to those parts of it, and for the purposes for which I have recommended it. Among these Professor Tappan and President Dwight have published their sentiments."

On the 25th of April, 1799, he preached another Fast Sermon, which was also printed, in which he dwells at length upon some of the appalling features of the times. Particularly he discourses at large upon the Secret Societies in the United States, the number of which he had ascertained to be fourteen; and in a Note he copies the Constitution, their insignia, symbols, ciphers, &c., marks their agency in promoting political dissensions in the land, and charges that among the mischiefs plotted is the destruction of the Clergy. The apprehensions which he felt were shared by many eminent men, both in this country and in Europe.

To the Rev. Dr. Nisbet, President of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., he writes under date of April 4, 1800:

"I feel myself flattered, consoled and supported by your approbation of my political creed, and by your opinion that it is sufficiently established by my Appendices. These publications have subjected me to much abuse from the Jacobins, which, however, does not make me uneasy, as I suffer in a good cause and in good company."

The following is an extract from a letter addressed to him by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, under date of May 8, 1799:

"It is indeed an age of Revolutions in which our lot is cast. My quietus is, *The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice.* I con-

sole myself with this,—that the several Powers and Governments at war are permitted agents for the accomplishment of the Divine purpose. The several Powers of Europe, laid in the balance, one against another, may be nearly equally corrupt, though the individuals of one may exceed those of others. As to the great body of the French, I consider them as an unprincipled set of mortals, who think nothing about moral evil, or who, if they do, think they may do evil, if good can come of it. I have known my friend Gerry, from an early period of the American struggle for liberty, and have a good opinion both of his abilities and his integrity. I am glad to find that the public opinion respecting him has changed considerably for the better. I am also glad that the insidious designs of the French and their party in your country are daily coming to light. I wish the American Government wisdom to prevent internal disturbances; but a free discussion of public measures must be allowed, or freedom will go into a rapid decline. As there are a number of Societies of Illuminees in your country, I am glad you have received indubitable proofs of their existence, and a printed list of the names of the officers and members of them, signed officially in the hand-writing of their Secretary. The communication would seem to indicate a conviction that there is nothing wrong among them, but does not remove my suspicion, especially as it is composed partly of Americans, but chiefly of French emigrants, and some from five or six different European nations.”

Mr. Jay writes to him, under date of 30th of January, 1799 :

“ Infidelity has become a political engine, alarming both by the force and the extent of its operations. It is doubtless permitted to be used for wise ends, though we do not clearly discern them. When those ends are accomplished, it will be laid aside. Much ill use has been and will yet be made of Secret Societies. I think with you that they should not be encouraged, and that the most virtuous and innocent among them would do well to concur in their suspension for the present.”

Three months later he writes thus :

“The facts which you have given to the public, relative to the conduct of France in our Revolution, as well as your strictures on the design and intrigues of the Illuminees, have, to a certain extent, been useful—they have made proper impressions on many sedate and candid men, but I suspect they have detached very few of the disciplined adherents of the party.”

In July, 1799, Professor Ebeling wrote him a letter condemning the “Proofs of Conspiracy;”—a fact which President Dwight accounted for on the ground that Ebeling’s tendencies were far from being in an evangelical direction. Some ill-disposed person, who overheard him read this letter, carried a report of it to Hartford, which was printed in the American Mercury of the 26th of September, as the substance of the letter itself, with abusive representations of the Reverend gentlemen to whom it was addressed. Dr. Morse publicly pronounced the letter, as thus given, a spurious one, and his assertion was supported by the published certificate of Professors Tappan and Pearson of Harvard College, to whom Professor Ebeling’s letter had been read, on its reception, at the writer’s request.

A fortnight later (9th of October) there appeared in the (Worcester) Massachusetts Spy an anonymous letter, with this introduction: “A gentleman in this State, who has a literary correspondent in Germany, has lately received from him the following letter on the subject of Robison’s Book of Illuminati, &c. As that book has

been so much the subject of conversation, the letter may be interesting to some of our readers." As it seems to have been doubted by some whether Ebeling was really the author of this letter, a copy of it was sent to him with the inquiry whether he wrote it, and he promptly acknowledged its authorship.

Early in 1801, a writer in the *National Intelligencer*, assuming that this letter was the one addressed to Dr. Morse, boldly charges him with falsehood, appealing for proof to the above testimony of Professor Ebeling. Meanwhile, the person, to whom the authenticated letter was addressed, remained unknown. The secret, however, was soon after revealed through the following correspondence :

“CHARLESTOWN, 20 February, 1801.

“Reverend Sir: You will have observed that the long letter (now ascertained to have been from Professor Ebeling) which appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy* of the 9th of October, 1799, from the uncertainty in respect to the name of its author, and of the person in this State to whom it was addressed, has been publicly but erroneously asserted to be *Professor Ebeling's letter to me*. This rendered it necessary for me at the time to make a public denial of it; which, however, seems not to have been universally credited. The consequence has been a public formal charge of falsehood upon me, which has been circulated extensively in several of our newspapers, and has occasioned me and my friends a good deal of trouble. It would be very easy for the person who received and who holds the original of this letter, and who handed it to the printer, to satisfy the public, and to put an end to this unpleasant business; and I clearly think it his duty to do it under present circumstances.

“Now, Sir, it has been, within a few days, intimated to a friend of mine, by Mr. Benjamin Austin Jr., of Boston, that

this much talked of letter was addressed to you by Professor Ebeling. Where he obtained his information, and whether it be correct or not, I am unable to say. As it is a matter in which my character is implicated, I have to request you to inform me, by return of mail, whether or not the letter aforesaid, published in the Massachusetts Spy of 9th of October, 1799, was in fact written to you by Professor Ebeling, and whether or not you handed it to the printer, for publication. Your speedy answer will much oblige

"Rev. Sir, your most obedient servant,
"J. MORSE."

To this communication he received the following answer :

"SALEM, 21 February, 1801.

"Rev. Doctor : The letter from Professor Ebeling, as published in the Massachusetts Spy of October, 1799, was addressed to me, and printed at my request.

"WILLIAM BENTLEY."

"To Rev. JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D."

Thus was at length solved the mystery which had baffled all efforts at explanation for sixteen months. But meanwhile he had been subjected to the offensive imputation of having printed in the newspaper a letter hastily written by Professor Ebeling, and by no means intended for publication. He had also been compelled to vindicate himself publicly against the charge of falsehood. This he did in a series of five articles in the Boston Independent Chronicle, commencing 16th of February, 1801. It was a gratifying circumstance that, during this unpleasant controversy, his amicable relations with Professor Ebeling remained unimpaired.

Dr. Morse preached a Sermon commemorative of Washington on the 31st of December, 1799, which, together with a Biographical sketch from his pen and the Farewell Address of the Father of his country, was printed, at the expense of the town, in a pamphlet of a hundred and forty-six pages, octavo. Each family in the town was furnished with a copy.

About the beginning of the present century Dr. Morse engaged actively in the establishment of a new paper, in the Federal interest, in Boston,—the New England Palladium. Dr. Dwight writes him, 7 November, 1800:

“ Mr. Dutton will undertake the business (of Editor) on the terms proposed. * * * I have conversed with Lieutenant Governor J. Smith, Messrs. Daggett, J. C. Smith, Goodrich and Theodore Dwight, for the express purpose of contributing as literary men. All will heartily unite in the design, and will furnish their quota, so far as their business will permit. I have conversed with many other gentlemen, all of whom think it of high importance to our well-being, and will lend it their whole countenance and support. I have applied to no person for aid who has not promised it; and Mr. Goodrich and my brother told me that, without any doubt, their friends in Hartford will aid the design by their contributions. Mr. Goodwin (Editor of the Courant) told me, he and his partner will aid the subscription heartily and republish from the paper with the utmost pleasure.”

Mr. Oliver Wolcott writes from Washington, under date of 28th of November:

“ I will with pleasure contribute all in my power to the success of the Palladium, and doubt not but the officers of Government will make it the medium of their communications with the people.”

In the printed proposals, the intention of the paper is declared to be "to support the Government, morals, religion and state of society in our country in general, and particularly the institutions and state of society in New England; to defend these on the one hand, and on the other to expose Jacobinism in every form, both of principle and practice, both of philosophism and of licentiousness."

To facilitate the enterprise, the editors of the Mercury, a paper already existing, were induced to merge their paper in the new one. The first Number was issued on the 2d of January, 1801, under the title,—“The Mercury and New England Palladium.”

In June, 1803, Dr. Morse preached the Annual Sermon before the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, which was published. It consists of a comprehensive and eloquent sketch of New England History, including an account of the origin, object and services of the Artillery company, and followed by an earnest enforcement of the obligations resting upon the descendants of such worthy ancestors. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Lyman, written the day after the Sermon was preached, he says:

“Yesterday I relieved myself of considerable anxiety. I have endeavoured to discharge my duty. I leave the result. When I tell you that I preached a discourse seventy-two minutes long, you will suppose that it must at least have cost me some labour to correct it. It is over and I am glad. Now for the Ordination Sermon week after next”—(preached at the

Ordination of the Rev. Hezekiah May, and printed)—“then I shall be worn down sufficiently for a journey.”

Dr. Morse retained through life a deep interest in every thing pertaining to the civil well-being of the country. The War with Great Britain of 1812-15 he regarded as unjustifiable and unnecessary, and did not hesitate to speak out his mind in relation to it, both in private and in public. He, however, never counselled extreme measures, and had no sympathy with any thing like conspiracy or revolt. Indeed, his views of that scene of national agitation and turmoil were in substantial harmony with those of much the larger portion of the Congregational clergy of New England. From the foundation of the Government his political proclivities were always in the same direction.

VII.

HIS DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS.

Dr. Morse was eminently favoured in respect to his parentage and early training. Both of his parents were persons of more than ordinary intelligence, and of high moral and Christian character, and the estimation in which his father was held was sufficiently indicated by the various posts of honour and responsibility assigned to him by his fellow citizens. From his earliest childhood there seems to have existed, between the father and the son, an unusually affectionate intimacy, marked by the most thoughtful and loving care on the one side, and the most reverent, confiding and obedient spirit on the other. From the son's earliest intellectual developments, through the whole course of his education, and a large part of his subsequent protracted career of honourable usefulness, the father and the son were constantly kept informed of each other's circumstances, and were not only sharers but helpers of one another's joy. It may be doubted whether a domestic atmosphere could be found, more favourable to the healthful growth of both the mind and the heart, than that in which Jedidiah Morse passed his earliest

years, and received the impulse that gave direction to his whole life.

In due time, this man, so highly favoured in respect to early domestic influences, came to have a family of his own. The lady to whom he was married was connected with one of the most honoured families of New Jersey, being the granddaughter of the venerable President Finley, of Princeton College. Her personal qualities were every way worthy of her honourable descent. With a mind naturally quick and versatile, and withal subjected to the best culture of the day, she united a most kindly and genial spirit, and great simplicity and gracefulness of manners—all under the control of a living and earnest piety. Her naturally calm and considerate turn was a felicitous offset to the more earnest and impulsive habit of her husband; and no doubt this very difference of moral constitution contributed to their mutual happiness and usefulness. She presided over the affairs of her household with great dignity and efficiency, assuming, in no small degree, the labour and responsibility of providing for their daily wants. She was a most watchful and vigorous coadjutor with her husband in carrying out the great objects of his ministry; and she seemed to regard it as her chief vocation to share his burdens, and by a silent, unobtrusive, and yet energetic influence, to minister to his success. She was, in the best sense, a help-meet to him as long as he lived—it was her privilege to watch around his

death bed; and long since have they been reunited to trace the gracious dealings of God's providence towards them while they were on earth, and perhaps also to give thanks that their united influence is still to be recognized in moulding the characters of a second and even a third generation.

Dr. Morse, in respect to his children, was at once one of the most afflicted, and one of the most favoured, of men. Of the eleven who were born to him, only three, namely, Samuel Finley Breese, Sidney Edwards and Richard Cary, survived the period of infancy; but those three have lived to fulfil his best expectations. They are all graduates of Yale College, all, in different ways, devoted to the best interests of their fellow men; and all, as occasion offers, ready to lay their offerings of filial reverence and gratitude upon their father's grave. It is scarcely necessary to say that considerations of delicacy alone prevent a more extended notice of them.

Dr. Morse's social relations, outside the circle of his own kindred, that contributed largely to give the complexion to his life, may be said to have commenced with his admission to Yale College—even before that; for Abiel Holmes, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge, who was, through life, one of his most steadfast friends, was a play-mate of his boyhood. In the catalogue of his class in College we find, beside the name of Abiel Holmes, the names of Samuel Austin, President of the University of Vermont,

David Daggett, Chief Justice of Connecticut, John Cotton Smith, Governor of Connecticut, Richard Salter Storrs, a distinguished clergyman of Massachusetts, and various others whom to have known was to have esteemed and honoured. With the President of the College, Dr. Stiles, with whom he was brought in contact, first as a student, then as a graduate, and afterwards as a minister of the Gospel, he was on terms of much more than common friendship, and ultimately in habits of very free and confidential intercourse. At a later period, when he journeyed to the South, he made the acquaintance of not a few of the most prominent men on his route; among whom were Dr. Rodgers, of New York; Ebenezer Hazard, of Philadelphia; Dr. Ramsay and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of Charleston; and last and greatest, the Father of his country; and with some of these he continued in the most intimate relations as long as he lived. His settlement in Charlestown threw him into a large circle of educated minds and noble spirits, to which he became at once allied by both his tastes and habits. In addition to this, his geographical pursuits, and each of the various forms of public enterprise or Christian benevolence to which he was devoted, enlarged the sphere not only of his observation but of his acquaintance, and in some instances brought him into communion with other classes of minds than those with which he had previously been familiar. With the eminent Professors of all of our then existing Theological Seminaries, and most of our

Colleges, especially with President Dwight, and with nearly all the more distinguished Presbyterian and Congregational clergymen throughout the land, he was more or less acquainted, and not a few of them were among his intimate friends. So also his acquaintance included a large portion of those who were most prominent in civil life; with many of whom he co-operated in sustaining and carrying forward objects of common interest. And there were those who knew and honoured him scattered all over the world—some of the most illustrious British names, both in Church and in State, were of the number—and there remains a written record to show that in their intercourse with him they recognized the presence of a master-spirit. His naturally genial and earnest temperament drew him near to the hearts of his friends, while his versatile and well stored mind, and his facility at applying himself successfully to any praise-worthy object, led multitudes to seek the privilege and the honour of his acquaintance.

It is not to be concealed that the attitude which Dr. Morse felt himself called upon to assume in regard to the prevailing religious tendencies in the community in which he lived, affected materially his relations, not only with a considerable portion of the ministers, but with private members of the Church, and many who had no connection with it. There were many things not only spoken but written that betokened aversion, and even positive alienation;

but this is easily accounted for by a reference to the principles of human nature, and the paramount importance that attaches itself to men's religious convictions. Most of the generation which had to encounter him as an adversary to their theological views have passed away; but the graphic and beautiful letter of personal recollections from Miss Lucy Osgood, which will be found farther on in this volume, may be accepted as evidence that some at least who did not sympathize with Dr. Morse's religious views, were still ready to testify their veneration for his character.



VIII.

HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

Perhaps nothing in connection with Dr. Morse's eventful life was more remarkable than his Correspondence. It covered a most interesting period, both civil and religious, in the history of our country; ranging from the close of the Revolution to the close of the first quarter of the present century. During this time various changes—some of them of momentous bearing—had occurred in our political condition; many difficult questions pertaining to the public weal had been earnestly discussed and finally settled; and more than once had dark clouds settled over the nation that seemed to portend approaching ruin, though, through the interposition of Divine Providence, the ruin was always averted. Within the same time had the Church been aroused to the prosecution of her mission in evangelizing the world—the great missionary enterprise existed at first only as a glorious conception, then it began to take on a palpable and practical form; and for years before the subject of this Memoir had finished his earthly course, it was moving forward with a power and a grandeur, which constituted a

certain pledge of its final triumph. As Dr. Morse was prominently identified with all these great objects and interests, so he was in correspondence with nearly all those who had most to do in sustaining and directing them. There was scarcely a man of note, either in Church or State, whose religious or political sympathies were in harmony with his own, with whom he did not have occasional communications, and, in many instances, they kept up a constant and vigorous correspondence.

Of the many distinguished men whose names are found on the list of his correspondents, a few only can be mentioned. Among his clerical correspondents were Drs. Stiles and Dwight, Presidents of Yale College; Dr. McKeen, President of Bowdoin College; Dr. Nott, President of Union College; Dr. Davis, President of Middlebury College; Dr. Austin, President of the University of Vermont; Drs. Smith and Green, Presidents of the College of New Jersey; Dr. Nisbet, President of Dickinson College; Drs. Pearson, Griffin, Woods and Rev. Moses Stuart, Professors in the Andover Theological Seminary; Drs. Miller and Alexander, Professors in the Princeton Theological Seminary; Dr. Hemenway, of Wells, Me.; Dr. Buckminster, of Portsmouth, N. H.; Drs. Belknap, Thacher and Stillman, of Boston; Dr. Osgood, of Medford; Dr. Spring, of Newburyport; Dr. Parish, of Byfield; Dr. Emmons, of Franklin; Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton; Dr. Lathrop, of West

Springfield; Dr. Worcester, of Salem, Mass.; Dr. Trumbull, of North Haven, and Dr. Backus, of Somers, Conn.; Drs. Rodgers, Livingston, Mason, Abeel, Romeyn, Linn and McKnight, of the city of New York; Dr. McWhorter, of Newark, N. J.; Dr. Hall, of Iredell County, N. C.; Drs. Keith, Flinn and Hollingshead, of Charleston, S. C.; Dr. Kollock, of Savannah, Ga.; and Dr. Blackburn, whose residence was chiefly in Tennessee. Among those of his correspondents, who had an honoured name in other departments of public usefulness, were the first four Presidents of the United States; Benjamin Rush, Signer of the Declaration of Independence; Alexander Hamilton; Fisher Ames; Elias Boudinot, President of the old Congress; Oliver Wolcott and Samuel Dexter, Secretaries of the Treasury; Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War; Robert Goodloe Harper, Samuel L. Mitchell, M. D., and Nathaniel Macon, Members of the United States Senate; William Plumer, Governor of New Hampshire; Samuel Phillips, Lt. Governor of Massachusetts; John Cotton Smith and John Treadwell, Governors of Connecticut; James Kent, Chancellor of New York, and H. W. Desaussure, Chancellor of South Carolina; Richard Cranch, Francis Dana, Dwight Foster, John Lowell and Isaac Parker, Judges in Massachusetts; Josiah Quincy, distinguished Statesman, and President of Harvard College; David Ramsay, the Historian; Nicholas Pike,

the Mathematician; Noah Webster, the Lexicographer; John Trumbull, the Poet; and John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's most cherished son. Among his distinguished correspondents abroad were Professor Ebeling, the celebrated Geographer of Hamburg; Dr. John Erskine and Professor Robinson (author of the celebrated work entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy," &c.), of Edinburgh; Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow; Drs. Priestley, Price, Rippon, Lettsom (M. D.), of London; William Cobbett, the celebrated Zachary Macaulay, and the yet more celebrated William Wilberforce. With some of them his correspondence was only casual and occasional; while, with not a small portion of them, it was continued, without interruption, through many successive years.

In looking over this vast collection of letters, the first impression that one receives is of the wonderful industry and activity of the person to whom they were addressed. Each of these letters, as a general rule, was either an answer to one that he had previously written, or else it drew an answer from him; and hence the whole mass becomes a legitimate measure of what he himself accomplished in this department of labour. But not only must there have been a vast expenditure of time and effort in maintaining such a correspondence, but the correspondence itself was only an auxiliary to the accomplishment of higher ends—it was one of the means by which his

own wakeful and energetic spirit was penetrating into the various departments of human activity, and making itself felt in the most practical and honourable results. No one can examine this huge mass of letters, and trace the multitudinous and varied paths through which they lead, without a feeling of wonder that any one man could have accomplished the amount of labour that is here indicated.

Another reflection which the reading of these letters suggests is, that the person who received and answered them must have been liberally endowed with both the power and the spirit of accommodation. They relate to nearly every subject of importance that occupied the public mind during the whole of Dr. Morse's active life; and one marvels at the graceful facility with which he passes from one subject to another, as if it were impossible for his thoughts to pause at any point where they were not entirely at home. A large part of the letters he received, related to subjects that he deemed important, and in relation to which he considered it a privilege to co-operate with the writers; but he was also well-nigh flooded with communications designed to subserve mere personal ends on the part of those from whom they came, and many of which it might have seemed natural enough that he should pass in silence. This, however, he was not accustomed to do—every letter that was decent and respectful in its tone, however troublesome might be

the request it contained, was sure to be promptly and kindly answered. This was the more remarkable in view of the constant claims that were made upon his time by objects of acknowledged public importance.

And while Dr. Morse's almost world-wide correspondence served to develop and keep in exercise some of his more striking proclivities, it cannot be doubted that it re-acted, as a benign influence, in improving and elevating his character. It is proverbial that we naturally become conformed to the characters of those with whom we are brought most in contact—the quality of the intellectual and moral atmosphere that we breathe, makes itself felt, either for good or evil, in our inmost mind and heart. Dr. Morse's correspondence kept him in constant intercourse with many of the purest and most exalted characters of the age; and it would have been strange indeed if the effect had not been to render his own virtues more conspicuous. Such undoubtedly *was* the effect; and there is equal reason to believe that a corresponding influence was exerted by himself upon other minds, in elevating them to a higher tone of thought and feeling and action.

While there is so much in this correspondence to gratify curiosity, and especially to aid in the settlement of many questions of historical interest, one can hardly look through it at this day without the sad consciousness of walking among the dead. With very few excep-

tions, all the hands by which this vast collection of letters were written, have turned into clods; and those that remain are, generally, at best, specimens of waning vigour and power. It is a delightful reflection, however, that, while this correspondence represents a vast throng who have passed on to mingle in the scenes beyond the veil, not a small portion of them have been gathered to the final inheritance of the saints. Precious indeed is the thought that he and they who were so long fellow-labourers on earth, sharing one another's confidence and rejoicing in one another's success, should now form part of the same glorified community, and walk in the light of the same throne, and prosecute their researches together into the works and ways of God.

IX.

SUMMARY OF HIS CHARACTER.

Dr. Morse was far from having a vigorous physical constitution—indeed it was the absence of this that seems to have first suggested to his parents the idea of giving him a liberal education. He was struggling with bodily infirmities, more or less, during the greater part of his life, and the marvel is that, under such disadvantage, he was able to perform such vast and varied labour. He was of a somewhat slender form, of about the medium height, with a bright piercing eye, and a general expression of countenance, indicating at once a vigorous intellect and quick sensibilities. While his manners were gentlemanly and cultivated, there was an earnestness in his movements that seemed to say that he understood well the value of life, and that, like his Divine Master, he must be “always about his Father’s business.”

His intellectual character was marked by uncommon quickness and clearness of perception, by a retentive memory, a correct and delicate taste, and a habit of wide and close observation. Though he made no claim to any remarkable acquirements in any other depart-

ment than that of Geography, yet with his uncommonly active mind, in connection with his untiring industry, he accumulated an amount of general knowledge of which very few minds have ever been the depositories. It was not easy to introduce a subject, within the ordinary range of a cultivated intellect, upon which he was not able to converse intelligently, as well as to suggest thoughts in which was found rich material for subsequent reflection.

No feature of his mind was perhaps more remarkable than its versatility—his wonderful power of bringing his faculties into exercise with equal ease and to equal purpose, in any or all of the various fields which invited his efforts. Whether labouring for the spiritual interests of his flock in the Pulpit, or in the Lecture room, or in the Family; whether framing a Geography or a History, or establishing and conducting a Periodical; whether originating and sustaining Societies in aid of Evangelical Truth or Christian Benevolence, or defending the cherished principles of his faith against the objections of those who questioned or denied them; whether exchanging thoughts, either in conversation or by letter, with the Father of his country, or labouring to enlighten the poor negroes of Georgia or of Boston,—in all these various circumstances he seemed equally at home, and whatever he undertook, his heart entered into it with all the energy

of a ruling passion. And with this remarkable versatility there was united an indomitable perseverance, that looked at obstacles only as things to be met and overcome; and it was a rare case indeed that he failed ultimately of accomplishing his object. Indeed, it cannot be denied that some of his best friends regarded his tenacity of purpose as having been occasionally excessive; and though they felt assured that his movements were always dictated by a conscientious regard to right, yet they were also satisfied that he might have sometimes paused, advantageously to himself and to the cause he was endeavouring to sustain.

Dr. Morse's general love of improvement, combined with his highly adventurous spirit, led him often to traverse ground that would have possessed no attractions to ordinary minds. It may be mentioned, as an instance of this, that, upon the first discovery of Vaccination, while the community in which he lived almost universally looked upon it with distrust and aversion, he at once manifested his confidence in it by introducing it into his own family; and his example soon came to be extensively followed in the vicinity, and, at no distant period, the country at large gave its assent to the genuineness of the discovery.

Dr. Morse was, in many respects, in advance of the period in which he lived. It was during his ministry, as I have already had occasion to state, that the Church, on both sides of the

ocean, awoke from a protracted slumber, to a sense of her obligation to send the Gospel through the world; and contemporaneous with this was an incipient reform in almost every department of human life and action. Dr. Morse was not only ready to lend a helping hand in every benevolent movement, but, in some of the most prominent enterprises of the day, he was actually a pioneer. While he was far from any tendency to extravagance or eccentricity, and rarely, if ever, projected a plan of reform that did not ultimately approve itself to the mature judgment of the wise and benevolent, he was not afraid to penetrate into regions of benevolence that had not before been explored; nor did he hesitate to take counsel of, or co-operate with, those with whose opinions on other subjects his own were far from being in harmony. There was scarcely an important object of benevolence in his day, with which he was not connected, either as an originator or a vigorous promoter; and not only was he ready to respond to every claim that was made upon him either for thought or action, but his inquisitive and far reaching mind was perpetually on the alert for devising new plans, and wakening into exercise new energies, to meliorate the condition, improve the character, and exalt the destiny, of man.

Without attempting to decide whether Dr. Morse's multiplied engagements, outside the

immediate range of his profession, detracted at all from his power and success as a preacher, it may safely be said that he took rank among the excellent preachers of the day. He was as far as possible from what would be called, in modern phrase, "a sensation preacher." His sermons, which were all carefully written, were unusually clear and logical in their construction, and graceful in their style, and some of them contained passages of rare beauty. Their general tone was highly evangelical, though few of them seem to have taken on a controversial form—much fewer than might have been expected, considering the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. In looking over his manuscript discourses, I have been struck with the fact that, though they are not generally of an argumentative cast, in the sense of being elaborate or profound, yet they are marked by a comprehensiveness and completeness, which could not fail to give them favour with the more thoughtful class of hearers, and, at the same time, by a beautiful simplicity, that brought them within the range of the commonest intellect. His manner in the pulpit was calm and unstudied, his voice distinguished for its silvery and melodious tones, his countenance expressive of vigorous thought, as well as great sincerity and earnestness, and his whole appearance such as became an accredited ambassador for Christ. It was my privilege to hear him preach only twice;

but in one of these cases particularly, both the discourse and the manner of delivery left upon my mind an impression, that the lapse of more than half a century has not been sufficient to efface.

It was natural enough, considering the great number and variety of objects to which Dr. Morse's attention was drawn, that some should have charged him with being neglectful of the immediate duties pertaining to the sacred office. But, as far as the record of his ministry has come under my eye, I find nothing that fairly sustains such a charge. The spiritual interests of his people seem always to have been upon his heart; and while he was labouring for other objects, this was evidently, in his estimation, paramount to all others. Many a minister who has not approached Dr. Morse either in the number of sermons he has written and preached, or in the amount of private pastoral duty that he has performed, has never been suspected of any delinquency—the Doctor's only fault in the matter seems to have been, that what were hours of leisure to others were hours of work to him; and that by a strict economy of his time, he was able to superadd to at least the ordinary amount of professional labour, a degree of vigorous and successful effort in other fields of usefulness, which exceeded that of almost any of his contemporaries.

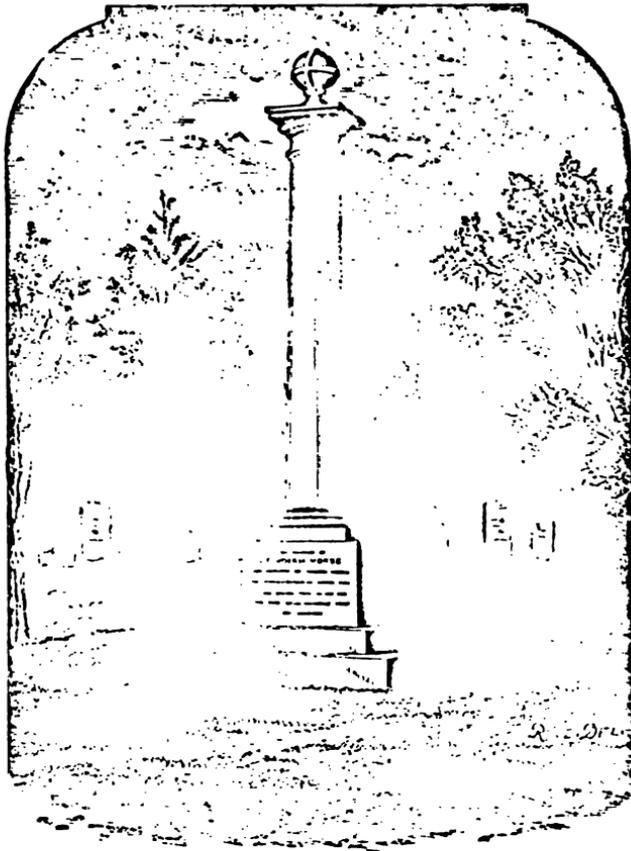
Dr. Morse, notwithstanding his controversial habits, growing out of his peculiar relations

and circumstances, possessed a naturally amiable and kindly disposition. Hence his intimate friends were drawn to him by cords of the strongest affection. In his house was practised the broadest and most generous hospitality. Letters almost innumerable still exist from persons—many of them men of eminence—who, after having sojourned with him,—some of them perhaps for weeks,—have thus sent back their grateful acknowledgments for the favours he had conferred upon them. This largeness of heart prevented his ever becoming rich, as he might otherwise have done, and left him in his last years with a bare competence.

In nothing pertaining to pastoral duty was Dr. Morse more distinguished than his considerate, tender, appropriate treatment of persons in affliction. He seemed able always to command the best thoughts, and to communicate them in the most sympathetic and consolatory manner, while he took care to blend with words of comfort, words of counsel, or, as the case might be, of admonition. There are those still living, who have treasured among their most cherished remembrances the kindly and delicate manner in which he has conveyed to them the tidings of some domestic bereavement or other form of calamity; and they can scarcely speak of him now without invoking blessings upon his memory, as having been at once their comforter and guide in the hour of their sorrow.

But that which more than anything else gave complexion to Dr. Morse's character and life, was an earnest piety, discovering itself especially in a conscientious adherence to his own convictions of duty, and a devout and reverent acknowledgment of the Divine Providence. Not only in his correspondence but in the record of the more private movements of his mind and heart, is to be found the evidence that, sometimes, when he was bearing heavy reproach for acts which some charged to unworthy motives, he was not only obeying the honest dictates of conscience, but was doing it at the expense of no small degree of self-denial. Amidst all his diverse and manifold engagements, the great matter of personal Christian culture was never overlooked—on the contrary, his varied experiences seem to have been rendered tributary to this important end; and hence the work of his last hour was a mere calm, trustful, cheerful exchange of earth for Heaven.

The monument over his grave in the New Haven burying-ground is of Rhode Island white granite, and is twenty feet high. It consists of a column surmounted with a globe, and resting on a square base, on the four sides of which are the following inscriptions:



MONUMENT TO DR. MORSE, IN CEMETERY, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Face p. 265

In Memory of

JEDIDIAH MORSE,
THE FATHER OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHY;
Born in Woodstock, Windham Co., Conn., Aug. 22, 1761;
Died in New Haven, June 2, 1826;
IN THE JOY OF A TRIUMPHANT FAITH
IN CHRIST.

—
A GRADUATE OF YALE COLLEGE in 1783;
AUTHOR OF THE FIRST GEOGRAPHY PRINTED
IN AMERICA in 1784;
HONORED BY THE UNIV. OF EDINBURGH (SCOT.)
WITH THE DEGREE OF S. T. D. in 1794;
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.,
from 1789 to 1820;
U. S. COMMISSIONER TO THE INDIAN TRIBES,
from 1820 to 1822.
THE ORIGINATOR
AND EFFICIENT PROMOTER OF
GREAT AND WISE PLANS FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.
THE BOLD AND FIRM DEFENDER OF
EVANGELICAL TRUTH.

In Memory of

ELIZABETH ANN MORSE,
WIFE OF JEDIDIAH MORSE,
daughter of Samuel Breese, and grand-daughter of
Samuel Finley, President of the College of New Jersey.
Born in New York city, Sept. 29th, 1768;
Died in New Haven, May 28, 1828.
EMINENT FOR ALL THE VIRTUES THAT ADORN THE
CHRISTIAN WIFE AND MOTHER.

This Monument

TO THE BEST OF FATHERS AND OF MOTHERS,
IS ERECTED BY THEIR SONS.

X.

LETTERS OF AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE

FROM THE SONS OF DR. MORSE.

* FROM SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK,
May 24th, 1856.

WM. B. SPRAGUE, DD.

My dear Sir:—At your request, I give you very hastily some personal reminiscences of my venerated father. I say “hastily,” for I am called upon for them quite unexpectedly, and on the eve of my departure for Europe.

The most prominent trait of my father’s character, and that which is indelibly inscribed on my memory, is his charity,—charity in the New Testament sense the great master principle of Christianity. As the fruit and evidence of this may be mentioned his untiring invention of enlarged plans for benefiting his fellow-men.

* This letter was originally written to accompany the biographical sketch of Dr. Morse in the “Annals of the American Pulpit” (vol. II., page 253). It is reprinted here by special permission.

His mind was ever on the alert to seize every means, and press them into the service of good to all mankind. In no other man, whom I have known, was the "love of Christ" so evidently the great controlling and constraining motive in all beneficent planning. In no other one have I known this love to be in such constant exercise.

It was shown towards mankind at large, in his nursing of the infant Tract Society, when, in its earliest existence, it was embodied in himself as the selector, the publisher, and chief distributor of religious tracts, and when the first tract depository in the United States was a small room partitioned off from his stable. It was shown towards the African race, when he planned with the well known and intelligent colored sea captain, Paul Cuffee, the first colonization scheme for the Christianization of Africa with emancipated Christian blacks. It was shown in his zealous coöperation with the first planners of the American Bible Society, to give a permanent location and organization to that noble institution. It was shown in his prominence as a founder of the Theological Seminary of Andover and in his labours with other kindred minds in the planning and organizing of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in his personal efforts as one of the Prudential Committee, with Worcester and Evarts, in managing its concerns. And it was shown in the last days of his life, when his ruling passion

exerted itself in labours to benefit the American Indians.

Nor was his benevolence limited to these larger fields for its exercise. Hospitality was the sign of my father's house, not for the wealthy and distinguished alone, but for the poor and unpretending. Talleyrand, when an exile, was cordially entertained at his table, but not more so than some of his poorer and more unpolished clerical brethren.

His property, earned by his geographical and other literary labors, was liberally dispensed to the foreign exile, as well as to the needy native. I remember well the tears of gratitude of a Frenchman to whom my father had given a small supply of funds and letters to some of his friends which procured for the foreigner an honorable and lucrative position as a teacher in the interior of the state. He came into my father's study to express his thanks. My father had said to him, "I can give you but little money, but I hope my letters will be of service." On receiving his thanks and being made acquainted with his success, my father replied: "I could give you but little money." "Yes," said the exile, "but it was given so heartily, with so much good will. It was enough. I read your heart. I wanted sympathy more than money, but you gave both."

This, in a few words, my dear Sir, was my father. With sincere respect,

Your friend and servant,
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

FROM SIDNEY E. MORSE.

NEW YORK, *November, 1867.*

WM. B. SPRAGUE, D.D.

Dear Sir:—You ask me for a letter of reminiscences of my venerated father, for your Biography of him soon to be published. In reply allow me to say that I had occasion some time ago, in answer to an invitation to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the First Sabbath School Society in Massachusetts founded by my father, in 1816, to write a letter in which I give an epitomized narrative of what was most memorable in his life, touching very lightly on those principal topics which you have treated so fully and satisfactorily, and dwelling with detail on other matters which belong as properly, perhaps, to the letter of reminiscences you now ask for as to the jubilee* occasion for which they were originally intended. A part of the narrative that follows is therefore derived from that source.

* The first Sabbath School society in Massachusetts was formed in October, 1816, by Dr. Morse and members of his Church, in Charlestown. His eldest son, Samuel F. B. Morse, his second son, Sidney E. Morse, and the Rev. Dr. John Todd, of Pittsfield, Mass., were three of the first teachers of the first school established by this Society; and Mr. S. F. B. Morse was also the first superintendent of the school. These three surviving teachers were invited to attend and take part in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the school and the Society. The meeting for the celebration was held in the church of the First Parish in Charlestown, on the 14th of October, 1866. Dr. Todd and Mr. Sidney E. Morse were present. Professor Morse was absent at the time with his family in Europe.

I remember well the circumstances in which the First Sabbath School Society in Massachusetts was originated in Charlestown. The merit of originating it belongs pre-eminently to the late Rev. Ward Stafford, of New York. Sixty years ago, Ward Stafford was a poor farmer's boy in New Hampshire. Becoming hopefully pious, he was placed at Phillips Academy, in Andover, to be trained to the duties of a country schoolmaster: My younger brother, Richard, was at that time at the Andover Academy, preparing for admission to Yale College. Rooming with Stafford, highly appreciating his talents and Christian spirit, and earnestly desiring to extend his power of usefulness, my brother presented Stafford's case to my father, who at once obtained the subscription of the late Josiah Salisbury, deacon in the Old South Church in Boston, for four hundred dollars, and of other wealthy friends for three hundred dollars more; and with this money Mr. Stafford was educated at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1812 with the second honor in his class, delivering the salutatory oration on that occasion, although among his competitors for that honor were such men as the Hon. George Bliss, of Springfield, and the late Hon. John Davis, of Worcester, whose talents the people of Massachusetts have appreciated by bestowing upon them the highest offices in their gift.

After leaving New Haven, Mr. Stafford went to New York, and became a devoted missionary to the poor of that city, on a plan originated by

himself, and set forth in a small work, entitled "A New Missionary Field," a work which DeWitt Clinton, the great statesman of New York, pronounced "a masterly performance," and which prepared the way for the City Missions, now so generally established in this country and in Europe.

The class of poor with which Mr. Stafford specially occupied himself were the seamen of the port; and, in his labors for them, he founded the institutions which ripened into the American Seamen's Friend Society, whose influence for good is now felt throughout the world.

Mr. Stafford engaged also enthusiastically in the establishment of Sabbath schools in New York. In the autumn of 1816, he made a visit of several weeks to my father in Charlestown, and enlisted him in the Sabbath school enterprise. At that time good people in Massachusetts regarded Sabbath schools as fitted only for the children of the poor, in such cities as London and New York, where ignorant and vicious parents neglected the religious education of their offspring, and where no adequate provision was made for secular instruction during the week. In Massachusetts, where ample provision was made by law for teaching every child to read and write on week-days, and where parents were presumed to devote a part of every Sabbath to the religious instruction of their children, Sabbath schools, it was thought, would be entirely out of place. Some of the best men that I saw

at my father's at that time maintained that it would be actually a profanation of the Sabbath to open a school on the Lord's Day, as it would be doing work on that holy day which the fourth commandment requires to be done on the other days of the week.

On Mr. Stafford's arrival the whole subject was discussed in the parlor of the parsonage by Mr. S., Jeremiah Evarts, Dr. Worcester and my father. I remember that even Mr. Evarts and Dr. W., in the beginning, expressed the opinion that Sabbath schools were not fitted for New England. My father, however, was convinced by Mr. S.'s representations, and having examined the matter carefully acted with his usual perspicacity and promptness and became the founder of the First Sabbath School Society in Massachusetts.

Near the close of last century, Dr. Jenner, in England, made his celebrated discovery of Vaccination as a preventive of small pox. At first he was violently opposed in London by members of the medical profession, who would have branded him as a monster, seeking to bestialize the human species by introducing among men the diseases of the lower animals. There was also a strong feeling of repugnance to vaccination in this country; and when Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, in the autumn of 1800, imported vaccine matter from England, he reported to my father that he could not find persons willing to submit to the experiment. My father, who had

probably been enlightened on the subject by Dr. Lettsom and other correspondents in London, invited Dr. W. to Charlestown, engaging to find him there fit subjects for his purpose. When Dr. W. arrived, my father went with him to Mrs. Henley's store on Main street, and presented the case to S. V. S. Wilder, who was at that time a clerk in Mrs. Henley's employment. Young Wilder, having unbounded confidence in my father, at once submitted to the operation. Dr. W. then returned to the parsonage, and vaccinated me and Richard, my younger brother. He had previously vaccinated a member of his own family; and we four, I have been taught, were the first four persons vaccinated in America.

In the autumn of 1801, my father established a Saturday evening Lecture for the Religious instruction of the Youth of his parish, taking for his text the answers to the questions in the Westminster Assembly's Catechism. This lecture was soon attended by more than two hundred young men; and in the autumns of 1802 and 1803, when it was renewed, by three hundred and four hundred; and it was kept up for several subsequent years with evident good effect, the persons added to my father's church during three years, at this period, having been more than one hundred. Among the young men most prominent in promoting these gatherings was Mr. S. V. S. Wilder, to whom I have already alluded. My father was strongly attached to Mr. Wilder, and paid special attention to his religious instruction,

inviting him to spend his Saturday evenings in his study, to commit there his Catechism and Bible lessons, while my father was engaged in writing his sermons for the Sabbath. The intimacy and friendship thus formed continued through life, and they often afterwards co-operated in the same enterprises; Mr. Wilder, as is well known, having been, like my father, an efficient promoter of numerous religious charitable societies, and especially of the American Tract Society, of which he was annually elected the president for the first sixteen years of its existence.

In 1802, an incident occurred, as related in the Biography, which led my father to take a deep interest in the welfare of the negroes. His labors on their behalf greatly endeared him to the colored people in all that part of the Commonwealth; and in every important matter which concerned them, they afterwards consulted him as their earliest influential friend. When I returned home from college one vacation, I think it was in the year 1811, I found the hall of the parsonage crowded with negroes; and when I asked what it meant, I was told that they were a deputation, composed of the most respectable colored people of Boston who had come to consult my father respecting a plan for colonizing American negroes in Africa, which had been recommended by Paul Cuffee, a colored ship-owner of New Bedford. Mr. Cuffee had corresponded with the leading negroes in New York,

Philadelphia and Baltimore, on the subject, and had offered all who inclined to go to Africa a free passage in his vessels. The Boston deputation wished my father to use his influence with his London friends to obtain permission for American negroes to go and settle in Sierra Leone, for the Americans at that time had no territory on the African coast; and they wished Dr. Morse to write also to his friends in Washington to get the United States Government to share in the expenses of the expedition. In compliance with their request he wrote a letter on the subject to Hon. Christopher Gore, then in the United States Senate from Massachusetts. The project, however, was discouraged, owing to the prospect afterwards realized of a war with Great Britain. This rendered an application for aid from the Government at that time, in Mr. Gore's judgment, inexpedient. But the scheme was revived in 1815, when a company of colored people left Massachusetts for Sierra Leone, bearing with them, as related in the Biography, a letter from my father to Mr. Maxwell, governor of the colony. This settlement of colored people from Massachusetts in Sierra Leone, in 1815, was the first actual colonization of American negroes in Africa. The American Colonization Society had not then been formed, and the territory of Liberia was not purchased until several years afterwards.

"A Compendious History of New England," written by my father and his friend, the Rev. Dr. Parish, in a style adapted to the capacities

of students of the higher classes in common schools, and intended as a school book, to excite in the minds of New England youth admiration of the virtues of their Puritan ancestors, was first published in September, 1804, and met at once with remarkable success; the greater part of a large edition having been sold in the course of a few weeks after it was issued. The further sale of this work, and the good which it was calculated to do, were defeated, however, by the utterly groundless charge that, in preparing and publishing it, Dr. Morse had violated the rights, as an author, of Miss Hannah Adams, who had published, in 1799, "A Summary History of New England," many copies of which in 1804 were still unsold.

This charge of violating the rights of Miss Adams, as an author, was made so boldly, reiterated for years so persistently, and countenanced so extensively, that it affected my father deeply and disastrously, in his property, in his pastoral and social relations, and in other relations intimately connected with his happiness and usefulness. His influence in Boston and its vicinity was indeed, to a great extent, destroyed by it. The charge was met at last, as it should have been at first, by an examination and comparison of the two works. When this was done, it was manifest at once that they differed so widely in object, plan, style, size, price, subdivisions of the general subject, and space devoted to each subdivision, that there could be no improper resem

blance or interference. But the most important result of this examination was the discovery of the astounding fact, that Miss Adams, when she lent her name to the enemies of Dr. Morse, to destroy his reputation on the false charge of violating her rights as an author, was herself guilty of a real and gross violation of the rights of another author; she having copied verbatim, or with only colorable alterations, nearly one-third of her whole work, one hundred and sixty out of five hundred and thirteen pages, from Dr. Ramsay's History of the American Revolution! After the publication of this fact, Miss A. and her friends became at once totally silent, and continued so during the remainder of my father's life, more than twelve years.

I have recently compared carefully the two histories; and, if Drs. Morse and Parish were indebted to Miss Adams for a single fact in their "Compendious History," I have not been able to find it. It is true that Miss Adams is referred to as an authority in the "Compendious History" four times; but in every one of the four cases the credit should have been given, not to Miss Adams, but to the authors from whom she copied. Dr. Parish explained this in a letter to Miss Adams, in which he told her, that he wrote her name as an authority when he knew that "it would have been more exact to have inserted another name; but this I did," he said, "to show my respect for you, and to keep your book in view." So that, really, the only wrong done by

either of the compilers of the "Compendious History" to other authors was the wrong done by Dr. Parish to Chalmers, Hutchinson, Neal and Trumbull, in giving credit due them to Miss Adams, for the purpose of promoting the sale of her book!

In the fall of 1802 my father, as described in the Biography, selected nineteen religious tracts; procured fifty-five reams of paper; printed the nineteen tracts in editions varying from six hundred to three thousand, making in all 32,600 tracts; had the greater part of them done up in assorted parcels of sixty tracts in a parcel, and sent two parcels to each one of one hundred and sixty towns in the district of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, making 19,200 tracts sent to Maine; and furnished upwards of 5,000 more for circulation in other places, but chiefly in Kentucky and Tennessee, where several efficient missionaries, with whom my father was personally acquainted, were then laboring. The money expended in the publication of these 32,600 tracts, amounting to \$571, was contributed chiefly by my father's parishioners, Richard Devens alone giving \$281,—nearly one-half. Among the other contributors in Charlestown were Miss Bradstreet, \$8; Joseph Barrell, \$5; Artemas Ward, \$5; Thomas Kettell, \$4; S. V. S. Wilder (then a clerk in Mrs. Henley's store), ten cents; and among those in Boston and elsewhere were Dr. Lathrop, \$20; Mrs. Codman, \$18; Lieut.-governor Robbins, \$14; Deacon Salisbury

\$10; Rev. Mr. Greenough, \$10; Dr. Kirkland, \$5. My father himself seems to have given \$119; for all the subscriptions amount to only \$452, while the expenses were \$571. There can be little doubt, I think, that, in 1802, the pastor and people of the First Parish in Charlestown had done more in circulating religious tracts among the poor and destitute in the United States than any other people in New England; for at that time, as I have said, there was no tract society in the land, and I never heard of an individual engaging in the work with an enthusiasm approaching that of my father. The work thus begun was followed up till it ended in the establishment, first of the New England Tract Society, and afterwards of the American Tract Society.

Prior to the formation of any Bible society in America or Europe my father co-operated with his munificent parishioner, David Devens, and with other individuals, in distributing Bibles and Testaments, as well as religious tracts, in the newly-settled parts of our country.

The era of Bible societies commenced with the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. The American Bible Society was not formed until 1816. Prior to 1816, the work of printing and distributing Bibles in America was performed by individuals and by local societies. The first local Bible society in America was that of Philadelphia, formed in 1808. In the summer of 1810, the whole number of Bible societies in the United

States was only eleven, viz.; three in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, two in New York, one in New Jersey, one in Pennsylvania, two in South Carolina, and one in Georgia. That South Carolina and Georgia had three out of the eleven Bible societies is explained by the fact that my father was compelled, for the benefit of his health, to spend the winter of 1809-10 in those States, and that he there, as a voluntary unpaid agent, engaged in the labors which led to the formation of the Georgia Bible Society at Savannah, and of the Charleston and Beaufort Bible Societies in South Carolina. The Bible society of Beaufort, formed in March, 1810, when my father was there on a visit to a relative, contributed, as its first offering to the Bible cause, the sum of seven hundred dollars, although the whole population of the place, white and black, at that time was less than 1,000!

The Paris Tract Society was formed in 1818, the Paris Bible Society in 1819, and the Paris Missionary Society in 1822. It is stated in the "Records of the late S. V. S. Wilder," published by the American Tract Society, New York, that these French societies owed their being to a letter of introduction which my father gave Mr. Wilder to the famous Prince Talleyrand, who, when traveling in America, had been hospitably entertained by him and some of his principal parishioners, in Charlestown. The laws of France, forbidding assemblages for the purposes contemplated by these societies, were in 1818

and the years immediately subsequent, strictly enforced against "the hated English;" but Mr. Wilder, an American, under the protection of Talleyrand, a protection granted in consequence of the letter mentioned above, was encouraged to invite the founders of these societies to hold their meetings for organization in his private apartments, and there they were held without interruption from the police. The Bible enjoins it upon us not to be forgetful to entertain strangers, for unexpected good may come as the reward of our hospitality. My father and his parishioners doubtless little expected, when they were entertaining Prince Talleyrand in their houses in Charlestown, at the close of the last century, that they were thus preparing the way, under Providence, for the spread of the Bible and evangelical religion in one of the most populous and powerful empires in the world.

I retain a vivid and delightful recollection of my father in the prime of his life. His personal appearance was very prepossessing. The tall, slender form, the well shaped head, a little bald, but covered thinly with fine silken powdered hair, falling gracefully into curl, gave him, when only middle-aged, a venerable aspect, while the benignant expression of his whole countenance and especially of his bright, speaking eye won for him at first sight respect and love. His affectionate disposition, mild temper and persuasive address, his sympathy with every one in distress, the tenderness with which he ministered conso-

lation to the afflicted, his delicate sense of propriety and freedom from every offensive habit, his neat dress, polished manners and the care with which he avoided every word and look that might wound the feelings of another, his deference to the aged, his complaisance to the gentler sex, his fondness for children and their fondness for him, the ardor with which he enlisted in all good enterprises, the cheerfulness and courage with which he prosecuted them when others yielded to despondency, his conciliatory spirit, the readiness with which he modified and even abandoned his own plans in the less important parts to secure the cooperation of others in the great end, while he ever maintained resolutely but courteously whatever he could not conscientiously yield; in short his true Christian gentlemanliness, the result of long, earnest and prayerful endeavors to shape his feelings and conduct in all the relations of life by the rules, precepts and examples of the New Testament, gave him a deep hold on the affections and confidence of all who knew him and particularly of the religious community.

To all this must be added still other attractions. As a fine singer my father had few equals, and this accomplishment, in connection with his fund of anecdote and information, acquired in extensive intercourse with men of intelligence, wit and humor, and in connection, too, with his aptitude and willingness to use all his gifts for the instruction and entertainment of others, made

him an agreeable companion, a welcome guest and a favorite in every social circle that he entered.

The closing years of my father's life were spent in his quiet and pleasant home in New Haven, Connecticut. Here he lived in the midst of a highly cultivated, intelligent, and Christian community, the leading members of which, men of world-wide literary and scientific fame, and of religious sentiments in harmony with his own, were his daily companions; while all, of all classes, loved and honored him for the services he had rendered to his country and to mankind.

In the near prospect of death, my father was even more buoyant, hopeful and joyous, than in the midst of life and health. For him death had no terrors, and the grave no gloom. They were to him the portals of heaven. Death, as he viewed it, was the gate through which he must pass on his way to a new and nobler life. *Mors janua vitæ. Resurgam.* Christ is the Resurrection and the Life. "I have a hope full of immortality,—that expresses it," was his response to my elder brother, who arrived from New York in season to hear and record his last words. To my brother's question, "Have you any doubt of the truth of the doctrines you have preached?" he replied, "Oh, no! they are the doctrines of the Bible;" and, alluding to my brother's remark, "The Saviour, whose honor you have defended, will not now desert you," he said.

"Oh, no! he gives me a foretaste of heaven. I have not strength to express what I feel."

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate
Is privileged beyond the common walk
Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven."

It was not my privilege to be in that chamber when my father died. I was too late. When I arrived, his sun had set; but its golden light still radiated from the sky, tempering, with its beams of hope and joy, the sorrow of those who had gathered around his bed to witness the hallowed scene. I joined in the prayer which rose from every heart, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

Yours, truly,

SIDNEY E. MORSE.

FROM MR. RICHARD C. MORSE.

MY DEAR DR. SPRAGUE:

You have kindly asked of me some personal recollections of my father. You could hardly have made a request that affords me so much pleasure as that of recalling the traits of one so venerated as he was by his children. With the thought of him, some of his prominent qualities come to my mind, and I will take them in the order in which they present themselves. My recollections have been quickened by a recent examination of his diaries and letters.

The first trait I shall notice is his filial love

Owing to my father's delicate constitution, and, perhaps, because he was the Benjamin of the family, my grandfather would not subject him to the hardships of a farm, but gave him a liberal education. Some of the neighbors censured him for this seeming extravagance. But when they found that he still retained his domestic comforts, that he met his other liabilities, and yet had paid all his son's college dues, and when they saw throughout the life of the old gentleman the reverence and respect shown by the son, who sought his father's counsel, shaped his plans to meet his approval, and even was influenced in accepting the call to Charlestown by the desire that the two might be near each other, they admitted that my grandfather had done wisely, and was reaping his reward. I recall the pleasure I felt, when a child, on seeing my grandfather arrive at our door, after a ride on horseback, from Woodstock, of seventy miles, and their warm greeting and eager conversation on the new plans which my father's fruitful mind was ever devising.

His industry was another prominent characteristic. I remember him as ever busy. Throughout his whole life, he had no idle moments. I find from his letters, too, that from the day he left his father's house, till he became too feeble to act, the sun found him no sluggard, and the midnight lamp often shone upon him still at his labors. He was a man of no amusements apart from his business. Cards, of course, were never

in our house, and I do not believe that he was acquainted with any game of chance. I may add here that he never used tobacco in any shape. His sufficient relief consisted in change of laborious occupation. Though keenly alive to social enjoyments, he did not suffer these to interfere with positive duties. He always travelled with note-book in hand. I remember him in the boat on the Erie canal, with a delightful party on board, among whom was De Witt Clinton. He allowed himself to be detained from this pleasant company an hour or more in the cabin, to get some information from a passenger, who at length, emerging on deck, was thus accosted by Mr. Clinton: "Now, friend, you are like an exhausted receiver; Dr. Morse has pumped you dry."

I can readily call him to mind, now gathering materials for his Geography and superintending its publication, now writing his sermons for the Sabbath, or letters to his correspondents in our own and in foreign lands, now hurrying to the Convention, the Association or other public meeting, now visiting the sick and bereaved in their affliction, and now hospitably entertaining his friends; for, as Daniel Webster said of him: "He was always thinking, always writing, always talking, always acting."

To his children he would say, when the day was fair: "Now, boys, is the time for study, for all is bright and cheerful." And when the sky was dark and lowering, the word still was:

"Study, boys, to drive away discontent." But he had no need to speak to us. His own example of industry was reproof enough, if we were disposed to be idle.

Even in his journeys recreation must be sacrificed to business. His physician, referring to his habit of rapid travelling, said: "He first wore out his mind in his study at home, and then jumped into the stage-coach, and rode day and night till his body was exhausted, and when an equilibrium was thus produced, he pronounced himself well."

When persuaded that he was in the way of duty, he was fearless of consequences. He was sometimes insulted by rude men. Going once to cast his vote at an election when party politics ran high and the propriety of a clergyman's voting was questioned, a coarse fellow, soliciting votes for the other side, used offensive language, and doubling his fist threatened to thrust him from the polls, adding: "Only your cloth protects you." Looking his antagonist calmly in the eye, he said: "My friend, you are mistaken, my cloth protects you."

I always associate with my father the ideas of indomitable energy and irrepressible buoyancy. While others doubted and were desponding, his motto ever was *nil desperandum*. Chief Justice Parsons, referring to the futile attempts of his political opponents to destroy his influence, said of him: "He is like the camomile bed, the more it is trod upon, the more it grows."

Though much engaged in controversy, his temper was not pugnacious, but his conscience compelled him to the maintenance of what he regarded as vital truth. He was providentially placed in a prominent position, at a time when a revolution took place in the theological world around him. He stood in the breach, and upon him fell blows which should have been shared by others. He would sometimes say pleasantly of those who opposed him, that they unwittingly complimented him by ascribing to him alone the Panoplist, the General Association, the Andover Theological Seminary, Park street Church in Boston, and whatever like mischiefs occurred. Dr. Lyman, when visiting him in Charlestown, used to say: "It matters not what I do here, Dr. Morse will bear the blame."

Two persons more unlike than my parents in their temperament, and yet more affectionately united in their lives could hardly be found. He was sanguine, easily imposed upon, prompt to engage in whatever scheme approved itself worthy, ignoring difficulty and danger. But her caution and cooler judgment served as a balance wheel to his impulsive nature, and lessened the evils into which such a nature betrayed him. She sometimes complained to her friends that but for her restraint he would beggar himself to bestow charities on others. Yet, under the provocation of injuries, her patience and forbearance gave way sooner than his. Says a member of his parish: "Hearing of a painful interview

between the pastor and disaffected members of his church, I called on him to learn the particulars and relieve my anxiety. The Doctor related the facts in his usual calm mild manner; but Mrs. Morse, who sat by, less disposed than her husband to hide her displeasure at the unworthy treatment he had received, expressed warm indignation; and when he gently placed his hand on her shoulder and said: 'You know, my dear, we must cast the mantle of charity over the faults of others,' she replied with no abatement of her earnestness, 'Mr. Morse, charity is not a fool.' "

He was ever ready to use his money and his influence for the good of others. The poor found in him an active friend, and I could mention instances where he suffered loss himself rather than it should fall on those who were less able to bear it. One who had infringed upon the copyright of his geography found him, in the hour of need, a friend and benefactor.

His acquaintance with distinguished men abroad caused him to be often applied to by persons going to Europe, for letters of introduction, and the thanks they sent him in return show how important these letters were to the bearers, and the high estimation in which he was held by such men as Dr. Erskine, Wilberforce and others. A letter to Talleyrand, then high in power, who had once been a guest at our house, procured for the bearer very courteous reception and timely aid.

He was a sweet singer. His study windows

overlooked Charles river; and often of a quiet Sunday morning, as the chime of bells in the tower of Christ church, Boston, floated the tune of "Old Portugal" over the water, I have heard him catch the inspiration, take up the notes and shout aloud:

"Oh, could I soar to worlds above,
The blest abode of peace and love."

He always sang in the pulpit, and his rich silver voice could be heard above all others. Once when the choir took offence at some stricture he made upon them, and absented themselves from their seats for several Sabbaths, he took the whole singing upon himself till they returned to their duty.

His religious character I need hardly speak of, for his whole life was evidence of the sincerity of his love to God his Saviour, and to his fellow men. He wore himself out in their service. He fought a good fight and kept the faith. He will ever live revered in the memory of his children, leaving an instructive example to them and their descendants.

Yours, truly,

RICHARD C. MORSE.

NEW HAVEN, Ct., *August 14, 1866.*



XI.

LETTERS OF PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

The following Letters form only a selection from a larger number that have been written by Dr. Morse's friends, in token of the high regard and veneration with which they cherish his memory. As the remaining ones do not appear to have been specially designed for publication, and are, in the main, but a repetition of those which are actually printed, it has been thought best not to include them, while yet they are regarded, and will be preserved, by the family, as precious memorials. It will be observed that, in the letters that are published, there is, to some extent, the same statement of facts that forms part of the narrative of the Life; but as this comes as the result of the actual observation and recollection of the several writers, in connection with their own impressions concerning the facts in question, it is presumed that it will not be regarded as an undesirable repetition. The different types of religious opinion, represented in these letters, may be taken as evidence that there are still those whose religious views were in decided antagonism to those of Dr. Morse, who are as

ready as any others to lay a grateful offering upon his grave.

FROM BENJAMIN SILLIMAN, LL. D.

Professor in Yale College.

NEW HAVEN, *February 26, 1863.*

TO MR. RICHARD C. MORSE:

Dear Sir:—Your father's appearance in the chapel was always very acceptable to us students. There was an air of gentlemanhood about him that was attractive and original. In the winter or cool weather, requiring an outer garment, he generally wore a drab or slate coloured great-coat, with a silk velvet collar turned over; his hair, rather thin, was parted so as to cover his head, and in public I believe he usually wore powder, some of which was snowed down upon the great coat. His aquiline nose, and rather sharp but very pleasant features, were indeed peculiar, so that his entire appearance made an agreeable impression; and so different from the plain garb and manner of our village clergymen, that every eye was turned towards him, as, with a stately mien, although with a slender frame, he walked up the main aisle of the chapel.

He was generally preceded on the Sabbath by President Dwight, whose massy stalwart form and round features were strongly contrasted with those of his friend; but, together, they made an interesting duality both in mien

and appearance. *Concordia discors et Discordia concors*. Your father had a mellifluous voice, and my recollection is that he joined with spirit in the psalmody, as President Dwight often did.

He was a dignified and polished old-school gentleman, and a gentleman everywhere. His elocution was calm, distinct and impressive—not vehement and declamatory, but attractive and in excellent taste, and it always secured the attention of the students. An expression which used sometimes to occur in his prayer was,—“We thank thee, Heavenly Father, that thou hast given us this large and beautiful world.” Upon its beauty and the rich garniture with which it is so bountifully furnished, he was fond of expatiating. I remember a sermon of his, the text of which was,—“The fashion of this world passeth away.” In it he illustrated the moral changes by the physical, and for this purpose he gave a spirited and graphic sketch of certain geological changes; and this struck a chord of sympathy, almost unknown to myself, in my then embryo geological mind and taste, which were fully developed in succeeding years.

Dr. Morse was well known to the College by his Geography, then fresh and original. It was a classic. I recited it as a Pupil, and in after years taught it as a Tutor. It was esteemed very valuable, and the materials, rich and abundant, were soon elaborated into a more perfect form by your older brother.

In personal intercourse the manners of Dr. Morse were always gentle, polite and winning—to youth peculiarly paternal, and to older persons respectful and reverential. His voice and manner were soothing in affliction, and in prosperity bright, cheerful and encouraging.

When the family arrived in New Haven with a view to a permanent residence, (in 1820 I believe,) they were welcomed by a large circle of friends, and the ladies of the family made the most agreeable impression, which was only deepened by the passing years. Mrs. Morse was a noble lady, still handsome in life's evening, and of dignified person and manners. Her appearance was that of a lady of energy and decision, softened by high courtesy and a mild, persuasive manner. She had evidently a prevailing influence over her husband, but exercised with such discretion and gentleness that he perhaps hardly perceived the delicate rein by which he was guided. Both from principle and impulse he was prompted to benevolent acts, and his wife sometimes checked his too free distribution of alms, especially to objects that were not always deserving.

Dr. Morse's first residence on the corner of Trumbull street and Whitney avenue, brought our families into desirable proximity, and still nearer in friendly intercourse. Our ice-house was convenient to both families, so that we held it in common; and Mrs. Morse, with a vein of pleasantry, used to say that, in the

midst of mutual good will and friendship, a *great coldness* existed between the families. Mrs. Trumbull, the mother of Mrs. Harriet Silliman, and the daughter herself, were much attached to Mrs. Morse, and enjoyed her society highly. There was also an additional attraction between the families—Mrs. S. F. B. Morse, a young lady from Concord, N. H., came with the group, as the wife of Dr. Morse's oldest son. She was very beautiful in person, lovely in temper and fascinating in manners; while her gentle nature seemed to veil from herself those attractions and accomplishments which charmed every one. Alas, in the absence of her husband from home, she was suddenly called away to mingle in higher scenes. His affectionate tribute to her memory in the inscription on her monument in the New Haven Cemetery, although rather long, was so just that no friend who knew the lovely original, would wish it shorter. This lady was often the companion of Mrs. Silliman and myself in our pleasant rides, and Mrs. Morse usually took one of her children with her. She was to us like a daughter, and we loved her with almost parental affection.

President Dwight held Dr. Morse in high esteem, respect and affection, and it is no new thing that persons of different temperament and mental character should thus happily coalesce in harmonious unity. President Dwight's bold and sometimes impetuous mind, prompted by his ardent but noble tempera-

ment, bore him along with prevailing weight and power. He found an acceptable counterpart in the milder attributes of his friend; a friend ever responsive to the calls, the duties, the pleasures of friendship; ever ingenious, active and devoted to the furtherance of some good and worthy purpose in which both friends could harmonize, and for whose success they could unite in supplicating the blessing of God. In a word, they were truly Christian friends.

The mind of Dr. Morse found its highest gratification, not in self-indulgent repose, but in almost ceaseless activity for the promotion of the welfare of his fellow-men. His plans were quietly formed, and the steps of their progress towards their consummation were not always apparent. In adroit management he had both talent and taste, and he seemed to take pleasure in the progress as well as in the result of a good undertaking. What might have been intrigue in a cold and selfish mind, was benevolence in him, in whom the love of his fellow men and the reverential fear of God were mature and fixed habits.

A great object of benevolence occupied him during the later years of his life, while he resided in New Haven. It was a favourite purpose of his to induce the General Government to collect the scattered and broken fragments of the Aboriginal Indian tribes, and to form them, upon a territory held in common, into a regular, civilized and Christianized community.

His pen and his tongue were industriously employed upon this subject. He sought and obtained valuable information respecting the Indians from many sources, and thus amassed a large collection of documents, most of which were original.

He lived to see himself and his family agreeably established in a house of their own in Temple street, where he closed his life. I saw him on his death-bed, and received his assurance that, in the contemplation of death, he had "a hope full of immortality;" and this consoling sentiment was uttered with a clear and strong voice, and with a benignant expression of countenance that testified to the peace within.

I have thus endeavoured to comply with your request, and remain

Your faithful friend,

B. SILLIMAN.

FROM THE REV. DANIEL DANA, D. D.

NEWBURYPORT, *January 18, 1848.*

To Mr. R. C. MORSE:

Dear Sir:—I had some general knowledge concerning your venerable father, when he first came to Charlestown, though I was then a youth. In the year 1793, he had occasion to take a journey, and was pleased to employ me, then a candidate, to supply his pulpit, and

to perform the requisite duties among his people during his absence. From that time I was favoured with a more particular acquaintance, and with a portion of his friendship to the time of his decease.

From his first coming into this region, he was an unusually acceptable and popular preacher. His sermons, being fraught with evangelical truth, composed in an elegant style, and delivered in a manner bland yet forcible, engaged general attention. While chiefly intent on inculcating and defending Gospel truth, he took a deep interest in all that concerned his country. His Fast and Thanksgiving Sermons were often replete with instruction and warning, derived from the existing aspects of the world, and particularly from the excesses and atrocities of the French Revolution, and from the Infidelity and Atheism which seemed for years to incorporate themselves with it.

The year 1803 was marked by the decease of his friend, Dr. Tappan, the excellent Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, and by an attempt to introduce Dr. Ware, a gentleman of very different theological character. Your father took a very active part against the new election. This measure brought on him much odium, especially from the *Liberal party*, as they were styled at that time. Yet the prevailing opinion was that Dr. Ware had embraced the *liberal* system, and that, in opposing his

election, your father acted a very sincere and consistent part.

Perceiving that a lax theology was gaining great prevalence, and apprehending much danger of its approaching triumph, your father projected, in 1805, the plan of the Panoplist. The design of this journal was to raise the standard of piety, to oppose prevailing error, and to unite good ministers and good men in defence of the pure truths of the Gospel. In pursuing this object, your father, while receiving counsel and aid from his most valued brethren among the clergy and laity, was himself the heart and soul of the undertaking. With the countenance and co-operation which he received, he conducted, for five years, a journal, which, in point of orthodoxy and piety, of learning and good taste, holds a respectable rank at the present day. Nor was its influence small in checking the prevalence of error, and promoting the progress of truth and piety. About the year 1810, it was transferred to the beloved and lamented Evarts, by whom its design was very faithfully pursued, and its usefulness still further extended.

Your father was an active and efficient member of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy, in Andover. The importance and responsibilities of this Board were, in the year 1808, greatly increased by having committed to it the care and superintendence of the Theological Seminary in that place. The circumstances

under which the Seminary commenced its existence, are worthy of notice. Two companies of opulent and generous donors, in distant parts of the county of Essex, were, at the same time, and without any mutual disclosures, meditating the establishment of a Theological School. When the separate designs were mutually known, a question was to be settled of the deepest interest,—the question whether the parties should proceed separately or in union. The question was long and anxiously discussed; and as it was discussed with Christian feeling and candour, the plan of combination and union prevailed. This was the favourite plan of your father, and, from its adoption, his feelings experienced the highest gratification.

Your father was one of the earliest members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In its great designs and operations his expansive benevolence found full scope. He had long witnessed with interest the exertions of British Christians in this sublime cause, and ardently wished that his own beloved country might share in the benevolence and felicity of the work. And he devoted himself with his characteristic ardour to its promotion.

To your father belongs the honour of projecting and establishing a weekly religious journal, the Recorder, which, if it was not, in the strictest sense, the first work of the kind, was yet a work truly original, and in a measure unprece-

dented. I well remember the discouragements which met him, while planning the publication. Some apprehended that it would fail for want of support. Others, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find or furnish the material. But your father, with his usual ardour, determined to proceed; and what he attempted, he accomplished. The publication soon attained a highly respectable character and an extensive support. It had great success in promoting the religious enterprises of the day. Since its first establishment it has gone into various hands, and been conducted with various success. It is remarkable that its most successful rival, in point of merit and usefulness, is now sustained in the family of the original projector.

Indeed, few men have lived in the last or the present century, who have been so uniformly and exemplarily devoted to the best interests of the human race. Whatever object, whatever design, bore the stamp of *benevolence*, seized his heart and enlisted his actual efforts. Nor could he stand aloof from any cause which connected itself with the glory of God or the good of man.

If the above hints concerning your revered father shall be of the least service, I shall be gratified. They are much more meagre than I could have wished; and they have been penned under the somewhat unpleasant apprehension that I could offer nothing which is not already

known at least to your father's friends, if not to the public generally.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
With great regard,
Your friend, and your father's friend,
DANIEL DANA.

FROM MISS LUCY OSGOOD.

MEDFORD, *June 4, 1860.*

Mr. R. C. MORSE:

Dear Sir:— After seeing you last Monday, I recollected a source of information concerning your father, new probably to yourself, which, in a measure, supersedes the trifling communication it is in my power to afford. The Rev. Thomas Whittemore, for many years the Universalist clergyman of Cambridge, and also Editor of that widely circulated Universalist newspaper, called the "Trumpet," published, a year or two since, his autobiography, in which he reports himself to have been the son of a baker in Charlestown, a man of slender health, who died in early life, leaving his family very poor. He was a constant attendant on your father's ministry, and experienced from him, in his last illness, a token of pastoral kindness and generosity, rarely recorded of any clergyman. This poor man was sued for a debt exceeding a hundred dollars, which he had incurred in the necessary purchase of flour for his business during the war of 1812, when the

price of the staff of life was excessive. Your father found him in great distress, and, upon learning the cause of it, at once relieved him by promptly offering to become his surety. If I remember rightly, there are two other notices of Dr. Morse in the same work—one describing most correctly his personal appearance and manners, and the other his calm demeanor during an alarming thunder tempest, on Sunday afternoon, in sermon time.

My own remembrance of your father goes back to my earliest years. He was one whom, even when a child, I always loved to see, as, from time to time, he visited at our house. It is, therefore, a fair inference that he must have been very kind to children. Indeed, the bland softness of his whole deportment was rather antagonistic to the pugnacious attitude in which he often stood before the public. But this proceeded from a sense of duty, from his zealous anxiety that the churches should remain sound in the orthodox faith. The contests in which he was so often engaged, seldom affected his outward bearing, as he entered into them rather from principle than from the gratification of a hot temper.

I look back upon him as a perfect gentleman, of peculiarly attractive manners, which were greatly aided by a low sweet voice, yet of great compass, as it was heard without difficulty when he spoke in public, and, whenever he sang, was capable of filling the largest churches with its

melody, overtopping all the instrumental music, and drowning in its rich peculiar tones the voices of any common choir. He must have been fond, I think, of the society of the young, as my sister and I were never disappointed in our expectation of being specially noticed by him. And he, by no means, neglected what he considered the duty of warning and admonishing, as he observed in us a tendency towards what seemed to him latitudinarianism. I remember receiving from him a very tender, but deeply solemn, reproof for expressing my fervent assent to the Rev. Noah Worcester's "Bible News," soon after it was published. He assured me that the first step of deviation from the old orthodox faith was the beginning of a descent down an inclined plane towards the bottomless pit.

His conversation, however, was by no means confined to the discussion of theological dogmas. It took in a wide range of subjects, and was garnished with even more than the usual clerical amount of anecdote. His extensive travels in quest of geographical information had made him acquainted not only with places, but with a vast variety of people. He narrated extremely well. If he did not originate, he faithfully reported and highly enjoyed wit and humour, and hence always made himself agreeable. I once met him at the bedside of a dying relative who lived in Charlestown, and I was extremely touched by his overflowing sympa-

thy and tenderness. Nothing could have been more soothing. Before commending her departing soul to God, he carefully inquired whether there was any special petition which she wished him to offer, particularly whether she wished him at that hour to make mention of a darling son in a foreign land, from whom she had been separated several years.

Of his style of preaching I retain no distinct impression, as neither my earlier nor later biases were in harmony with his theological tenets; yet few of my departed friends have left with me clearer images of their personal appearance or of their individuality in social converse. His tall, slender form, the head always slightly inclining forwards, his extremely neat dress, mild manners and persuasive tones, aided by the charm of that perfect good breeding which inspires even the rudest with a sense of respect for the true gentleman, made him in all places a most acceptable guest, while his own house was always celebrated as the very home of hospitality. Foreigners very extensively brought letters of introduction to Dr. Morse, and, though his kindness of heart sometimes exposed him to imposition, he often had the opportunity of yielding efficient service to estimable and meritorious characters. In his duties as a host, his admirable wife zealously co-operated, making his home attractive to visitors of every description, by her cordial, dignified and graceful manners, and her anima-

ted conversation. She was indeed distinguished for possessing, in an eminent degree, both the fascination and the virtues which most adorn a woman.

If these very meagre reminiscences can be of any service to you, I make you heartily welcome to them, and sincerely thank you for having given me the opportunity to revive, in my own mind, the image of a venerated friend of my father, whom I have always remembered with affection.

Respectfully yours,

L. OSGOOD.

FROM THE REV. LEONARD BACON, D. D.

NEW HAVEN, *November 15, 1866.*

Rev. WM. B. SPRAGUE, D. D.:

Dear Sir:—My first sight of Dr. Morse was in my boyhood. I had read with wonder, and not without some advantage, years before, the two thick octavo volumes of his *Universal Geography*. That was almost the first considerable book which I had the opportunity of reading after the Bible; and though, at that early age, (between my seventh year and my tenth), the knowledge which I gained from it without the aid of an atlas, and with no teacher but my mother, was much less than that which children now acquire in a good school from a much smaller text-book, I was profoundly impressed with the greatness of the man who

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could write so great a book. In September, 1816, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held its seventh annual session at Hartford; and though the business of the session was transacted in private, there was one public meeting in which the Annual Sermon was preceded, or followed, by the reading of extracts from the report of the Prudential Committee. Of the eminent men who appeared in Dr. Strong's pulpit on that occasion, the one upon whom I looked most intently was the author of the great Geography. From that time I always retained a vivid remembrance of his spare figure, his thin face, his keen eyes, and his white hair, my memory being refreshed by seeing him once or twice within the next four years in the chapel pulpit of Yale College.

My nearer acquaintance with him commenced while I was a theological student at Andover. I happened to be a fellow-traveller with him in a stage-coach, performing a night journey between Boston and Hartford; and, of course, as a young man unknown to him, (being then not twenty years old,) I had an opportunity of seeing him with very little of the perspective in which "distance lends enchantment to the view," and of experiencing something of his kindness and affability toward the young, and of his old school courtesy toward strangers.

Three years afterwards, in the autumn of 1824, I came to supply, for a few Sabbaths, the

pulpit of the First Church in New Haven. Dr. Morse had, in the mean time, removed from Charlestown to this city; and having connected himself with the First Church, was one of the venerable and distinguished men who gave character to the congregation, and whose presence had something of awe in it for a young preacher. He was very kind in his judgment of me, estimating my performances above their worth, and interesting himself in the movement which fixed me here. He presided in the meeting of the Church when I was elected to the pastoral office. And when, in March, 1825, I entered on my work, he gave me a most paternal welcome; and, though ex-ministers are sometimes thought to be dangerous parishioners, I had no better parishioners, none more kind, none more ready to hold up the hands of the inexperienced pastor, than he and his excellent wife, so long as they lived.

Dr. Morse seemed then much older than other men of the same age. When he told me that Judge Daggett, who had not then become a judge, being in the full activity of his practice at the bar, was a classmate of his, I could hardly believe him. I think he was prematurely old. His mind was active; he seemed full of literary enterprise, and of schemes for doing good; but, if I judge correctly, "his natural force," the executive energy which he had so much of in his earlier years, was somewhat "abated." He was full of conversation, and overflowing with

recollections of old times and of times more recent; he was as well informed of what was then going on in the world, as he could have been when he was most actively concerned in public affairs; but his whole appearance was that of an old man who has done his work, and in whom, consciously or unconsciously, the physical force of earlier years is gradually failing.

Some notes of the sermon preached at his funeral, June 11, 1826, help me to recollect the impressions which I then had concerning him. My thought of his religious character was that, being grounded on a definite understanding and firm belief of evangelical truth, it had been marked by steadiness and calmness of Christian experience. Having intelligently embraced the faith while he was young, he kept it to the end; and it sustained him through the labours and conflicts of his riper manhood, and the infirmities of his declining years. The faith which he held, as a believer in Christ, was the impelling force in a life of active usefulness. He seems to have been one of those who begin their Christian course in the devout purpose of serving God by doing good. The age in which he lived was not less important in its relations to the future than the age now passing, and he threw himself with all his force into the questions and movements of the time. No controversy could arise, but he must have a part in it. No hopeful enterprise could be proposed for the advancement of religion, or for the public good

in any form, but he went into it with characteristic forwardness. Nor did he wait for such enterprises to be projected or proposed by others; he was always devising schemes and methods of his own for doing good. He had by nature a restless energy of mind which must be always planning and doing, and to which repose was irksome; and he had trained himself, from his youth up, to a habit of industry which seized on every occasion and gathered up every fragment of time. It was his prayer that he might not outlive his usefulness; and while he rejoiced, as he often said, to see the young men coming forward and standing in the places of the fathers, he felt that for him the fight was not fought through till his course should be finished, and that so long as he had any strength he must do something.

I cannot think that these few recollections will add anything to your knowledge of the man; but, such as they are, they are at your service.

Yours, truly,

LEONARD BACON.

* FROM THE REV. JOHN TODD, D.D.

PITTSFIELD, *May 21, 1855.*

DEAR DR. SPRAGUE:

I was a boy, perhaps fourteen years old, when I first saw Dr. Morse. He was then the pastor over the old church and society in Charlestown. As I was then living with my cousin, Jeremiah Evarts, who was a member of Dr. Morse's church and a very particular friend, I was, therefore, often at his house on errands. Moreover, as I sat under his ministry for several years, and as I first made a profession of religion at about the age of fifteen under him, I had a good opportunity to know him well as a teacher, friend and guide, and to receive such impressions as would be natural to a boy of my age. It is such impressions only that I now propose to give.

I recall him as I remember him in the pulpit, and in the social circle. On the canvass of the memory his form stands out before me, tall, slight, graceful, and a little stooping, as he rises in the pulpit on the Sabbath morning. His countenance is uncommonly mild and benignant,—his face is rather long, pale and careworn,—his forehead high and fair. His hair is thin, white, silky, dressed with great care, and I think neatly powdered. His eye runs over the congregation

* This letter was originally written to accompany the biographical sketch of Dr. Morse in the "Annals of the American Pulpit" (vol. II., page 253). It is reprinted here by special permission.

quickly, and, though mild and gentle, I presume it instantly takes in every full pew, and every vacant pew, and every stranger, in his large church edifice. It is an eye that unites the gentle, the bright and the quick in an uncommon degree. His voice is soft, mild and musical, though on too high a key and not of great compass. Perhaps it comes too near to the term *chanting*; not that it is unpleasant, but that it lacks depth, compass and power. In delivering the sermon, which he always writes out in full, and which lies before him in its black morocco case, he seems to aim to win, draw and persuade rather than to overwhelm with argument, or drive by the awfulness of manner or matter. Though all my remembrances of his preaching are only pleasurable, yet I cannot now recall striking things, peculiar things, or odd things, that he says in the pulpit. He never cultivates prongs. He has the appearance of a venerable and most affectionate father, addressing his children, rather than a reprover rebuking evil doers, or a judge reading from his scroll the condemnation of the guilty. He loves rather to pluck the roses that grow on Mount Zion, than to handle the thorns which cluster around Sinai. I can recall no one thing which I ever heard him say in the pulpit, which left an unpleasant impression, nor can I recall many that pricked like goads and left their impression upon the conscience, like a nail fixed in a sure place. His mild, beaming face and

melodious voice do much to cover up asperities, should there be any.

In his dress, personal appearance and manners, Dr. Morse still stands before the eye as a gentleman of the old school. He wears a long coat and full vest of the day, small clothes with buckles at the knee, black silk stockings and nicely polished shoes. His neckcloth is of snowy whiteness, and his gloves black silk, with the tips of the fingers cut off. When he walks the street with his gold-headed cane, his tall and graceful form and his whole appearance point him out to a stranger as a gentleman in all his habits. His manners are highly polished, and he has uncommon conversational powers. Having a personal acquaintance all over the country, in correspondence abroad with such men as Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay and Dr. Erskine, having a memory which is a vast repository of information, individual history and anecdote, it is not surprising that he is one of the most agreeable of men in conversation. At his day, before the religious press had become a power, or had hardly an existence, men had more intercourse by correspondence and by personal interviews than now.

He lived before, rather than behind his age, and there was no great and good enterprise moved, whether through the press, Home Missionary Society, Theological Seminary, Education Society, or Foreign Missions, where he was not foremost. I remember with what energy he took hold of the first religious newspaper ever

published in the land—*The Recorder*—started and brought into existence by his son, Sidney E. Morse, and that he took upon himself the pecuniary responsibility, when otherwise the enterprise would have failed.

At a day when strong men were smiting the rock to draw out the waters of the many rivers which now make glad the city of our God, there had to be, of necessity, a great amount of consultation, discussion and planning. All the great benevolent institutions of the land were organized almost simultaneously. At that day, too, hospitality was a greater, or certainly a more common virtue than now, and the house of Dr. Morse was always full. Living in the centre of the town, within a few minutes' walk of Boston, and keeping open doors, he had no lack of company.

Mrs. Morse, too, was a noble specimen of a woman. And here let me say, that if we men who toil out amid the storms of life, and whose works are noisy, seen and known,—if we accomplish anything of value, it is often, if not generally, fully as much owing to the encouragement and aid we receive from those who are not seen, known or praised, as to our own efforts. Mrs. Morse was the first woman that ever gave me the full impression of what a wife and mother can be. Her sons were then with her, and the genius and enterprise that have since been manifested through the press, authorship, the pencil of the artist, and the telegraph wires, were then

beginning to show themselves. An orphan myself, and never having known a home, many a time have I gone away from Dr. Morse's house in tears, feeling that such a home must be more like Heaven than any of which I could conceive.

The inventor of the Telegraph,—that marvel which will carry his name down to the end of time, which will do more to civilize and elevate humanity than we can now conceive,—had just returned from Europe, where he had been to complete his professional studies. One of the first things he did, on his return, was to paint his mother, reading by candle light. It was a small picture, and though I saw it in a room containing "The dying Hercules," and the like, yet it was the only picture I saw. It made my flesh creep. It might not do so now, but I have seen many paintings since, and never one that made the impression on me which that did. Was it the picture of my youth? Or does every one receive such an impression from some *one* picture? Alas! the apple we eat in boyhood will never be the same when plucked by manhood.

Mrs. Morse did her full share in managing the domestic affairs of the family, in receiving and entertaining her numerous guests, and in making her house what the people were wont to call "a public place, though not a tavern." Her house was open to all, and seldom did I go there, as I often went on errands, without finding it full. It was a hospitality beyond anything I have ever seen. Without detracting a whit from the father,

I feel that the mother of the Morses deserves to be held in most honorable memory. If she made impression on them in proportion as she did on me, her influence in forming their characters must have been very great.

Dr. Morse lived before his times, and was in advance of his generation. So I thought when a boy, and so I think now. Others will speak on these points; I am only recalling the impressions which I received. I well remember attending the first meeting ever held in that region, to organize a Sabbath School. Dr. Morse was the mover in it, and I was a teacher from its very opening. I remember him as he stood at the weekly meetings in the chapel in his garden,—his tender intercourse with young converts,—and as he stood at the communion table, and with the affection of John, the beloved disciple, brake bread to his flock. Those who agreed with him in doctrinal belief, loved and revered him as a father,—those who did not, were anything but cordial. His friends were warm and so were his enemies. He lived in a transition day, when old things were crumbling away and new elements were combining and crystallizing; when opinions had to be weighed and tried; when every part of the character was put to rack, and when things which are now known to be small and of little consequence looked large. It is no wonder if a ship, rolling and tossing on those stormy waters, should be made to reveal all the weaknesses she had. But when the time comes, if ever it shall

come, when the men of that generation shall be
impartially estimated, I have no doubt but it will
be found that one of the most ready and efficient
workers and far-reaching planners of his day was
Jedidiah Morse.

Yours, most truly,

J. TODD.

FINIS.



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