

THE REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON



WALDO'S RELATIVES

Disambiguate the Reverend [William Emerson](#) (1743-1776) of Concord from his son the Reverend [William Emerson](#) (1769-1811) of Boston and from his grandson Judge [William Emerson](#) (1801-1868) of New-York and Staten Island.

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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1732

In [Concord](#), Hugh Brooks, John Jones, Samuel Heywood, Ephraim Brown, and Samuel Chandler were Selectmen.

In [Concord](#), Samuel Heywood was Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Samuel Merriam continued as Town Treasurer.

In [Concord](#), 2 to 5 Clerks of the Market would be chosen each year, until 1800.

Samuel Chandler was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

A committee was appointed to dispose of the existing common and ministerial land in [Concord](#) and invest the proceeds of the sale in other real estate. The committee consisted of the Reverend [John Whiting](#), James Minott, Jr.,¹ John Fox, and Samuel Heywood. What they purchased was some "ministerial pasture and plow land" west of the town Alms House and Poor Farm. During the Reverend [William Emerson](#)'s tenure this property would be sold for £75, or \$250, and he would receive the interest on that principal, amounting to an annual \$15. In consequence of losses sustained during the revolution, however, the value of this property would fall from

1. James MINOT (2) of Dorchester, son of John Minot (1) and Lydia Butler MINOT, born on September 14, 1653, graduated from [Harvard College](#) during 1675, taught the grammar school for some years; removed to [Concord](#), preached and studied physic; got married in about 1684 with Rebecca Wheeler MINOT, daughter of Timothy Wheeler, had Rebecca MINOT, born on February 9, 1685; Lydia MINOT, born on March 12, 1687; Mary MINOT, born on November 16, 1689; Timothy MINOT, born on June 18, 1692; James MINOT (3), born on October 17, 1694; Elizabeth MINOT, born on January 29, 1697; Martha MINOT, born on April 3, 1697; Lucy MINOT and Mercy MINOT, twins born on April 15, 1702; and Samuel Minot, born on March 25, 1706; freeman 1690, when the name is spelled MINERD. His wife Rebecca Wheeler MINOT died on September 23, 1734 and he died on September 20, 1735.



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\$250 to nearly \$100.

[Concord](#) managed to pay the princely sum of £50 to maintain its grammar school in the center of town in this year, plus £30 to provide for the “out-schools” in the other sections of the town, and thus was able to oblige its schoolmasters to tutor the scholars in reading, writing, and cyphering at no charge to their families.

Construction of the tavern in [Concord](#), Massachusetts of Captain Ephraim Jones, Innholder and Gaol-keeper, at which *Kehonosquah* Sarah Doublett would be spending her last years.²



The town of [Concord](#) sold, for five years, permission to place a weir across the Concord River, primarily for the interception of the annual spawns of pelagic fishes. This leasing out of the fishing rights would continue until about 1800.

ZOOLOGY.— The *fish* formerly most abundant in [Concord](#) were salmon, shad, alewives, pike or pickerel, dace (*cyprinus leuciscus*, a small fish resembling the roach), and some others. Beside affording to the inhabitants an important article of food, for several years after the town was settled they were used as manure for agricultural purposes. They produced a luxuriant growth for one season, but tended to impoverish the land. Some diminution of their numbers took place when the dams were erected across the river in Billerica in 1712; and unsuccessful petitions were presented to the General Court to have these obstructions removed, on account of the fisheries. They were notwithstanding the source of considerable revenue to the towns from sales which were made to people living in other towns. At certain seasons of the year the fish-officers of Concord went to the dams in Billerica to see that the sluice ways were properly opened to

2. This building would come to be known as the Wright Tavern. You can wet your whistle there yet today.



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permit the fish to pass. The exclusive right to the fisheries was sold by the town in 1732, for five years, at £5 per year; and the purchaser had the privilege of erecting a *weir* across the river to aid him in taking the fish, a plan which was practiced by the Indians before the town was settled by the English. This right continued to be sold in that manner and for nearly the same amount, till about 1800. There were six principal fishing-places, viz., south of Mr. Dennis's, west of Deacon Hubbard's, nearly opposite Lee's hill in Mr. Merrick's pasture, against the Brown farm, and down the river near Ball's hill. Since the interruption by the Middlesex Canal, and the factories at Lowell, those once welcome visitors in our waters, salmon, shad, and alewives, have taken up their summer residence in waters more easily accessible and have totally deserted these peaceful shores. The principal fish, which no inhabit these waters, are pike, perch, lamprey and common eel, pout, and several other smaller fish.³

Either in this year or in 1734 (accounts vary), James Temple was born in [Concord](#), to Benjamin Temple and Aigail Waite Temple.

3. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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1743

May 21, Saturday or 31, Tuesday (Old Style): [William Emerson](#) was born, the son of the Reverend [Joseph Emerson](#) of [Malden, Massachusetts](#) with [Madam Mary Moody Emerson](#) the daughter of the Reverend Samuel Moody of York (in what would become Maine).⁴

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



4. Some sources, such as Dr. Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 History of Concord, say May 21st, but John Farmer's Genealogical register, page 96, Frederick Lewis Weis's Colonial Clergy, page 80, and Waldo Lincoln's Waldo family stipulate it at May 31st.



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CHRISTMAS 1764

Christmas: The Reverend James Woodforde's THE DIARY OF A COUNTRY PARSON 1758-1802 (Oxford UP, 1978, ed. John Beresford) recorded many of the [Christmas](#) dinners he shared with the poor old people of his parish: "Fifteen poor old people dined here as usual being Xmas Day. We had for dinner a large Rump of Beef of thirty pound roasted, and three large plum puddings. Fine beef it was."⁵

A scanning of the Reverend [William Emerson](#)'s diaries, kept between this year and 1776, gives us not one single solitary mention of any [Christmas](#) activity whatever in the town of [Concord](#).

5. Usually he listed the names of his [Christmas](#) guests. For instance, in 1788 he would add "Poor old Richd. Buck and old John Peachman being both Lane, could not come to my House to dinner, so I sent their Dinner to them, etc. Sent also a Dinner to the poor Girl Betty Decker."



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1765

February 18, Monday: The Reverend [William Emerson](#), [Waldo Emerson](#)'s grandfather, being called to the ministry in [Concord](#) to fill the shoes of their deceased reverend, Daniel Bliss at the 1st Parish Church, began making plans for having a home constructed for his family there, the structure with tiny rooms which later Hawthorne would publicize as the "Old Manse." Here is an early photo:



On the 18th of February, 1765, the church chose [William Emerson](#) to be their pastor; and in this vote the town concurred, in March, 128 to 62. The only other candidate mentioned was Mr. Samuel Williams. It was agreed to give him £200 as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary. He was ordained January 1, 1766. The council, on the occasion, was composed of ministers and delegates from the First and Second churches in Sudbury, the Second in Cambridge, the Second in Wells, the Second in Reading, and the churches in Malden, Stow, Littleton, Acton, Chelmsford, Topsfield, Lexington, Hollis, Pepperell, Lincoln, Bedford, and Billerica. The Rev. John Gardner, of Stow, was moderator. The Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton made the introductory prayer; the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden, preached from 1 Chron. xxix. 1; the Rev. John Gardner gave the charge; the Rev. William Cook, of East Sudbury, made the last prayer; and the Rev. John Smith, of Acton, gave the right hand of fellowship.

When Mr. Emerson began his ministry, some of those feelings, which had been fostered in the previous controversies, were still existing. But though he came into office under these disadvantageous circumstances, his piety, talents, and popular manner, as a preacher, secured the affection and support of a great majority of the church and town. The subsequent difficulties in his church arose principally from the rejection of an individual [Mr. Joseph Lee] who offered himself as a candidate for admission. When the church was called upon to act on his admission, it was well known that objections existed in the minds of some of the communicants against him; and Deacon Simon Hunt arose, after the question was put, and before the vote was declared, and requested it to be made certain. Considering this an unjustifiable act, the candidate immediately withdrew. This happened in 1767, and *nine* of the members of the church, uniting with some who were not professors of religion, and considering its proceedings improper and arbitrary, and Mr.



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Emerson as partial for approving them, espoused the cause of the rejected individual, and composed the principal opposition, and were known as the *aggrieved brethren*. In the progress of the controversy, many frivolous complaints were brought forward, and much personal feeling was excited; but few important principles in doctrine or discipline were discussed or settled. The records concerning these transaction are very imperfect.⁶

6. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1766

January 1, Wednesday: At the death of his father, Bonnie Prince Charlie acceded to all his British claims and denominated himself King Charles III. Later this month he would take up residence in [Rome](#).

At the 1st Parish Church in [Concord](#), the Reverend [William Emerson](#) was ordained as minister.

On the 18th of February, 1765, the church chose [William Emerson](#) to be their pastor; and in this vote the town concurred, in March, 128 to 62. The only other candidate mentioned was Mr. Samuel Williams. It was agreed to give him £200 as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary. He was ordained January 1, 1766. The council, on the occasion, was composed of ministers and delegates from the First and Second churches in Sudbury, the Second in Cambridge, the Second in Wells, the Second in Reading, and the churches in Malden, Stow, Littleton, Acton, Chelmsford, Topsfield, Lexington, Hollis, Pepperell, Lincoln, Bedford, and Billerica. The Rev. John Gardner, of Stow, was moderator. The Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton made the introductory prayer; the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden, preached from 1 Chron. xxix. 1; the Rev. John Gardner gave the charge; the Rev. William Cook, of East Sudbury, made the last prayer; and the Rev. John Smith, of Acton, gave the right hand of fellowship.

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August 21, Thursday: The Reverend [William Emerson](#) and [Phebe Walker Bliss](#), the daughter of his predecessor minister in [Concord](#), the Reverend Daniel Bliss and Phebe Walker Bliss, were married. They would have five children together.



7. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1767

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) purchased for \$20, at the [Boston](#) Vendues, a case clock.
The device remains in running condition in a corner of the Old Manse in [Concord](#).

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

October: The Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Concord](#) received [Phoebe Bliss Emerson](#) “into Full Communion.”

The Stamp Act had been voted by the British Parliament on March 22, 1765, had gone into effect on November 1, 1765, and had never been effectively enforced. King George II repealed it on March 18, 1766: “WHEREAS an act was passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such parts of the several acts of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the said colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned: and whereas the continuance of the said act would be attended with many inconveniences, and may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of these kingdoms; may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King’s most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and sixty six, the above-mentioned act, and the several matters and things therein contained, shall be, and is and are hereby repealed and made void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.” Forget that! —The citizens of Concord during this month took up a strongly defiant stance and instructed their representative to seek “all constitutional measures that might be taken to obtain its [the Stamp Act’s] repeal”:

From the commencement of the controversy between England and the

Reverend William Emerson

“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project



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colonies, the citizens of [Concord](#) took a rational but decided stand in favor of liberty. They watched with interest the progress of this controversy and did not fail to express their disapprobation of the obnoxious acts of the British Parliament. As early as October, 1767, the town instructed their representative to oppose the operation of the stamp act, and to unite in all constitutional measures that might be taken to obtain its repeal.⁸

8. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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1769

May 6, Saturday: [William Emerson, Junior](#) was born in [Concord](#), Massachusetts, the only son of the [Reverend William Emerson](#) with [Madam Phoebe Bliss Emerson](#).

[WILLIAM EMERSON](#) [of [Concord](#)], only son of the Rev. [William Emerson](#), was born May 6, 1769, and graduated [at [Harvard](#)] in 1789. He was ordained at Harvard May 23, 1792, but was dismissed on being called to a greater field of usefulness, and was installed over the First Church in [Boston](#), October 16, 1799, where he obtained a distinguished reputation for talents, literary acquirements and piety. He died May 11, 1811, aged 42. His History of the Church, a posthumous publication, and the Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 256, (Second Series) contain full notices of his character, to which the reader is referred. *Four* of his sons, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, and Charles Chauncey, were graduated at [Harvard College](#) with distinguished rank.⁹

9. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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HDT

WHAT?

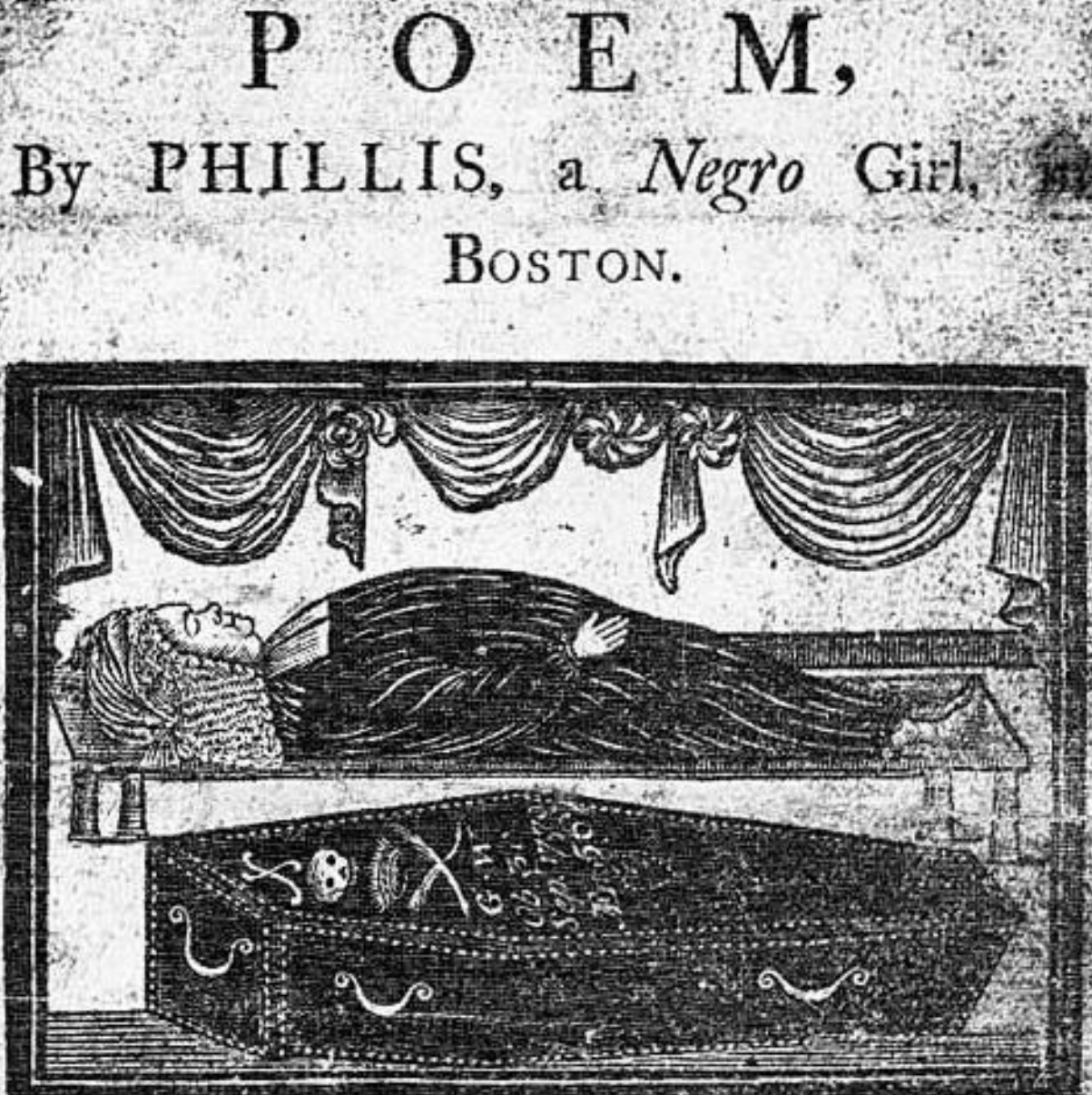
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1770

Fall: The Reverend George Whitefield died in Newburyport MA after preaching in York and [Malden](#). His next preaching had been scheduled to be in [Concord](#).



ON THE DEATH OF THE REVEREND
GEORGE WHITEFIELD,

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON****REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON**

[Phillis Wheatley](#)'s "An Elegiac Poem on the Death of George Whitefield," would be published in America and in England.



Hail, happy saint, on thine immortal throne,
Possess of glory, life, and bliss unknown;
We hear no more the music of thy tongue,
Thy wonted auditories cease to throng.
Thy sermons in unequal'd accents flow'd,
And ev'ry bosom with devotion glow'd;
Thou didst in strains of eloquence refin'd
Inflame the heart, and captivate the mind.
Unhappy we the setting sun deplore,
So glorious once, but ah! it shines no more.



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Behold the prophet in his tow'ring flight!
He leaves the earth for heav'n's unmeasur'd height,
And worlds unknown receive him from our sight.
There Whitefield wings with rapid course his way,
And sails to Zion through vast seas of day.
Thy pray'rs, great saint, and thine incessant cries
Have pierc'd the bosom of thy native skies.
Thou moon hast seen, and all the stars of light,
How he has wrestled with his God by night.
He pray'd that grace in ev'ry heart might dwell,
He long'd to see America excell;
He charg'd its youth that ev'ry grace divine
Should with full lustre in their conduct shine;
That Saviour, which his soul did first receive,
The greatest gift that ev'n a God can give,
He freely offer'd to the num'rous throng,
That on his lips with list'ning pleasure hung.

"Take him, ye wretched, for your only good,
"Take him ye starving sinners, for your food;
"Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream,
"Ye preachers, take him for your joyful theme;
"Take him my dear Americans, he said,
"Be your complaints on his kind bosom laid:
"Take him, ye Africans, he longs for you,
"Impartial Saviour is his title due:
"Wash'd in the fountain of redeeming blood,
"You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to God."

Great Countess, we Americans revere
Thy name, and mingle in thy grief sincere;
New England deeply feels, the Orphans mourn,
Their more than father will no more return.

But, though arrested by the hand of death,
Whitefield no more exerts his lab'ring breath,
Yet let us view him in th' eternal skies,
Let ev'ry heart to this bright vision rise;
While the tomb safe retains its sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animates his dust.

The "Old Manse" of Concord was at this point being built for the Reverend [William Emerson](#) and Madam [Phoebe Bliss Emerson](#), who were residing (for four years) in Grandmother Phebe Walker Bliss's Block House home in Concord.¹⁰ Eventually the grandmother would also come to reside at this new manse.

The grandfather, the Reverend Daniel Bliss, was already deceased as of 1764, six years prior to the house's construction, and could never have entered the structure — Nathaniel Hawthorne's fervid imagination to the contrary notwithstanding.

It was at Madam's preference that the rooms in the manse were so tiny, for [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would inform [Ellen Emerson](#) that "it was my mother's fault":

My father built it just according to her ideas, and she used to say "she was tired of great barns of rooms," so he had all the rooms made little boxes to please her.

10. The "Block House" was so called because it had served as the community's garrison house during "[King Phillip's War](#)". It stood between the cemetery and the courthouse on the Milldam, about a hundred yards from the town meetinghouse.



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November 13, Tuesday: The larger council of reverends that had met on October 23d at the residence of Ebenezer Hubbard had a 2d meeting, to consider 5 points of complaint against the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of the 1st Parish Church of [Concord](#), and 8 points of complaint against various members of the church.

A mutual council sat here, April 11, 1769, whose result was favorable to the church, but was not accepted by the aggrieved brethren. After repeated "hearings," the candidate was still excluded; and notwithstanding frequent efforts of the church to promote peace and harmony, the difficulties remained unsettled. Under these circumstances, an *ex parte* council met at Mr. Ebenezer Hubbard's, August 28, 1770, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Gad Hitchcock of Pembroke, moderator, Jacob Cushing of Waltham, Samuel Woodward of Weston, Jonas Clark of Lexington, Jonas Merriam of Newton, Elias Smith of Middleton, Phineas Whitney of Shirley, Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg, and delegates from their respective churches. On the second day of their session they addressed a letter to the church, requesting the members to adjust the difficulties among themselves, or join in calling a mutual council. To effect the first object, five members of each party were chosen to agree, but they were unsuccessful. The church not complying with the other request, the council met again, October 23, with five additional churches, those of the Rev. Messrs. John Mellen of Lancaster, Daniel Shute of Hingham, Joseph Jackson of Brookline, Phillips Payson of Chelsea, and Jason Haven of Dedham. It again adjourned, and met November 13. Eleven articles of grievance against the church, five against the pastor, and eight against particular members, were examined. The result was unfavorable to the church, and in favor of the aggrieved, as might have been anticipated. This being published in the [Boston](#) Gazette, and industriously circulated, tended by no means to allay public excitement.¹¹

11. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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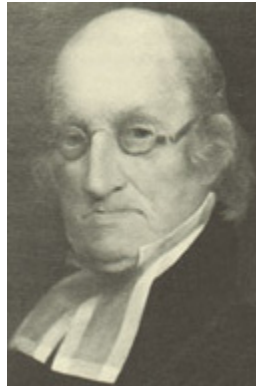


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1775

Hannah Melvin, age about 28 or 29, was suspected, while in the [Concord](#) jail for some offense (this was the wooden Concord jail of the time, not the stone Middlesex jail of a later era), of having engaged in a promiscuous act of sexual congress. She was admonished before the congregation of the church by the Reverend [William Emerson](#), and informed that she would no longer be eligible to take Communion. Hannah responded by denying all the charges against her, and making counteraccusations against the Reverend Emerson and against Harvard student [Ezra Ripley](#). [Note that in the story about student Ezra Ripley



THE MELVINS OF CONCORD

being accused by Hannah Melvin, there is no hint that her accusation was either personal or sexual. It may well have been merely that one of her bed partners had informed her that student Ezra had been with the carousing students who, recently, while on their way from the Concord tavern to their lodgings late one night, had had some collegial fun by breaking windows with roadside pebbles. I have lost my source for this story about student Ezra being accused by Hannah. Possible sources include:

- Emerson, Amelia Forbes, ed. DIARIES AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM EMERSON (1743-1776), MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN CONCORD / CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. (New printing 1972)
- "The Sojourn of Harvard College in Concord" by Percy W. Brown, [Harvard Graduate Magazine](#) 1919
- Harvard College in Concord, Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library
- THE MEETING HOUSE ON THE GREEN: A HISTORY OF THE FIRST PARISH IN CONCORD AND ITS CHURCH by John Whittmore Teele 1985
- CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM by Ruth R. Wheeler 1967
- CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN by Townsend Scudder 1947
- HISTORY OF CONCORD, MASS. by Lemuel Shattuck 1835]

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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January 12, Thursday: In [Concord](#), men were being urged to do God's will by going off to kill a bunch of people they did not know:

On the Thursday following, a meeting was held to enlist the men, when the Rev. [William Emerson](#) preached from Psalm lxxiii. 2. About sixty enlisted, including many who were either too young or too old to be required by law to do military duty. The number was subsequently increased to 100, and divided into two companies. Mr. Samuel Whitney was muster-master.¹²

A letter from Arthur Thomey at Harbour Grace to the Reverend Laurence Coughlan, per Laurence Coughlan, AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORK OF GOD IN NEWFOUNDLAND, NORTH AMERICA (London: W. Gilbert 1776, pages 141-42, letter XXV):

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The Lord put it in our Hearts to celebrate the last [CHRISTMAS](#)-DAY, in such a Manner as we never did heretofore: We assembled at J- P--'s, at five o'Clock in the Morning, sung praises, and prayed, and exhorted, and every Heart rejoiced in our CHRIST; we continued thus, till eight o'Clock, had Prayers again at ten, and three in the Afternoon, and our dear Lord continued present all the Day; at Night, we had a Love-Feast at S- (formerly your House) and such a blessed meeting we never saw: O Sir, it is impossible for me to express what I (and not only I, but every Soul present) felt on the Occasion; such Love, Joy, and Awe, as appeared on every Countenance, is inexpressible; but when we began to sing, such Meltings of Soul! such Overflowings of heart-felt Comfort lifted our Souls above this World, on singing these Words,

"CHRIST hath burst the Bonds of Death,
"We his quick'ning Spirit breathe."

Our poor S- was sat at Liberty; we could not proceed, Tears of holy Joy gave Vent to the Overflowings of our Hearts: I have since spoke with most of our Friends separately, and they affirmed, that they never were so powerfully influenced. O my dear Mr. COUGHLAN, when I reflect on my many Omissions, Backslidings, and Shortcomings, how vile do I see and feel myself; and yet my blessed JESUS continually comforts and refreshes me: Lord, make me humble; Lord, make me thankful; and strengthen me, that I may never bring a Scandal on thy holy Religion.

A- T-.

March 9, Thursday and 11, Saturday: Among the spy papers preserved from the desk of General Thomas Gage, there are a couple of letters written on these dates in poor French by someone who resided in or near [Concord](#). The letters detail buildings and the location of weapons and materials including "a large amount of munitions," 4 brass cannon, 10 iron cannon situated at the Town House, 2 mortars, small arms, and various supplies. The letters indicate that some of these militia supplies were stored in the homes of Barrett, Hubbard, Jones, and Whitney. The correspondent asserted the Reverend [William Emerson](#) to be "a very bad subject" of the King.

12. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
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March 13, Monday: In [Concord](#) there was a military review, after which the Reverend [William Emerson](#) offered a Christian sermon on how to prosper by killing people.

On Monday, March 13th, 1775, there was a review of all the military companies in the town [[Concord](#)]. They went into the meeting house, accompanied by a large concourse of spectators, and the Rev. Mr. Emerson preached from 2 Chronicles, xiii. 12; *"Behold God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding Trumpets, to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers; For ye shall not prosper."* These religious services were a powerful appeal to the feelings and understanding of his audience, and to Heaven for the justness of their cause. They were repeated before the Companies in Acton the week after. The Thursday following was kept as a solemn fast, on account of the Gloomy state of public affairs, when the Rev. Mr. Emerson again preached. His text was Micah, vii. 1-7.¹³

March 16, Thursday: In [Concord](#) on this day, the people kept a solemn fast and the Reverend [William Emerson](#) offered a Christian sermon on the justice of killing people.

March 20, Monday: General Thomas Gage sent Captain John Brown and Ensign Henry DeBerniere to [Concord](#), specially attired as Yankees in chestnut-stained clothing, sporting red handkerchiefs, "to reconnoitre and find out the state of the provincial magazines; what number of cannon, etc. they have and in what condition." They were to sketch the terrain and draw rough maps of the local road system. Reaching Concord, these rustics asked a local woman for directions to the home of Tory Daniel Bliss (for having been so accommodating, this Concordian would later be threatened by her neighbors). Bliss offered the visitors dinner while providing them with all the information he had on the whereabouts and the quantities of militia supplies and weapons (DeBerniere's report would note 14 cannon; 2 mortars; magazine of powder, cartridges and lead; flour, fish, salt, and rice). In fear for his life, he then accompanied the spies to the safety of Boston. He would never return to Concord. The Reverend [William Emerson](#), an in-law, would remark "Verily our enemies are of our own households."

13. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

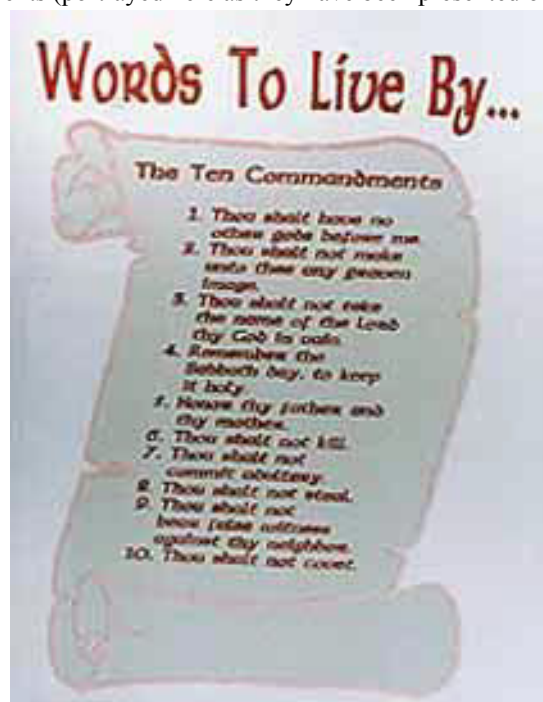


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April 19, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Lexington, and then people were trying to kill each other at [Concord](#).

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded of this day in his journal that: “*Hostilities commenced at Concord & Lexington.*” The day that would be remembered as “Patriots Day” because folks perceived was a one-day reprieve from the obtrusive Old Testament commandment “*Thou shalt not kill,*” and from the intrusive new New Testament commandment “*Love thine enemy.*”¹⁴ For 24 hours, apparently, the operating rule would be not the Ten Commandments (portrayed here as they have been presented on a T-shirt), not the Golden Rule,



but a much more intriguing “*Thou shalt lay waste thine enemy.*” The Bedford Minutemen, for instance, bore with them a banner emblazoned with the motto of the Dukes of Kent, “*Conquer or die.*”

[next screen]

14. A POP ESSAY QUESTION. In terms of the above, define and provide synonyms for the term “patriot”:



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WALDEN: I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die.... I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer. There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.



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This all came about because the army that had been camped on Boston Common, early that morning, embarked to cross the Charles River estuary with muffled oarlocks at the point which is now the corner of Boylston and Charles streets (this part of the estuary long since filled in). The “two lantern” signal from the steeple of one or another Boston church (we don’t actually know which one, perhaps the Congregational church of which Revere was a member, or the nearby Anglican church in the North End) meant that the soldiers were crossing the Charles River (*Quinobequin*) and being marched through Cambridge, not that they were coming by sea, and the “one lantern” signal would have meant that the soldiers were being marching down [Boston](#) Neck, through Roxbury. The two lanterns which were used had been made in the workshops of Paul Revere or Rivière.¹⁵ General Thomas Gage had sent an army detail to dismantle the steeple of the Old West Church, to ensure that it could not be used for any such signaling.

SLAVERY



As the Army marched up the Charlestown road from the Boston ferry landing, it would have passed a specimen of local justice: an old set of chains with human bones inside them, dating to an incident of September 1755. This had been an African slave, Mark, who had been left to rot after throttling, disemboweling and beheading upon suspicion of having poisoned, or of having attempted to poison, his American owner, Captain John Codman. (Keep this cage in mind, when you are tempted to suspect that what these indignant colonials had



15. This [Huguenot](#) silversmith received the warning signal from the church steeple while still in Boston and only afterward departed from the city on his errand, rather than seeing the signal from the opposite shore as has commonly been fantasized.

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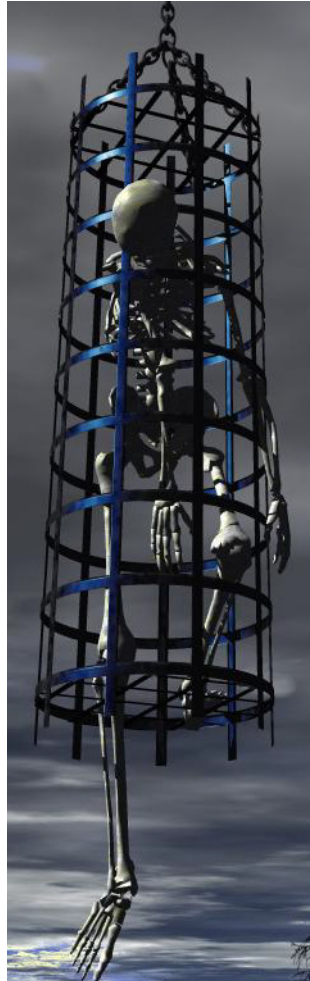




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decided to fight for was freedom and justice for all.)



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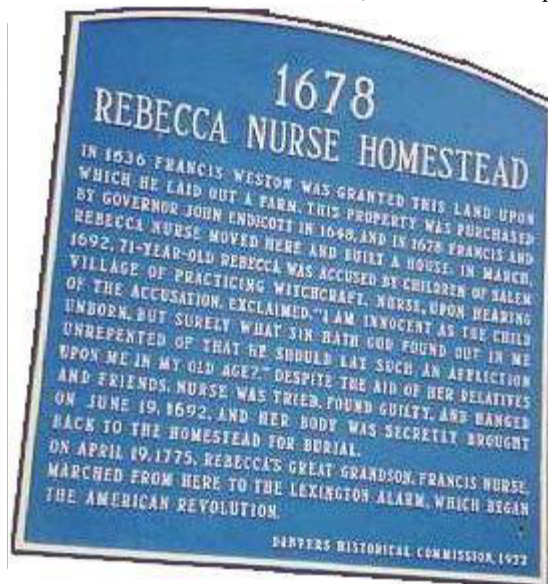
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One of the men who were marching to unite with the Lexington militia, had slept the previous night in this house:



He was Francis Nurse, a great grandson of Goodwife Rebecca Towne Nurse who had been [hanged](#) in Salem as a [witch](#) and then, when the witch fervor had died down, been reinstated postmortem into her church.



The Lexington militia had assembled too early, in response to the riders coming out of [Boston](#) such as Revere, and when the army column had not showed up by 2AM they decided to disperse and get some sleep. Shortly before daybreak there were some 70 of them on the Lexington green, and they spread out in two lines to face

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the oncoming troops. Major John Pitcairn of the Marines called out to the army troops that they were not to



fire but were to surround these militiamen and then take away their weapons, and Captain John Parker of the militia (ancestor of the Reverend Theodore Parker of Thoreau's day, carrying his Charleville musket) called



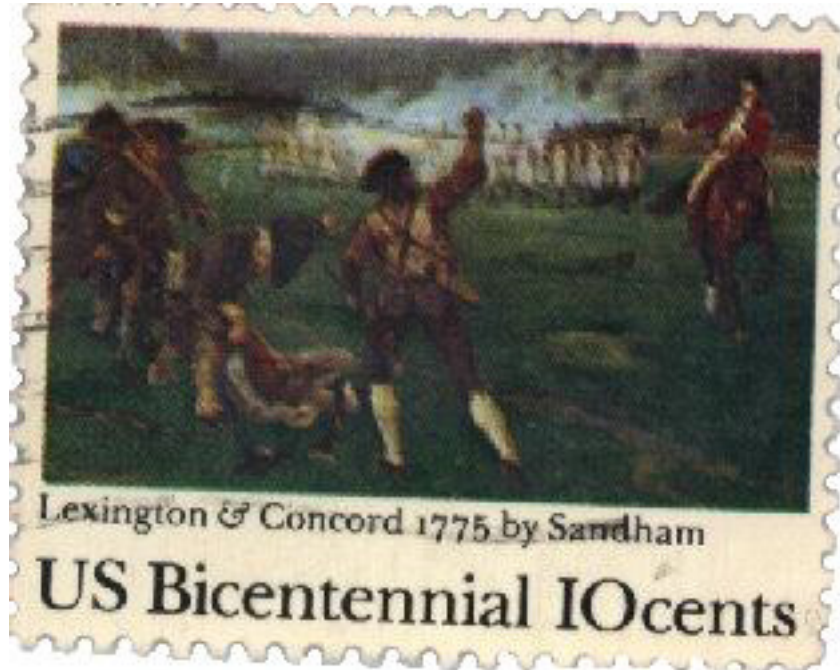
out to the militiamen that they were not to fire, but were to disperse. At that point there was a gunshot, origins unclear, and the army troops broke ranks and began to fire at the 27 militiamen. It would be pointless to inquire who fired, as in such a situation at the instant that it occurs nobody has any idea where the round came from or where it went and therefore everyone becomes terrified and presumes that he is being fired upon and proceeds to fire as rapidly as possible at anyone who appears to be holding a weapon. As Parker stated it, the result was that the army killed "eight of our party, with out receiving any provocation therefor from us."

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After this killing, and presumably after the army had collected the militia's weapons,¹⁶ neighbors were



allowed to come forward to tend the wounded and remove the corpses, while the army got itself back into a column, fired off one massive victory volley to clear their weapons, and marched on toward [Concord](#). Major John Buttrick sent [Captain Reuben Brown](#) on horseback down Lexington Road toward Boston to report the firing in Lexington. Captain Brown would ride more than 100 miles to the coast and back, while the soldiers were looting his liverys and setting his barn on fire (neither the barn nor the house would be destroyed).

As the redcoat drums rumbled like thunder through the town's streets, a panic-stricken 18-year-old named Harry Gould was being consoled by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). In Concord, while destroying what few military stores they could get their hands on, the army also set afire the liberty pole in front of the courthouse. The scene would be re-imagined and painted by Amos Doolittle and then a famous lithograph would be made

16. Likewise, we do not refer here to the militia as “the Americans” and the army as “the British,” since that is a later conceptual framework and anyhow would have been false to the actual constitution of these bodies of armed men. There were in fact many Americans in the paid colonial army, and I know of at least one Brit who was assembled with the Minutemen militia — before the battle we know that he put aside his rifle for awhile and went down the hill to chat up various Redcoats. This was a struggle of a militia faction of British subjects in America, the separatist faction, versus an army faction of British subjects in America, the loyalist faction, similar to the struggle during the Iranian Revolution of 1979 between the Imperial Iranian Air Force cadets and warrant officers, adherents of the religious faction in Iranian politics, versus the Imperial Iranian Ground Forces brigades, controlled by officers adherent to the secular faction in Iranian politics. It is significant, then, using this more accurate terminology, that rather than attempt to seize “the militia’s” stores and withdraw with them to Boston, “the army” was attempting to destroy those military stores in place. This means that, going into this action, “the army” was already regarding its withdrawal to Boston to be the difficult part of the day’s military operation, because, had they seized and relocated these military stores, “the army” could have made use of them itself — the military may upon occasion become wanton in the destruction of civilian properties, just as it may upon occasion rape, but military stores are never destroyed in place without at least one damned good reason. The major military stores available to “the militia” were being stockpiled in Worcester rather than in [Concord](#), because it was more of a march from Boston for “the army” and was therefore safer. Had “the army” succeeded in its withdrawal from Concord, of course, it would have marched to Worcester to destroy the bulk of the stores in the possession of “the militia,” in order to force “the militia” to return once again to the political faction favored by the officers of “the army.”

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of this famous painting by Smith:



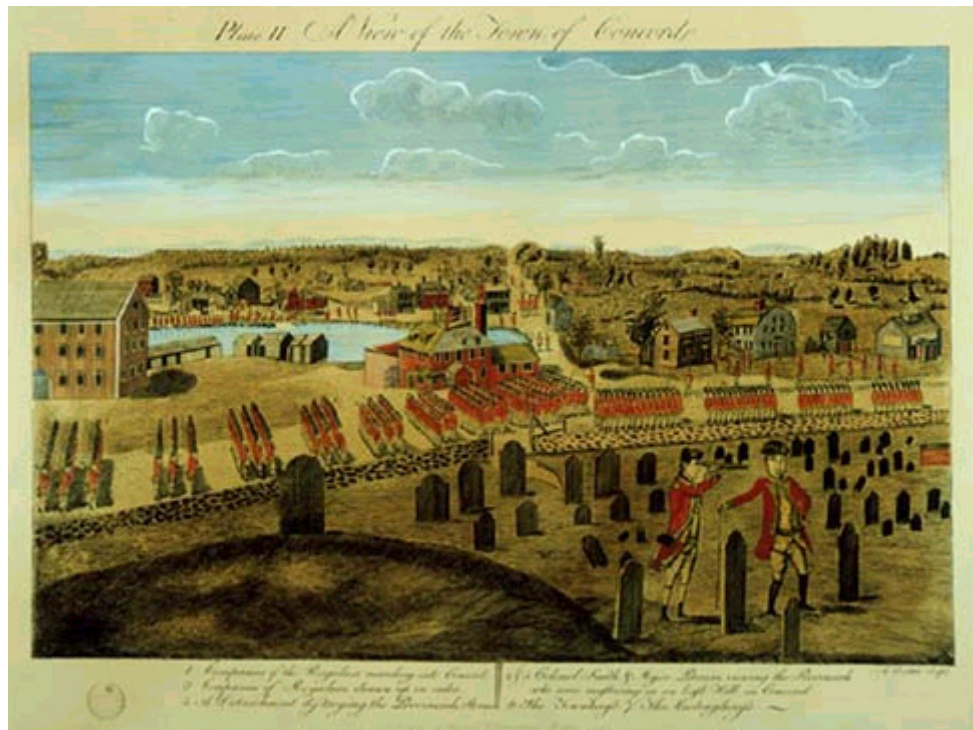


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Sparks from the liberty pole, however, ignited the courthouse roof, and while that fire was extinguished without great harm to the structure, the smoke from this fire caused the some 400 militiamen assembled in safety on the rise on the opposite side of the [Concord River](#) to presume that it was the army's intention to burn their dissident town to the ground. In a column of pairs they approached the [Old North Bridge](#), on the Concord side of which were three army companies. The army made some attempt to render the bridge impassible by removing planks, and then fired a volley which killed the militia Captain Isaac David and Abner Hosmer, in the front rank of the Acton minutemen as their drummer, whose face was half shot away.¹⁷ It was then that



Major John Buttrick called out “Fire, fellow soldiers, for God’s sake, fire.” Thus it came to be that here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world.¹⁸



Not counting those who were wounded but would survive, three redcoats of the Light Infantry Company, 4th

17. When Deacon Jonathan Hosmer inspected Private Abner Hosmer’s faceless corpse, he found a breastpin his son had received for his 21st birthday.

18. A footnote to [Waldo Emerson](#)’s famed line “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world”: A publication of the Boeing Corporation would eventually declare that with the employees of the Boeing Corporation on the job, making Minuteman ICBMs, it was quite a bit less likely that “some future poet” would be forced to “modify the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson” into “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot **reaching** ’round the world.”



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Regiment fell in the responding volley, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall. One went down evidently with a bullet through the head and two would die of bodily wounds. Two would be buried by colonials where they had fallen next to the Bridge, and one would be buried in Concord center by the army (somewhere “in the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill,” a gravesite now evidently disturbed during later centuries of construction activity). Through the affair Acton’s fifer, Luther Blanchard, and the drummer Francis Barker, were performing a lively Jacobin tune, “The White Cockade.”¹⁹ According to the Reverend [William Emerson](#), the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)’s grandfather, who was watching from an upstairs window at the Old Manse as these people shot off muskets at each other out at the North Bridge, one or the other of the seriously wounded soldiers was then struck, as he attempted to rise, on the head with a hatchet.

[Ammi White](#) was a private in Captain David Brown’s company of militia. Captain Brown²⁰ had his home near the Old North Bridge and in 1770 had been paid by the town of Concord to care for the causeway and wall associated with that bridge. As the redcoats fell back from the firing, Colonel Barrett’s militia unit advanced a short distance. According to reconstructions of what happened, the gravely wounded British soldier, between the retreating and the advancing lines, was attempting to rise when he was chopped down with a small hatchet by militiaman White, “not under the feelings of humanity.” He “barbarously broke his skull,” he “uplifted his axe, and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head,” with Thomas Thorp of Acton nearby but unable or unwilling to intercede:

On the Return of the Troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several Men killed and wounded, by the Rebels firing from behind Walls, Ditches, Trees, and other Ambushes; but the Brigade under the Command of Lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two Pieces of Cannon, the Rebels were for a while dispersed; but as soon as the Troops resumed their March, they began again to fire upon them from behind Stone Walls and Houses, and kept up in that Manner a scattering Fire during the Whole of their March of Fifteen Miles, by which Means several were killed and wounded; and such was the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Rebels, that they scalped and cut off the Ears of some of the wounded Men, who fell into their Hands.



This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me,
than all that history tells us of the fight.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) acknowledged the fact of an ax blow and acknowledged also that the soldier languished for hours before expiring, but would insist that neither scalp nor ears were removed. When the

19. Major [Francis Faulkner](#) led a company, the “Acton Patriots.”

20. Captain David Brown of Concord (1732-1802) kept a diary of Bunker Hill action in 1775.



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redcoats returned from Barrett's farm and were grossing out at the sight of the wound on the head of their fallen comrade, they told one another the story that the American militia had scalped him as if they were red savages (the usual story, things like this typically are done to innocent white people by vicious persons of color). Five soldiers would testify to having themselves seen the wounded man with the skin over his eyes cut and also the top part of his ears cut off. There was not only misunderstanding, there was considerable exaggeration: A rumor would begin to circulate that the dying soldier's eyes had been gouged out. Ensign Jeremy Lister later would write tendentiously and falsely that "4 men...killd who afterwards scalp'd their eyes goug'd their noses and ears cut of, such barbarity execut'd upon the Corps could scarcely be paralleled by the most uncivilised savages." The army would be forced to abandon its dead and wounded that hot day, with soldiers falling not only from bullets but also from sunstroke, and the citizens of Concord would need to dig a hole and inter two of the bodies where they lay (there being no particular reason for the extra labor of transporting these dead bodies anywhere else prior to interment), and one of the wounded soldiers, Samuel Lee of the 10th Regiment, left behind, eventually would become a Concord citizen. The commander of the Concord column, LTC Smith, reported to his superiors Lord Percy and General Gage that "after the bridge was quitted, they scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded." General Gage would summarize this as: "... one scalped, his head much mangled and his ears cut off, though not quite dead ... a sight which struck the soldiers with horror." In Concord, stories would be generated that the person who had used the hatchet had been merely a wood-chopping chore boy of the Emersons, or had been Frank, the Emersons' slave (the usual story, blame everything on some nearby flunky or on some handy person of color) — but in fact there had been no such chore boy and black Frank's activities on that date had been well vouched for by members of the Emerson family.



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Here is the story per D. Michael Ryan:



Various explanations for the cause of this deed were advanced. The culprit was "half-witted"; excused only by excitement and inexperience; startled by the soldier and acted out of fear; acting to end the soldier's suffering. Extreme claims noted that the victim was trying to drown himself in a water puddle and begged someone to kill him; had thrust at the American with his bayonet; or was an escaping prisoner. None of these theories have a basis in fact and had such mitigating circumstances existed, would certainly have been mentioned by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). While the British publicized the incident, Americans chose to ignore it possibly due to embarrassment, fear of reprisals, failure to appreciate its importance or a notion that it would blot a historic cause. Provincial authorities hesitated to confirm that the act had occurred but in response to a Boston story insured that the burial detail testified that "neither of those persons (2 dead soldiers buried at the bridge) were scalped nor their ears cut off." Concord historians Ripley [??] and Lemuel Shattuck ignored the incident completely while well into the 19th Century, British historians continued to write of the scalping and ear cutting episode. A long guarded secret was the name of the young culprit who tradition acknowledges as Ammi White.... The British troops returning to Boston would remember the "scalping" with fear, anger and a sense of revenge. This, together with civilian hostility in Boston and the tactics of the colonials along the retreat route, considered cowardly, would lead to army reprisals and atrocities (house burnings, killing of unarmed men, bayoneting of wounded and dead colonials, etc.) especially in the village of Menotomy. Lord Percy's relief column had been informed of the "scalping" and General Gage would later use the story to offset atrocity charges leveled against his troops.

In a much later timeframe [Waldo Emerson](#) would declaim at this famed bridge that "Here once the embattled farmers stood / and fired the shot heard round the world" for the freedom of white people, and would sagely say nothing about the alleged offing of a defenseless, critically wounded man with a hatchet. And then at an even later date [Henry Thoreau](#) would be refused an audience in [Concord](#), and would declare in Framingham MA that "The inhabitants of Concord are not prepared to stand by one of their own bridges" for the freedom of black people. (That was in 1854 in his speech "Slavery in Massachusetts," but Thoreau would be preparing this sentiment as early as 1851.)

After some two hours more in [Concord](#), the army began its disastrous withdrawal to Lexington, where its remnants were reinforced by the 1st Brigade under Sir Hugh Percy.

In his SACRED GROUND,²¹ Edward Linenthal has presented an extended treatment of dissidence in the Concord context in effect with one hand tied behind his back. That is, he does this while accomplishing the feat of not once bringing in the name of [Thoreau](#). Picking up on the Emersonian description of the fallen farmer

21.  Linenthal, Edward Tabor. SACRED GROUND: AMERICANS AND THEIR BATTLEFIELDS. Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1991



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minutemen of April 19, 1775 as having acted “from the simplest instincts,”²² Linenthal states that:

These instinctive warriors were ceremoniously perceived as men whose New England origins nurtured republican principles that protected them from the moral pollution of old-world warriors. Consequently, the minuteman became a powerful cultural model for generations of Americans at war and at peace: from Billy Yank and Johnny Reb in the Civil War to the doughboys of World War I and the GI's of World War II; from the right-wing Minutemen of the 1960s to a more recent transformation into the Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile. Patriotic rhetoric portrayed the minutemen as Christ-like saviors, and citizens of Lexington and [Concord](#) were proud that these new-world warriors drank from the wellsprings of liberty which, they believed, ran especially deep in their towns.... Beyond the ever-present threat of failing to measure up to the principles embodied by the minutemen, the specter of defilement appeared in other ways. Beginning in rancorous debate in the 1820s, a number of citizens of Lexington and Concord claimed that **their** town was the authentic birthplace of the nation. Each was accused of falsifying the national creation story by refusing to grant this sacred status to the other.... If the encounter on Lexington Green was not a battle but a massacre, were the martyred minutemen really the first models of how Americans die in war or just further examples of colonial victims? And if they were only victims, could that affect popular perception of the potency of their sacrifice?... On occasion, what some people perceived as defilement, others viewed as creative attempts to redefine the meaning of the events of April 19, 1775. Both the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission understood Lexington and Concord to be sacred ground when they held separate protests on the Battle Green and at the North Bridge in the mid-1970s. In their view, the purpose of protest was not desecration of a sacred spot, for they believed the **real** defilement had been perpetrated by a new class of American Tories who had severed the link between revolutionary war principles (especially the principle of dissent) and contemporary American life. Each group believed that its protest would spark the recovery of the American revolutionary tradition, which was viewed as crucial to the resuscitation of authentic American values that had fallen into disrepair because of public apathy.

OLD NORTH BRIDGE

The fifer boy of the Concord Minutemen was the son of Major John Buttrick, 15 years of age. The side drum he used would belong to the son of Colonel James Barrett, Nathan Barrett, until it would fall apart and the town would need to purchase a new one. One source alleges that a severe earthquake shook [Concord](#).²³ March and early April having been extraordinarily warm, the apple trees around Concord were in bloom by April 19th, and the soldiers being marched through Lexington toward Concord suffered heat prostration.

Later, when Lafayette would visit Concord as part of a triumphal tour, tiny [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would approach him to let him know that she had been “‘in arms’ at the Concord fight” — she having been a newborn during that period.

22.  Emerson, Ralph Waldo. A HISTORICAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CONCORD, 12 SEPTEMBER 1835 ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN. Boston MA: W.B. Clarke, 1835.

23. Such an earthquake is not listed on the comprehensive scientific list of known New England earthquakes, which has no entries between August 15, 1772 and February 7, 1776. —Presumably some historian has misunderstood a casual comment on the order of “the earth certainly shook that day.”



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When word of approaching British troops was received, Captain Charles Miles had mustered his company near the Wright Tavern.²⁴ Included with the muster roll we can discover a handwritten note by Sergeant David Hartwell, “Concord, April 19th 1775, then the battel begune....”



On the high ground above North Bridge where the colonial force reformed, Captain Miles then joined the officers’ conference. When it was decided to march into Town, the story is, the lead was initially offered to a Concord captain but this man said he “should rather not go.” Since it was Captain Miles who was in command of the senior minute company, and would not be in the lead, it is speculated that he might have been the one to have said this. Captain Isaac Davis’s Acton company then led the march to the Bridge and while the position of other units is uncertain, several accounts have placed Miles’s company either second or third in line. Years later, the Reverend Ezra Ripley noted that when Captain Miles was asked his feelings when marching on the

24. The Wright Tavern is called that because Amos Wright was renting the building from its owner Samuel Swan and keeping tavern there when first the local militia gathered there and then Army officers Lt. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn used it as their headquarters. In such a quarrel the businessman of course would sell drinks to all comers.

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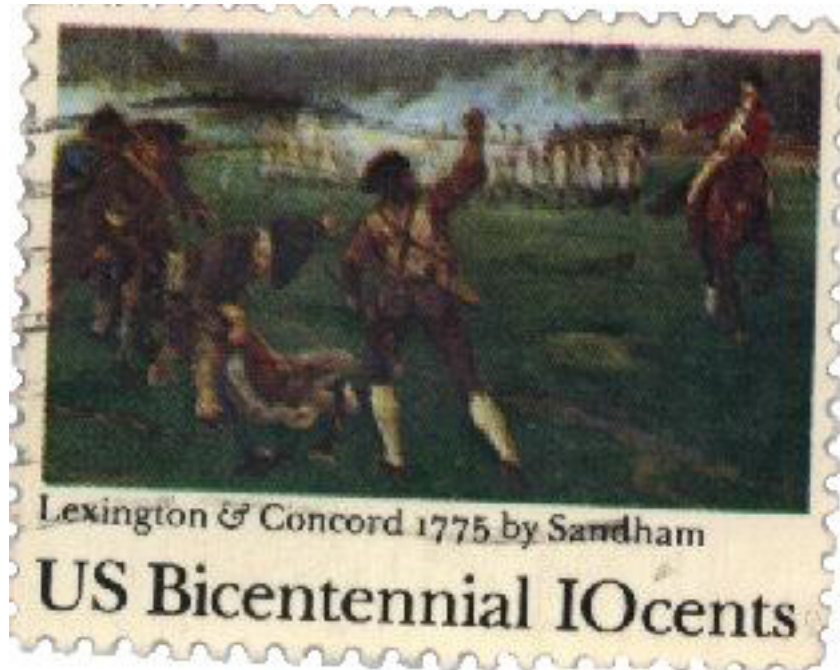
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Battle Bridge on April 19, 1775, he responded “that he went to the service of the day with the same seriousness and acknowledgement of God which he carried to church. During the fighting it was thought that this reluctant captain had been killed, but he had only been somewhat wounded and would be able to continue to direct his company during the chasing of the Regulars back to Charlestown.



We don't have the names of the army casualties of this glorious day, only those of the militia and of bystanders. The numerical estimate of General Gage's intelligence officer was that about 25 of the soldiers had been killed and almost 150 wounded; the estimate by a soldier, John Pope, was that 90 soldiers had been killed and 181 wounded; the estimate by Ensign De Berniere was that 73 soldiers had been killed, 174 wounded, and 25 were missing in action; — and General Gage reported to his superior officer that 65 of his soldiers had been killed, 180 wounded, and 27 were missing in action.



Presumably what we would discover, if we had the names of the army casualties, would be that a significant number of them had been Americans who had enlisted in the army.



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Here are the names of the militia casualties and the civilian casualties including an unarmed 14-year-old bystander (that's termed "collateral damage"):

Town	Killed	Wounded	Missing
Acton	Isaac Davis James Hayward Abner Hosmer	Luther Blanchard (would die this year of wound)	
Bedford	Captain Jonathan Wilson	Job Lane	
Beverly	Reuben Kenyme	Nathaniel Cleves William Dodge III Samuel Woodbury	
Billerica		Timothy Blanchard John Nichols	
Brookline	Isaac Gardner		
Cambridge	John Hicks William Marcy Moses Richardson James Russell Jason Winship Jabez Wyman	Samuel Whittemore	Samuel Frost Seth Russell
Charlestown	Edward Barber James Miller		
Chelmsford		Oliver Barron Aaron Chamberlain	
Concord		Nathan Barrett Jonas Brown Captain Charles Miles George Minot Abel Prescott, Jr.	
Danvers	Samuel Cook Benjamin Deland Ebenezer Golwait Henry Jacobs Perley Putnam George Southwick Jothan Webb	Nathan Putnam Dennis Wallace	Joseph Bell
Dedham	Elias Haven	Israel Everett	
Framingham		Daniel Hemminway	



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Lexington	John Brown Samuel Hadley Caleb Harrington Jonathan Harrington, Jr. Jonas Parker Jedidiah Munroe Robert Munroe Isaac Muzzy John Raymond Nathaniel Wyman	Francis Brown Joseph Comee Prince Estabrook Nathaniel Farmer Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. Jedidiah Munroe Solomon Pierce John Robbins John Tidd Thomas Winship	
Lynn	William Flint Thomas Hadley Abednego Ramsdell Daniel Townsend	Joseph Felt Timothy Monroe	Josiah Breed
Medford	Henry Putnam William Holly		
Needham	John Bacon Nathaniel Chamberlain Amos Mills Elisha Mills Jonathan Parker	Eleazer Kingsbury Xxxxx Tolman	
Newton		Noah Wiswell	
Roxbury			Elijah Seaver
Salem	Benjamin Pierce		
Stow	Daniel Conant	Daniel Conant	
Sudbury	Deacon Josiah Haynes Asahael Reed Thomas Bent	Joshua Haynes, Jr.	
Watertown	Joseph Coolidge		
Woburn	Daniel Thompson Asahel Porter	Jacob Bacon Xxxxx Johnson George Reed	



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

Here is an example of what we don't know. When we somewhat belatedly erected this grave marker, in the Year of Our Lord 2000, we presumed that the slain army soldier was a Brit although he may very well have been simply one of the Americans who had enlisted not in what was at that time our militia but in what was at that time our army:



Dr. Charles Russell, son of the Hon. James Russell, born in Charlestown, graduated at Harvard College, 1757, and inherited his uncle Chambers's estate in Lincoln, where he resided as a physician. He married Miss Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge, and from his father-in-law he contracted opinions opposed to the measures of the people in the revolution, and left Lincoln on the 19th of April, 1775, and went to Martinique, in the West-Indies, where he died.... Dr. Joseph Adams was also unfriendly to the revolution, and went to England, where he died.²⁵

25. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

INDEX

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

B L O O D Y B U T C H E R Y ,
BY THE
B R I T I S H T R O O P S ;
OR THE
RUNAWAY FIGHT OF THE REGULARS.

Being the PARTICULARS of the VICTORIOUS BATTLE fought at and near CONCORD, situated Twenty Miles from Boston, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, between Two Thousand Regular Troops, belonging to His Britannic Majesty, and a few Hundred Provincial Troops, belonging to the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, which lasted from sunrise until sunset, on the 19th of April, 1775, when it was decided greatly in favor of the latter. These particulars are published in this cheap form, at the request of the friends of the deceased WORTHIES, who died gloriously fighting in the CAUSE of LIBERTY and their COUNTRY, and it is their sincere desire that every Householder in the country, who are sincere well-wishers to America, may be possessed of the same, either to frame and glass, or otherwise to preserve in their houses, not only as a Token of Gratitude to the memory of the Deceased Forty Persons, but as a perpetual memorial of that important event, on which, perhaps, may depend the future Freedom and Greatness of the Commonwealth of America. To which is annexed a Funeral Elogy on those who were slain in the Battle.

From E. Forster's *Indian Travels, or History and Description of America*, published in London, April 18, 1773.

[illegible]

W. A. S. N. M., April 26.

[illegible][illegible]

We have the pleasure to tell that notwithstanding the highest appreciation given by the crowd, and our sincere hope that we were heard of was rewarded by an enthusiastic willing, but, limited to the specific demand of the crowd that religious, they (Society) began to manifest of themselves.

[illegible]

His father, Thomas, and mother, Mrs. Virginia (Bridgman) Clark, passed all the time, summer and winter, in the office.

There were two kinds of the others. The first group, which was composed of men who were not in the army, were given the right to be kept in the city, but they were not allowed to work. The second group, which was composed of men who were in the army, were given the right to be kept in the city, but they were not allowed to work. The first group was given the right to be kept in the city, but they were not allowed to work. The second group was given the right to be kept in the city, but they were not allowed to work.

4 5 6 7 8 9 May 1

O⁸ the morning of April 1, was killed during efforts, by the British troops, to destroy, or to save unconditionally, following the country's capture, the goods, the goods and property of the British. The British, of course, had the right to capture

He points out from the Quaker, Unitarian, or Episcopalian. He was a minister and always lived to his own satisfaction. A great success in some of his efforts, and on the whole, and always generous of spirit. He was one of the best of his kind. He was a friend to the Quaker, Unitarian, and Episcopalian, and an advocate of the cause of truth in every corner. He was full of generous emotion, and the great victory over, to his own loss.

What? that the body composed of the gross,
The filthy flesh is, being living bodies?
And as he said, he said, he said he said,
As the same person shall also speak there,
And so.

the Throwing the Switchboard out, the holes in stone of the subterranean passage also fell in the hands, were collected together and buried as usual.

And in finding the bodies of Wilson, George Jackson, Samuel Clark, Elmer Townsend, George Washington, Benjamin, Michael, Joe, Anthony West, and Frank Peterson, who were taken back, Spelling in the **ILLINOIS CASES OF LIGHTS AND THEIR CAUSES**, is the secretary of each, born in

specifically named among their friends is the different parties belonging to that town. These groups being attached to the place is maintained by two companies of volunteers. With this plan, and a large number of people from that and the neighboring towns, previous to their departure, in constant and well adapted groups, and although they are from the State of New York.

When they, the brothers of Henry, April Fisher and David Thompson, of Boston, who also fell victims to typhoid, were discovered, buried at that place, attended to the grave by a multitude of persons who manifested an intense interest that and the neighboring people. Bodies were removed, a new service was held.

Charles Thomas Keating, of the late engineers, died at Boston the next day after the engagement, of his wounds by medical aid in the arms. He was greatly respected being amongst one of the best officers among the King's troops.

about 1800, of a large group, died of the disease in Washington in at the greatest and longest. The survivors were sent by transport to Constantinople, attended by a company of gendarmes, and several officers of the marine, and there delivered to the care of the British flag. Twenty others remained behind, being sent to the United States. The survivors were sent to the coast, and in a few weeks all recovered.

It is not possible to say that the effects of the intervention were significant, as the confidence intervals for the effects are all wide. However, the effects are all in the positive direction, suggesting that the intervention had a positive effect on the outcomes. The confidence intervals for the effects are all wide, suggesting that the effects are not statistically significant.

We have received an outpouring of the communications, letters, telegrams, fairs and the like, of course. It is certain that the people have followed up their own way out of their lives, however they promised to leave the town, notwithstanding the presence of the General.

The following is a list of the *Psittacula* spp. seen during our mission.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the polymer on the gelation time.

1 * Mr. Robert M. Brown,	2 * Mr. John M. Brown,
3 * Mr. John M. Brown,	4 * Mr. John M. Brown,
5 * Mr. John M. Brown,	6 * Mr. John M. Brown,
7 * Mr. John M. Brown,	8 * Mr. John M. Brown,

1 Mr. William Thompson,	10 Mr. Anthony Wayne,
2 Mr. John Harrington,	11 Mr. Joseph Watson,
	12 Mr. H. L. D.
3 Mr. John Robinson,	13 Mr. Joseph Ames,
4 Mr. John Tipton,	14 Mr. Charles Martin,

1. Mr. William F. Ryan	4. Mr. Charles H. Brown
2. Mr. Thomas W. Wainwright	5. Mr. James H. Brown
3. Mr. Nathan Turner	6. James H. Brown
	(Nathan Turner)

11 Mr. James Stewart
12 Mr. John Wiggins
13 H. I. & J. W. H. (continued to be on bench out of the room of court)
14 Mr. Stewart (cont.)
15 Mr. Wiggins (cont.)

14. How are they? 15. How are they?

40 1 1 1 1 1 1
 36 2 2 2 2 2 2
 30 3 3 3 3 3 3
 24 4 4 4 4 4 4
 20 5 5 5 5 5 5
 16 6 6 6 6 6 6
 12 7 7 7 7 7 7
 8 8 8 8 8 8
 4 9 9 9 9 9
 0 10 10 10 10 10

47 Captain Jonathan Wilson
4 1 7 4 2
4 1 1 1 4 2
48 Captain Shaw
49 Mr. ————
50 Mr. ————

	H	O	R	L	B	M	
	H	I	K	L	T	N	
187 Mr. Jack Foster						Mr. Ernest Thompson	
	H	I	K	R	L	E	M

21 Mr. George Ross 22 Mr. Sarah Brown
23 Mr. James Miller 24 Mr. John Smith

[illegible]

(2) Mr. Henry Patterson

10 Mr. William Parry
C. F. J. N.
K. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

(1) Mr. Alexander Stewart		26 William Place
(2) David Stevenson	W. G. S.	25, Vernon Hallway
		N. G. S. S.
(3) Mr. James Pitt		14 St. Timothy's House
	G. J. P.	F. J. P. S.

12 Mrs. Helen James	26 Mr. William Dwyer, jun.
13 Mrs. Margaret Clark	27 Mr. Nathan Ward
14 Mr. Thomas Clifton	28 Victor Patton
15 Mrs. Susan Woodard	

11. Mr. George Stewart

10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 8

[illegible]

Three distinguished men who were [?] were killed by the first fire of the enemy.



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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When [Timothy Dwight](#) would write of his 1795 travels, while speaking of his passing through [Concord](#) he would give a small amount of attention to the bucolic details of the place:



Concord was purchased of the Indians and incorporated in 1635. Three persons only are known to have been killed within the limits of this township by the savages, although it was the first settlement made in New England so far from the shore. From Boston it is distant nineteen miles, from Williams' in Marlboro, fifteen.

The soil of this township is various. The higher grounds have loam mixed with gravel. The plains are sandy, light but warm, and friendly to rye and maize, of which considerable quantities are carried to market. Pastures are visibly few and indifferent. Along the river, which is named from this town and runs through the middle of it, lie extensive and rich meadows. Hemp and flax grow here luxuriantly. Two acres are said to have yielded in one instance one thousand pounds of flax. Few fruits are seen except apples, and these plainly do not abound as in most other parts of the country.

The face of this township is generally a plain. A hill of no great height ascends at a small distance from the river on the eastern side and pursues a course northward, parallel with that of the river. Between this hill and the river lies the principal street. Another containing a considerable number of houses abuts upon it, perpendicularly from the western side.

The houses in Concord are generally well built, and with the outbuildings and fences make a good appearance. The public buildings are the church, courthouse, and jail, all of them neat.

But then he would devote a good deal of his attention to this locale's belligerent status as the site of this notorious squabble.



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Concord will be long remembered as having been, partially, the scene of the first military action in the Revolutionary War, and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother country. A traveler on this spot, particularly an American traveler, will irresistibly recall to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord and the contest which ensued would have been merely little tales of wonder and woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighborhood to their circles at the fireside, commanding a momentary attention of childhood, and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected with the sufferers. Now, the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs, an alteration in the balance of human power, and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will in some respects assume a new character, and experience in some respects a new destiny.

General Gage, to whom was committed one of the most unfortunate trusts ever allotted to an individual, having obtained information that a considerable quantity of arms and military stores was by order of the Provincial Congress deposited in this town,¹ sent Lieut. Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to march to Concord and destroy the deposit. The troops were accordingly embarked from the common in Boston, and landed on the opposite shore in Cambridge at a place called Phipps's farm. Thence they marched by the shortest route to this town.

1. The whole amount of the warlike stores in the province of Massachusetts as they appear on a return, April 14, 1775, is contained in the following list.

| | |
|------------------|---------|
| Firearms | 21,549 |
| Pounds of powder | 17,441 |
| Pounds of ball | 22,191 |
| No. of flints | 144,699 |
| No. of bayonets | 10,103 |
| No. of pouches | 11,979 |

The whole of the town stocks

| | |
|------------------|---------|
| Firearms | 68 |
| Pounds of powder | 357 1/2 |
| Pounds of ball | 66,78 |
| No. of flints | 100,531 |

Duke's county and Nantucket were not included in this list.



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The salubrity of Concord violates the most received medical theories concerning such diseases as are supposed to be generated by stagnant waters. I know of no stream which approaches nearer to a state of stagnation than Concord River. Yet diseases of this class are seldom, or never, found here. The cause I shall not pretend to assign.

Within these thirteen years the baptisms in Concord amounted to 395,. Three fourths only of those who were born are supposed to have been baptized. The number of births, therefore, was about 527.

Concord contains a single congregation. The whole number of inhabitants in 1790, as has been observed, was 1,590. In 1800, it contained 227 dwelling houses, and 1,679 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,633.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



April 23, Sunday: The army in [Boston](#) was surrounded by a militia which had marched from all over New England. A soldier commented in his diary:

The country is up in arms ... we are absolutely infested with many thousand men, some so daring they came very near our outposts on the only entrance to town. The have cut off supplies



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After this work was completed, the troops advanced to the bridge in order to disperse the Americans. Major Buttrick, of Concord, who commanded the militia, being ignorant of the tragedy at Lexington, had directed his men not to begin the fire.¹ As he advanced with his party, the light infantry began to pull up the bridge; and, as he approached, fired, and killed two Americans one of them a Captain Davis, of Acton, in the neighborhood.² The fire was instantly returned, and the troops were compelled to retreat. Several of them were killed, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

The party was pursued; and, after they had rejoined the main body, the whole retired with the utmost expedition. On their way to Lexington they were continually harassed by an irregular and not ill-directed fire from the buildings and walls on their route. Every moment increased the number of their assailants and their own fatigue, distress, and danger. Upon the first intelligence that the Americans had betaken themselves to arms, General Gage sent a second detachment to the relief of Lieutenant Colonel Smith under the command of Lord Percy.³ It amounted to nine hundred men and marched from Boston with two fieldpieces, their music playing the tune of Yankee Doodle to insult the Americans. As they were passing through Roxbury, a young man who was making himself merry on the occasion being asked, as is said, by his lordship, why he laughed so heartily, replied "To think how you will dance by and by to Chevy Chase."

This detachment joined their friends at Lexington, where the whole body rested for a short time, and with their fieldpieces kept the Americans at a distance. The neighboring country was now in arms, and moving both to attack the enemy and to intercept their retreat. The troops, therefore speedily recommenced their march. From both sides of the road issued a continual fire, directed often by excellent marksmen, and particularly dangerous to the officers. Major Pitcairn thought it prudent to quit his horse and lose himself among the soldiery. Everywhere the retreating army was pursued and flanked. Their enemies descended from every new hill and poured through every new valley. Perplexed by a mode of fighting to which they were strangers, and from which neither their valor, nor their discipline furnished any security; exhausted by fatigue, and without a hope of succor; the troops wisely withdrew from impending destruction with the utmost celerity.

1. John Buttrick (1715-1791) was a leader of the Concord militia in action on April 19, 1775.

2. Isaac Davis (1745-1775), who led the Acton minute men against the British on the Concord bridge, was killed in the first volley.

3. Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland (1742-1817), apparently disapproved of the war with the American colonies although he entered military service against them.



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In their retreat, however, they set fire to several houses, plundered whatever pleased their fancy or gratified their avarice, and killed several unarmed persons: particularly two old men, whose hoary locks pleaded for compassion in vain. Bunker Hill, which they reached about sunset, was the first place of safety and repose in their march. The next day they returned to Boston.

In this expedition the British had sixty-five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners: two hundred and seventy-three. Among the wounded were fifteen officers, one of them Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Of the Americans, fifty were killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing: eighty-eight. Several gentlemen of reputation fell in this conflict, and were regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom and their country.

Such was the issue of this memorable day, and such the commencement of the Revolutionary War in the United States.

Whatever opinions may be adopted concerning the controversy between the British government and the colonies by those who come after us, every man of sober, candid reflection must confess that very gross and very unfortunate errors existed in the measures adopted, both in Great Britain and America, toward the colonies. In both countries information was drawn and received almost solely from those who espoused the system of the reigning administration. It hardly needs to be observed that deception and mischief were the necessary consequence. An opinion also was boldly advanced, sedulously adopted, and extensively diffused that the Americans were mere blusterers and poltroons. In the British Parliament, Colonel Grant declared, with equal folly and insolence, that at the head of five hundred, or perhaps (as numerals are easily misprinted) of five thousand men, he would undertake to march from one end of the British settlements to the other, in spite of all American opposition.¹ This declaration would almost of itself have converted a nation of real cowards into soldiers. Why it should be believed that the descendants of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were cowards, especially by their brethren descended from the same ancestors, I shall not take upon me to explain. The difficulties and hazards attendant upon a war conducted at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of control and supplies were certainly not realized by the British cabinet. As little did they realize the disposition or the circumstances of the Americans.

1. Probably Dwight refers to James Grant (1720-1806), member of Parliament at different times, a military man who went to America with reinforcements under Howe and became a general.



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An expedition of this nature had for some time been expected. Certain intelligence of it had been obtained the preceding afternoon by Dr. Warren, who afterwards fell in the battle of Breed's Hill,¹ and was forwarded by him with the utmost celerity to the intervening towns, particularly to Lexington, where were at that time Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, both afterwards governors of Massachusetts.² As these gentlemen were supposed to be the principal objects of the expedition, the expresses who carried the intelligence (Col. Paul Revere and Mr. William Dawes) were peculiarly directed to them.³ They reached Lexington, which is four miles from Concord, in such season that Messrs. Hancock and Adams made their escape.⁴ Here, however, the expresses were stopped by the British as they were advancing toward Concord; but Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman to whom they had communicated their message, escaped and alarmed the inhabitants of Concord.⁵

The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning. Here they found about seventy militia and forty unarmed spectators by the side of the church. Major Pitcairn rode up to them and cried out with vehemence, "Disperse you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." As this command was not immediately obeyed, he discharged a pistol and ordered his soldiers to fire upon the inhabitants. The soldiers fired, and the people instantly fled. The soldiers, however, continued to fire at individuals. This at length provoked a return, and several were killed on both sides. Still the troops continued their march toward Concord, where they arrived early in the morning. For the purpose of defense, the inhabitants had drawn themselves up in a kind of order; but, upon discovering the number of the enemy withdrew over the North Bridge, half a mile below the church, where they waited for reinforcements. The soldiers then broke open and scattered about sixty barrels of flour, disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroyed the carriages of about twenty cannon, and threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and neighboring wells. The principal part of the stores, however, was not discovered.

1. Joseph Warren (1741-1755), Harvard 1759, an excellent physician in Boston, became deeply involved in Revolutionary politics. Early in 1775, he gave up his profession to enter the army. He became president *pro tempore* of the Provincial Congress and was elected a major general four days before his death.

2. John Hancock (1737-1793), Harvard 1754, adopted by his rich uncle Thomas, joined his successful mercantile firm. The famous Revolutionary patriot was treasurer of Harvard College, 1773-1777, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and first governor of Massachusetts in the new republic, 1780-1785. His successor was Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Harvard 1740, better remembered for his incendiary role as one of the "Sons of Liberty" in the Revolution. As lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1789, acting governor in 1793, and elected governor, 1794-1798, this turbulent man showed little understanding of the problems of the state or of the nation.

3. See Colonel Revere's letters to the corresponding secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society....

4. Revolutionary patriot Paul Revere (1735-1818), a silversmith, was the official courier for the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly as well as an effective political cartoonist and the acknowledged leader of Boston's artisans. William Dawes (1745-1799) was one of the two men chosen to spread the alarm if the British troops should move to raid the military stores deposited in Concord.

5. Samuel Prescott (1751-c. 1777) completed the famous midnight ride after Paul Revere was captured, but died later in a prison in Halifax.



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General Gage's principal advisers were of two classes, both very unhappily fitted to give him useful advice. One class was composed of Britons, utterly unacquainted with the state of the country, unwarrantably relying on their own prowess, and foolishly presuming on the supposed pusillanimity of the colonists. The other class was composed of colonists who had embarked their all in British measures, were generally deceived themselves, and were strongly prompted by every motive to deceive him. When the expedition to Concord was planned, it is probable that neither General Gage, nor his advisers, expected the least attempt at resistance. This opinion was bandied through the whole party in Boston. At the same time were continually circulated fulsome panegyrics on the bravery of the British troops. Silly jests and contemptible sneers were also reiterated concerning the dastardly character of the colonists. All these were spread, felt, and remembered. The expedition to Concord refuted them all.

Concord, as has been observed, lies almost equally on both sides of the river to which it gives its name. The surface of the township is generally level and low, and the river remarkably sluggish. From these facts a traveler would naturally conclude that Concord must be unhealthy. The following statement will however prove this conclusion to be unsound.

In the year 1790, the township contained 1,590 inhabitants. Of these, seventy-five were seventy years of age, or upward.

From the year 1779 to 1791 inclusive, a period of thirteen years, 222 persons died. The greatest number in a single year was twenty-five, the least ten. The average number was seventeen. Of these, fifty-nine were more than seventy, thirty others more than eighty, and eight more than ninety, amounting in the whole to ninety-seven (out of 222) who passed the limit of seventy years. It is presumed, a more remarkable instance of health and longevity cannot be produced. Almost 7/17 of the whole number deceased have during this period reached the boundary of human life. It is scarcely to be imagined that even here a similar list will be furnished a second time. Yet the Rev. Mr. Ripley, minister of Concord, who kept this register, informed me that the state of health during this period did not, so far as he had observed, differ very materially from what was common.¹

1. Ezra Ripley (1751-1841), Harvard 1776, became pastor of the First Church in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1778. There he founded what was perhaps the first temperance society in the country. He was the stepfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson.



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and provisions from the country.



The events just described spread terror over the minds of some, indignation over others, and gloom over all; and predisposed them to new alarms. The death of several fellow citizens, in defence of their rights against British soldiers, was indeed a novel sight of fearful interest. The next day, April 20th, 1775, a messenger brought a report into town by way of Lincoln, that the regulars were again on their march to [Concord](#). For a while this was believed, and the most active preparations were made for their reception, by removing the women and children from the village and concealing them in remote parts of the town [Concord], and in the woods, the men parading under arms, determined to defend themselves or perish. After a few hours the report was contradicted, and the inhabitants returned to their homes.

Meantime the patriot-soldiers were continually marching to Concord from remote towns. On the 21st, 700 of them went into the meeting-house where prayers were offered up by the Rev. Mr. Emerson [the Reverend [William Emerson](#)], and an address made by the Rev. Mr. Webster of Salem. In the afternoon Mr. Emerson and several others went to Cambridge. Great commotion prevailed. The next day the town [Concord] was again alarmed. The minute companies paraded and marched to Cambridge; but finding no enemy, they returned. The Provincial Congress met here [Concord] on the 22d and orders were given to raise an army forthwith. These occurrences brought out the friends and opposers of liberty. Two or three individuals in town were yet inclined to toryism. It was not strange it should be so. It was a tremendous step to take up arms against the mother country; and, to say the



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least, the issue of the contest was doubtful. Men honestly differed in opinion as to the propriety of the measures of England, and others as to the proper course to be taken to obtain redress. Some had sworn allegiance to the King and were afraid they should break their oath. While entertaining such opinions they did not enter warmly into the popular cause. They were, however, sure to receive the unwelcome notice of the people. One individual, who had been a Selectman, was heard to say, "For myself I think I shall be neutral in these times;" and his name was immediately taken from the jury-box. The government was dictated by the force of public opinion. the town [Concord] assumed, in some respects, the authority of an individual community, - an independent republic. Its committee of correspondence met daily, and acted in a legislative, executive and judicial capacity. All suspicious persons were brought before it for trial, and, if found guilty were condemned. The people supported them in their decisions. The following is a copy of one of these sentences, and most remarkably shows the peculiar spirit of those times.

"We the subscribers, committee of correspondence for the town of [Concord](#), having taken into consideration the conduct of Dr. Lee of said town of late, are fully of the opinion, that he be confined to the farm his family now lives upon; and that, if he should presume to go beyond the bounds and should be killed, his blood be upon his own head. And we recommend to the inhabitants of the town, that, upon his conducting well for the future, and keeping his bounds, they by no means molest, insult or disturb him, in carrying on his common affairs on said farm.

Jonas Heywood
Ephraim Wood, Jr.
James Barrett, Jr. } *Committee of*
Joseph Hosmer *Correspondence.*
Samuel Whitney

"*Concord, April 26, 1775.*"

Dr. Lee was not set at liberty until June 4, 1776. His house was fired at several times by soldiers who passed through town; and so strong was the feeling against all tories, that he would probably had been killed, had he gone beyond his bounds. All his privileges were, however, restored to him. Dr. Lee's son, Jonas Lee, was a warm friend of liberty and for his son's sake many were restrained from committing outrages upon him. The estate of one individual only in [Concord](#), that of Daniel Bliss, Esq., was confiscated and sold by the government.²⁶

26. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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April 28, Friday: This would be a day to remember, for a [Concord](#) resident named Titus:

*Know all men by these presents that
For and in consideration of the sum of
Fifty three pounds six shillings and Eight
pence to me in hand well and truly –
paid by Jonas Heywood of Concord in
the County of Middlesex and Province of the
Massachusetts Bay in New England Yeoman
I Ann Prescott of Said Concord Widow
Have sold and by these presents do sell
And make over unto the Said Jonas my
named Titus*

JONAS HEYWOOD

*Negro man/servant's time of
Service During his Life to be
Wholly for the Service of the Said
Jonas Heywood his heirs and assigns
at the same time I do utterly give
up and relinquish unto the Said Jonas
all my right and title in Said Negro
declaring also that before and at the
time of this
Sale the Negro Man was mine by virtue of
My Late Husband's purchase – In Witness
whereof I have set my hand and seal to these presents
this 28 Day of April 1775 in the 28 year of his Majesty*

Witness

Daniel — ? —

Thomas Whiting

Ann Prescott

ANN PRESCOTT

THOMAS WHITING

THE HEYWOODS OF CONCORD

There were some 20 slaves in [Concord](#), including but not limited to the following 11 adult males:

- Philip Barrett, a slave of Colonel Barrett, who would march in July 1775, enlist in Captain Heald's company in 1779, serve a 6-month tour at West Point in 1780-1781, and never return to Concord
- Cato, a slave of Duncan Ingraham
- Bristo ([Brister Freeman](#)) and Jem, slaves of Doctor/Colonel [John Cuming](#). Bristo would serve under Colonel John Buttrick at Saratoga in 1777, see Burgoyne surrender, enlist again in 1779, return to Concord, be freed, settle atop Brister's Hill, and marry. He and his wife Fenda would be memorialized by Thoreau in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#).
- [Sippio Brister](#), a slave to the Hoar family. His burial site in Lincoln next to five British soldiers would be noted by Thoreau in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#).
- Caesar, a slave of Captain George Minot, who would serve 3 months during 1775-1776 and then sign for a 3-year enlistment in 1779, returning to Concord at the end of the war.
- Casey, a slave of Samuel Whitney, who would flee from his owner's son threats and snowballs to enlist in the army, achieve self-ownership, and return to Concord
- Frank, a slave of the Reverend [William Emerson](#)
- Caesar, a slave of Deacon Simon Hunt



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- Cato, a slave of Doctor Joseph Lee
- Titus, the slave of the widow Ann Prescott who was being sold in this year to Jonas Heywood, as above

May 1, Monday: The cattle, the “hey,” and a servant of Colonel Elisha Jones were “attached” by the American revolutionaries on account of his being a known loyalist.

The Committee of Safety ordered the students and faculty removed from [Harvard College](#), as the buildings and facilities were needed for use as headquarters, barracks, and hospitals by the citizen army that was being formed in Cambridge. [Concord](#), because of its protected inland location, was suggested as a suitable site for Harvard College in exile.

Whilst [Boston](#) was occupied with the British troops, in 1775, the poor endured great sufferings. In January and February 70 pounds in money, 225 bushels of grain, and a quantity of meat and wood were, at difference times contributed by [Concord](#) for their relief. May 1st, the provincial Congress ordered that they should be supported by the country towns; 66 were assigned to Concord, 32 to Acton, 29 to Bedford, and 29 to Lincoln. It appears, however, that 21 families containing 82 persons were supported here [Concord]. Eighty pounds was paid for them between May 13th and October.²⁷

The material on the following screen is by D. Michael Ryan, who functions as company historian for the present-day “Concord Minute Men” re-enactors and is an 18th Century historic interpreter with the National Park Service, in addition to being the Associate Dean of Students at Boston College:

Historically, Concord has been renowned for its events, people, ideas and literature. However, the fact that venerable Harvard College once existed for a year (1775-1776) within this town is little remembered. Harvard and Concord were not strangers. Town founders Peter Bulkeley and Simon Willard had sons graduate from the College. Citizens pledged monies to support the school’s beginnings and insure a source of ministers, lawyers and teachers. Local boys attended Harvard and annually selectmen visited the campus recruiting students (needing tuition money) to instruct at its schools. Many of the local ministers were Harvard graduates and these town-gown relations insured that during a period of educational and intellectual depression (late 17th/early 18th Century), Concord remained enlightened and updated. Following the 1775 fights at Lexington and Concord, an army formed in Cambridge needing buildings for headquarters, barracks and hospitals. On 1 May, the Committee of Safety ordered the students and faculty removed from Harvard College. The fledgling army’s needs increased with the battle of Bunker’s Hill and the July arrival of Gen. Washington as commander-in-chief. Tradition holds that at this time, Rev. [William Emerson](#)

27. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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(alumnus) while visiting the troops and school, offered the support of Concord as a site at which the College could resettle. Harvard officials accepted. Students (about 143) and faculty (about 10) were requested to gather in Concord on 4 October. Harvard settled into its new home. President Samuel Langdon resided at Dr. Timothy Minott's house (site later of Middlesex Hotel; now a park at town square); Professor Sewell at James Jones' (Bullet Hole House); Professor Wigglesworth at Bates/Anderson's (near present intersection of Old Bedford Rd./Bedford St.); Dr. and Mrs. John Winthrop at the Whitneys' (Wayside) or possibly at Capt. Stones' (west of Hildreth Corner on Barrett's Mill Rd. #222?). The College library was located in the Humphrey Barrett house (Monument Rd., halfway between the Manse and town square), while science apparatus remained with Dr. Winthrop. Students lodged some at taverns much to the faculty's dismay and some at private homes (unheated, unfurnished back rooms). Dr. Joseph Lee hosted 12 students (area near 38 Willard Rd.) including son Samuel '76. While it is certain that the core of the College was in Concord center, traditions located it at other sites. Due to the number of students at the Lee home, the Willard Farm area was thought to be the school's focal point. As the road near Annursnack Hill off Barrett's Mill Rd. contained cellars of former houses which might have hosted students, was used by students to walk local girls ("lover's lane") and was named College Road, it was believed to be the College's central location. However, recitations were held at the court house, meeting house and empty grammar school all in Concord center. Travel (1-5 miles) to these locations and the homes of faculty for instruction presented hardships especially in winter. Benefits and problems of hosting Harvard were shared by Concord. The state-of-the-art, unique College Clock was moved to town for public use as was the school's fire engine. Harvard boys courted local girls, wore their academic gowns to church and spent money. They also broke the windows of the meeting house and other buildings with snowballs. Of 26 Freshmen, the average age was 15 thus leading to maturity difficulties. Student illnesses, especially smallpox, were also of concern to the citizens. However, honor came to Concord in the form of Harvard conferring its first Doctor of Laws degree on Gen. Washington in April 1776. Once the British evacuated Boston (March 1776) and the American army vacated Cambridge, impatient students pressed for a return to campus. In June, Harvard College adjourned home and held its annual exercises for the 43 Seniors. Grateful College officials forwarded a letter of appreciation to the Concord people which included an apology for any "incivilities...of behavior...attributed to the inadvertence of youth." The broken windows were paid for and a sum of 10 Pounds voted to the town.



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While some of Concord's Class of '76 went on to greatness elsewhere (a governor, 2 state Chief Supreme Court Justices and Harvard's first professor of chemistry and materia medica), others returned to serve their host town. Dr. Isaac Hurd would be a physician; Jonathan Fay, an attorney; and in 1778 [Dr. Ezra Ripley](#) would return to be First Parish minister and marry Rev. Emerson's widow Phoebe. The Concord-Harvard connection continued. Alumnus and prominent Concordian John Cuming would leave money to the College to fund a professor in physics (beginnings of Harvard Medical School). Graduates, friends and townsmen Ralph Waldo Emerson (school's Hall of Philosophy named for him) and Henry David Thoreau would bring fame to themselves, Concord and Harvard. Daniel Chester French, Concordian and creator of the Minute Man statue, would sculpture the famous statue of John Harvard. Thus, once upon a year, Concord and Harvard College were one. The history, traditions and destinies of these noted institutions did and continue to enrich and educate our citizens and nation.²⁸

June: The first volume of Almon's REMEMBRANCER included a rather crude and inaccurate 10¹/₄ inch by 8¹/₄ inch map of the Boston area, including a portion of Chelsea to the north, Hog Island to the east, Dorchester to the south, and Cambridge Colleges to the west. Its value is that it situates the current military headquarters, camps, and lines, together with the principal roads connecting to Boston.

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) preached on the topic

“And shall not God avenge his own elect,”

to the effect that:

- before the slaughter the local fighters could be assured that they would win, because their hearts were pure and therefore an invincible God was on their side, and
- after the slaughter the local fighters could be assured that they had been right and righteous, and the people they had killed had been wrong and unsanctified in thus allowing themselves to be killed and had departed straight to Hell where they belonged, because it was not the flying lead but God's will which had struck down their foes.

—Who could imagine more minute thoughts?²⁹

28. In creating the above fulsome account, D. Michael Ryan relied upon the following source materials, themselves already very adequately fulsome:

[Harvard College in Concord](#), Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library

HISTORY OF CONCORD, MASS. by Lemuel Shattuck 1835

“The Sojourn of Harvard College in Concord” by Percy W. Brown, [Harvard Graduate Magazine](#) 1919

CONCORD: AMERICAN TOWN by Townsend Scudder 1947

CONCORD: CLIMATE FOR FREEDOM by Ruth R. Wheeler 1967

THE MEETING HOUSE ON THE GREEN by John Whittemore Teele 1985

29. Emerson, Amelia F., ed. DIARIES AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM EMERSON (1743-1776), MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN CONCORD / CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. (New printing 1972). It is said that after the April 19 skirmish the Reverend Emerson preached to some 700 men. Would this have been the occasion? During the “French and Indian” war George Washington had characterized the chaplains desired for his troops not in terms of religion but in terms of their usefulness to his command: “gentlemen of sober, serious and religious deportment, who would improve morale and discourage gambling, swearing, and drunkenness.” In this respect the Reverend William Emerson of Concord was a very ordinary and unexceptionable fellow belligerent who was manifesting quite the conventional, and convenient, “God is on our side” confusion between might and righteousness.



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July: In [Concord](#), the Reverend [William Emerson](#) preached on the text of ISAIAH 19:20

*“...for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors,
and he shall send them a savior, and a great one,
and he shall deliver them.”*



According to this reverend, if any Minuteman should desire to regard his commanding officer in the field as his Savior, he was welcome to do so. If any successful CO desired to channel for God, this minister of the Lord's gospel was at his beck and call.³⁰

WALDO'S RELATIVES

In July, 1775, the town [[Concord](#)] was required to furnish “37 pairs of shirts, breeches, and stockings, and 75 coats.” In January, 1776, Concord provided 20 blankets, Bedford 12, Acton 10, and Lincoln 14. In November, 1777, and at several other times, the town [Concord] voted to provide for the families of those engaged in the continental army. 1,210 pounds was paid for this purpose before September 1779.³¹

30. Emerson, Amelia Forbes., ed. DIARIES AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM EMERSON (1743-1776), MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN CONCORD / CHAPLAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. (New printing 1972). During the “French and Indian” war Colonel Washington had characterized the chaplains desired for his troops not in terms of religion but in terms of their usefulness to his command: “gentlemen of sober, serious and religious deportment, who would improve morale and discourage gambling, swearing, and drunkenness.” In this respect the Reverend [Emerson](#) of [Concord](#) was a very ordinary and unexceptionable fellow belligerent who was manifesting quite the conventional, and convenient, “God is on our side” confusion between might and righteousness.

It would come as a considerable shock and disappointment to this reverend when his Concord friend [John Cuming](#), who had been appointed the Brigadier General in charge of a regiment of reinforcements for the Canadian expedition, would decline the adventure. “Col. Cum’g resig’d his com!!!! His wife utterly ag. his going.”

31. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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December 18, Monday: There was one article of college equipment to be moved to [Concord](#) that required the formality of a recorded vote of the governors of [Harvard College](#). On this date a writ was issued to the Reverend [William Emerson](#) granting “full liberty to remove the College clock from Cambridge to Concord & put it up in the last mentioned Town, there to remain for the public benefit, so long as the College shall remain in said Town.”



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1776

Pert little [Mary Moody Emerson](#) came into her father the Reverend [William Emerson](#)'s study at the Manse in Concord without curtsying, so he whipped her. Her mother Madam [Phoebe Bliss Emerson](#) interceded, protesting that at less than two years of age she was as yet too young for such strict discipline, whereupon her father whipped her again. He was breaking the will of his wife and his child over whom he had charge, so that they could free themselves from original sin and prepare their souls for grace. This was an act of kindness, and responsibility. This was Christian stewardship. It hurt him far more than it did them.

WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF

June: When the minute company in which he was a private dissolved and its members joined new militia units, former private Charles Miles raised another company including 61 [Concordians](#). It would be this company which would march 250 miles to reinforce Fort Ticonderoga. Upon returning home, Charles would again be called to duty at Boston in 1777 and at Cambridge in 1778.

In this timeframe the Provincial army was seeking out experienced officers from prior wars. The Massachusetts General Court therefore designated Dr. [John Cuming](#) to be a brigadier general and ordered him with 3,000 troops to Fort Ticonderoga. Mistress Abigail Wesson Cuming opposed this, and the Reverend [William Emerson](#) found the doctor "very low in Spirits and exceedingly cast down." Dr. Cuming resigned this commission — to instead continue his work on the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, serve as representative to the General Court, and in 1779, to go as [Concord](#)'s delegate to the state constitutional convention in Cambridge to help write a constitution for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In Acton, Deacon Mark White of the local Baptist church was chosen to represent the town before the General Court at Boston.

"To Mr. MARK WHITE. — Sir, Our not being favored with the resolution of the Hon. House of Representatives, calling upon the several towns in this colony to express their minds with respect to the important question of American Independence, is the occasion of our not expressing our minds sooner; but we now cheerfully embrace this opportunity to instruct you on this important question. The subverting our constitution,



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the many injuries and unheard-of barbarities which these colonies have received from Great Britain, confirm us in the opinion, that the present age will be deficient in their duty to God, their posterity, and themselves, should they not form an American Republic. This is the only form of government we wish to see established. But we mean not to dictate. We freely submit this interesting affair to the wisdom of the honorable Continental Congress, who, we trust, are guided and directed in this important affair by the Supreme Governor of the world. And we instruct you, Sir, to give them the strongest assurance, that if they should declare America to be a free and independent republic, your constituents will support and defend the measure with their lives and fortunes."³²

32. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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June 11, Tuesday: The 2d Continental Congress formed a committee to draft a Declaration of our independency upon the British crown.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

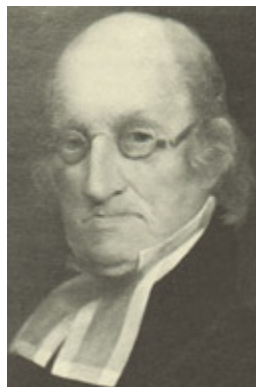
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

John Constable, who would become a landscape painter, was born.

With the army having evacuated and with [Boston](#) safely in the hands of revolutionary authorities, it was possible for the board of governors of [Harvard College](#) to instruct “That the President, tomorrow after Prayers, adjourn the College [from [Concord](#)] to Cambridge, there to meet & attend the usual exercises on Fryday [*sic*] the 21st Instant.”



The departing class consisted of 43 seniors. The Harvard overseers paid individual homeowners for windows that had been broken in the town by students, and in addition voted a sum of £10 to the town itself. Some of “Concord’s” Class of ’76 would go on to distinction: one state governor, two state Chief Supreme Court justices, Harvard’s 1st professor of chemistry and materia medica, Isaac Hurd who would become a medical doctor; Jonathan Fay who would become an attorney at law — and in 1778 student [Ezra Ripley](#) would return to be the minister of 1st Parish.



While at Harvard, student Ripley was being referred to as “Holy Ripley,” although he did not yet look much like the divine pictured above. After working as a schoolteacher in Plymouth, Massachusetts for about a year, he would study for the ministry with Jason Haven, the pastor in Dedham, Massachusetts, before returning to [Concord](#)’s 1st Parish Church as a Reverend — and marrying the Reverend [William Emerson](#)’s widow [Phoebe](#).³³



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August 16, Friday: [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would later declare that though she was still in her 3d year of life at the time, she could remember her father, the Reverend [William Emerson](#), standing in the doorway of the Old Manse and then riding away to war.

September 18, Wednesday: Disappointed at having been given no opportunity to hold prayer services or to preach to the revolutionary soldiers, and seriously ill of the “mongrell Feaver,” the Reverend [William Emerson](#) petitioned to be released from his military obligation at the military encampment at Fort Ticonderoga.



September 23, Monday: Released from his military obligation at the military encampment at Fort Ticonderoga and seriously ill of the “mongrell Feaver,” the Reverend [William Emerson](#) at this point reached the home of the Reverend Benajah Root in Rutland, Vermont.

33. A Scotsman, Archibald Campbell, had sailed into Boston harbor just after the British evacuated Boston, and he and all his men had been arrested. With the prisons in Boston already full, Campbell and one of his officers were held for a time in Concord. He complained to General Washington about the condition there. Later he would be exchanged for a British prisoner, Ethan Allen.



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October 20, Sunday: Fiume was transferred from Venice to Croatia.

The [Reverend William Emerson](#) died in Otter Creek, Vermont at the home of the minister at Rutland. At this early time there was a large barn with associated farmland across the road from what we now know as the “Old Manse” in Concord, which farm was being worked by three or more black slaves. There is a story that on his deathbed in Vermont the Reverend Emerson expressed a desire to free these slaves. Although it is unclear how the surviving family could have funded such a [manumission](#) except by its being a merely nominal one, it is a fact that two black men, named Caesar and Peter, would live across the road from the Old Manse for years. The body of the Reverend must have been buried at or near Rutland but no-one now knows exactly where.³⁴ The deceased left five children of whom one, [William Emerson, Junior](#), would become minister of the 1st Church (Old South Church) of Boston and father of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#), while another was [Mary Moody Emerson](#) — Waldo’s aunt “Polly” who had been “in arms” at the time of the Concord fight.

34. Eventually [Waldo](#) would go searching for his grandfather [William Emerson](#)’s grave and not be able to locate it. The brick tomb constructed to house his casket, close to the Old Manse and the North Bridge in Concord, has therefore always been empty, and the stone qualifies as a memorial rather than a gravestone.



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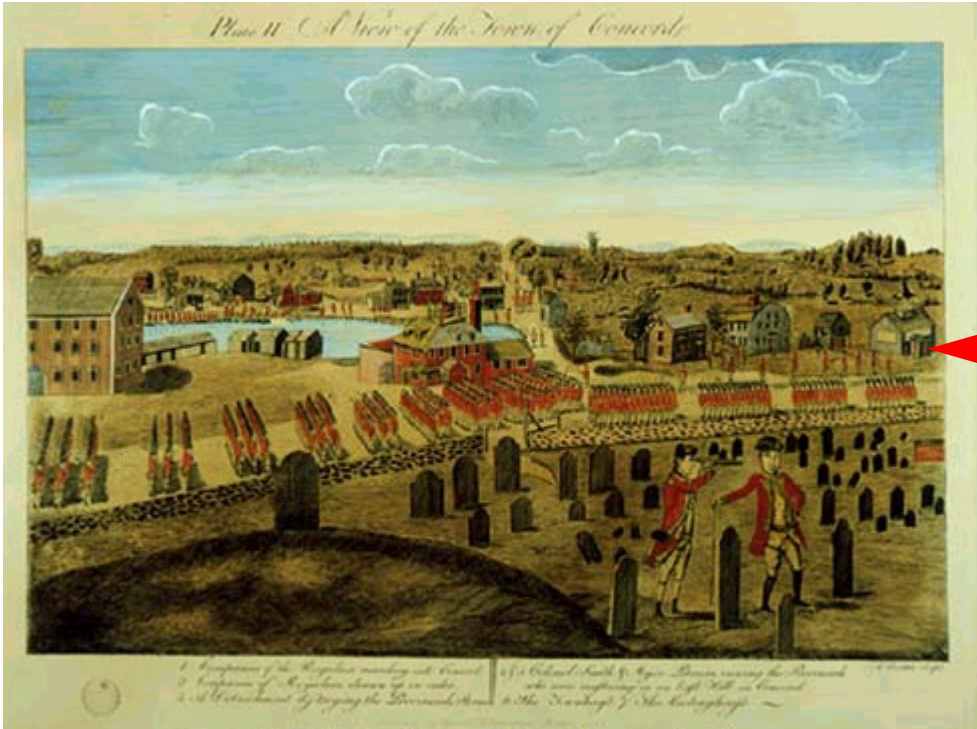
REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

WALDO'S
RELATIVES



There Mary is,
in her mother's
arms. —See?



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

December 25, [Christmas](#): Late in the night, General George Washington, General Henry Knox, and troops crossed the Delaware River in freezing winter weather to launch a surprise dawn attack on about a thousand British and Hessian mercenaries encamped at Trenton.³⁵ Washington's irregulars sneaking around was a grand victory for us and showed our bravery and determination, as soldiers who are fighting for a paycheck, such as these Hessian peasants, always fight real hard.³⁶



← **George Washington's sword
(in the above Leutze painting).**



Colonel Loammi Baldwin took his 26th Continental regiment of foot soldiers “on the expedition to Trentown.”

35. There was a claim, in our early Republic, that these Hessian mercenaries had brought with them in the straw of their bedding a pesky fly. It was certainly true that during the late 18th Century, a fly in the family *Cecidomyiidae*, the *Mayetiola destructor*, began to decimate wheat crops in America. Whether appropriately named or not, this has become more destructive to wheat in the United States than any other insect pest, and has also impacted our rye and barley crops. This fly is also now found in Canada, Europe, northern Africa, western Asia, and New Zealand.



36. In the famous Leutze painting, George Washington is depicted as standing up in a rowboat. This is imaginative, and was chosen by the painter over depicting Washington on horseback (the army ferried over the river not in rowboats, but in entirely unpicturesque high-sided barges). You will note a black soldier rowing the boat. The actual black person on the scene would have been Washington's manservant (slave) who traveled with him, but the myth that has developed is that this is a depiction of an African who had been an African prince and his parents had sent him to America to go to college. This was an actual person who actually was in that army, but it is not known that he was ever close to Washington. Of course, immediately that his ship had anchored in an American port, this actual person had been clapped into chains and sold as a slave. Over the course of the revolution he would regain his freedom but he would never return to Africa with his hard-won education in our School of Hard Knocks.



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In this regiment a company from Woburn MA was under the command of John Wood.



Just at this point the conscription practices of the Massachusetts General Court were being amended to exclude [Quaker](#) conscientious objectors who had been members of the religious society before April 19, 1775.



Some Quakers, however, terming themselves “Free Quakers,” affiliated themselves with the armed conflict, and there are some records of Friends in the [Boston](#) Meeting being accused of an unspecified “misconduct” which was probably the bearing of arms on one side or the other of the insurrection. The sympathies of some Friends lay with the revolutionaries, and the sympathies of others lay with established authority. During

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the hostilities, for instance, one Boston merchant, Friend Daniel Silsbe or Silsbury, emigrated to London.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

While General Washington was able to take advantage of the proclivity of these Hessian mercenary soldiers to make full use of alcoholic beverages during these [Christmas](#) celebrations, becoming not only dissolute but also unwatchful, a scanning of the ministerial diaries of the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Concord](#) –which he had been keeping since 1764– offers us not one single solitary mention of any [Christmas](#) celebration whatever.



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

1777

September 14, Sunday: There was a day of fasting and prayer in [Concord](#), as the 1st Parish Church [1ST PARISH CHURCH](#) members there prepared to choose a new minister to replace their deceased reverend, [William Emerson](#).

Deacon Simon Hunt was moderator of the church, from the death of Mr. Emerson to the ordination of his successor. Committees of the church and town were chosen to supply the pulpit, as had been the case at similar times before; and a day of fasting and prayer was kept, September 14, 1777, in commemoration of the death of their late pastor, and preparatory to the choice of another.³⁷

37. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

1778

May 11, Sunday: In [Concord](#), the 1st Parish Church members chose [Ezra Ripley](#) as their new minister to replace the deceased reverend, [William Emerson](#).

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

June 1, Monday: People were trying to kill each other at Cobbleskill, New York.

The voters of the town of [Concord](#) concurred in the choice of its 1st Parish Church members, in electing the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#) as the new town minister, to fill the shoes of the deceased Reverend [William Emerson](#).

On the 11th of May, 1778, Mr. [Ezra Ripley](#) was unanimously chosen pastor on the part of the church, in which the town concurred on the 1st of June following, 94 to 1. He was ordained, November 11, 1778. In the religious services on the occasion, the Rev. Josiah Bridge of E. Sudbury made the first prayer; the Rev. Jason Haven of Dedham preached from 2 Timothy ii. 2; the Rev. Josiah Dana of Barre "prayed after sermon"; the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford "prayed before and gave the charge"; and the Rev. Jonas Clark of Lexington gave the right hand of fellowship. The council was composed of these gentlemen, and delegates from their respective churches; and also the churches of the Rev. Eli Forbes of Gloucester, the Rev. Peter Thatcher of Malden, the Rev. Jonathan Newell of Stow, and the Rev. Moses Adams of Acton. The town agreed to give Mr. Ripley £550 currency as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary, founded on the prices of articles of produce, — rye at 4s. per bushel, corn at 3s.; beef at 2½d. per pound, and pork at 4d.; the salary to rise and fall according to the variation of the prices of these articles. He was also to enjoy all the ministerial perquisites, and to be provided with 30 cords of firewood. A salary thus established was found to be attended with much uncertainty; and some years to fall short of £100. This was the occasion of much embarrassment. The town ascertained that the real value of the £550, when paid, was but £40, and the first year's salary £41; and in 1785, £200 were specially granted to make up the deficiency. In 1793, £100 were

Reverend William Emerson

"Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project



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also granted. In 1812 the contract was very properly altered; and instead of this uncertain income it was agreed to give him \$750 as his permanent salary, which, with his firewood, estimated at \$100, and the perquisites \$15, gave him the annual salary of \$865. At the ordination of his colleague, in 1830, he relinquished \$250 of his salary and 10 cords of wood.³⁸

38. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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1789

The church in Lincoln voted that the reading of the psalm by line, after it has been once distinctly read, be discontinued.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, Asa Brooks, and Jacob Brown were Selectmen.

Joseph Hosmer of [Concord](#) was a Senator.

In [Concord](#), Elnathan Jones was Town Treasurer.

Duncan Ingraham was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

John Merrick practiced law in [Concord](#).

Prior to this year in [Concord](#), the Town Constables acted as Collectors. Subsequently, this would be a separate town office.

The town bell that [Concord](#) had procured from Hanover, weighing 500 pounds, had broken, and in this year another bell was ordered from England. This one would last until 1826.

The seven independent school "societies" in the several "quarters" or neighborhoods of [Concord](#) (East



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Quarter, Merriam's Corner, South Quarter, West Quarter and Factory Village, Barrett's Mill, Bateman's Pond, North Quarter and Monument Street) were at this point sanctioned by law and became official [Town School](#) districts.

[William Emerson](#) of [Concord](#), only son of the Reverend [William Emerson](#), graduated from [Harvard College](#). He would become, like his father, a minister.



“Four of his sons, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, and Charles Chauncey, would be graduated at [Harvard College](#) with distinguished rank.” (This seems something of an exaggeration, as we know that Waldo was not particularly distinguished in his standing in the Class of 1789. Another error of lesser import in the following account, is that the Reverend William Emerson would die on May 12th, rather than May 11th, in 1811.)

WILLIAM EMERSON [of [Concord](#)], only son of the Rev. William Emerson, was born May 6, 1769, and graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1789. He was ordained at Harvard May 23, 1792, but was dismissed on being called to a greater field of usefulness, and was installed over the First Church in [Boston](#), October 16, 1799, where he obtained a distinguished reputation for talents, literary acquirements and piety. He died May 11, 1811, aged 42. His History of the Church, a posthumous publication, and the Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 256, (Second Series) contain full notices of his character, to which the reader is referred. Four of his sons, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, and Charles Chauncey, were graduated at [Harvard](#)



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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[College](#) with distinguished rank.³⁹Treasurers of [Carlisle](#)

ALL CONCORD COLLEGE GRADS

| | |
|------------------|-----------|
| Samuel Heald | 1780-1785 |
| Simon Blood, Jr. | 1786-1788 |
| Samuel Green | 1789-1803 |
| Nathan Green | 1804-1819 |
| Nathan Green | 1820-1828 |
| John Nelson | 1829— |

39. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

1826



[Concord](#)'s Orthodox meeting-house was constructed, making it much more convenient to “get it” in Concord:



July 20, 1859: ... P. M.—To Eddy Bridge.

Abel Hosmer says that the Turnpike Company did not fulfill their engagement to build a new bridge over the Assabet in 1807; that the present stone bridge was not built till about the time the Orthodox meeting-house was built. (That was in 1826.) Benjamin says it was built soon after the meeting-house, or perhaps 1827, and was placed some fifty feet higher up-stream than the old wooden one.

CONCORD
ZOOM
MAP

According to Alfred Munroe's CONCORD AND THE TELEGRAPH (22 pages, read before the Concord Antiquarian Society on January 6, 1902), in this year [Harrison Gray Dyar](#) of [Concord](#) preceded the portrait painter Samuel F.B. Morse by many, many years in the invention of the electric telegraph in America, in that allegedly he and his brother Joseph strung a bare iron wire from tree to tree a half-mile along the “Causeway” in Concord, Massachusetts (this would later be called Lowell Road, and Red Bridge Road). According to Colonel William Whiting of Concord, they strung the wire over the Concord River at Hunt's Bridge all the way to the Curtis residence. They employed apothecary vials as glass insulators.



The sparks generated by the electrical current were recorded at the destination on a spool of moistened litmus paper that was being revolved mechanically by a clockwork apparatus. Sparks left red marks on the litmus paper, marks that could be interpreted to indicate letters of the alphabet.

A monument to the memory of the Reverend [William Emerson](#) was erected in [Concord](#).

The Rev. [WILLIAM EMERSON](#), son of the Rev. [Joseph Emerson](#), of Malden, was born May 21, 1743, and graduated at [Harvard College](#) in 1761. His father was the son of Edward Emerson of Chelmsford, and grandson of the Rev. [Joseph Emerson](#) of Mendon, who married a daughter of the Rev. Edward Bulkeley, and died in Concord, January 3, 1680. His mother was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel



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Moody of York. The Rev. Joseph Emerson of Pepperell, and John Emerson of Conway, were his brothers. The Rev. William Emerson was pastor of the church in Concord about ten years. His ardent love for his country, as a "high son of liberty," prevailed on him to contribute, by his intellectual and personal services at home and abroad, in the great conflict of the American Revolution. On the 16th of August, 1776, he left his people with their consent, his church, his friends and all the endearments of domestic life, to join the army at Ticonderoga as chaplain. He continued in office till advised by his physicians to resign on account of ill health, and was discharged by General Gates, September 18. He commenced his return home, but, his disease increasing, he could not proceed. He stopped at the Rev. Benajah Root's, of Rutland, on Otter Creek, where he remained suffering under a severe bilious fever, till his death, which took place at 5 o'clock on Sunday morning, October 20, at the age of 33. He was interred there with the honors of war by a detachment from Colonel Vandyke's regiment, commanded by Major Shepard. His last sickness was borne with great composure, resignation, and Christian fortitude. He often spoke of the endearing kindness of his people toward him, and the pleasure he should enjoy, if it were the will of God, to give him opportunity to show his gratitude by exerting himself more vigorously for their good. When the hour of dissolution seemed to be near, he appeared like one waiting "to depart and be with Christ." The regret, apparent in all existing records, that he should be prematurely cut off in his promising career of usefulness, evinces the esteem of the society of which he was pastor. Mr. Emerson's personal appearance was pleasing and prepossessing; his manners familiar and gentlemanly; his conversation communicative and facetious, though not inconsistent with his ministerial character; in his preaching he was popular, eloquent, persuasive, and devotional, adapting himself, with remarkable ease, to all circumstance and occasions; and his doctrine was evangelical. "Fervency of spirit," ardent zeal, love of his profession and his people, characterized all his performances. A monument was erected by the town to his memory in 1826, on which his character is delineated as "enthusiastic, eloquent, affectionate, and pious; he loved his family, his people, his God, and his country. And to this last he yielded the cheerful sacrifice of his life." Mr. Emerson married Phebe, daughter of the Rev. Daniel Bliss, August 21, 1766, by whom he had William (noticed among the college graduates), Hannah Bliss, Phebe, Mary Moody, and Rebecca. His widow married the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#), November 16, 1780, and died, February 16, 1825, aged 83, having had by him two sons and a daughter.⁴⁰

The town bell that [Concord](#) had procured from England in 1789 was replaced in this year by another one, weighing 1,572 pounds.

In 1667, a new meeting-house was ordered to be built, to stand between the present house and Deacon Jarvis's. It was nearly



REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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square and had a gallery. The lower floor had a few pews on the out side; and the remainder was filled with seats. The roof was square and ornamented with four projections on the sides, resembling luthern windows or gable ends, having a window in each. In the centre was a "turret," or cupola, in which the bell was hung. On the spire was a vane in which was cut "1673," the date of the completion of the house.

Arrangements were made in 1710, after several meeting and considerable discussion, for building another house. It was 60 feet long, 50 wide, and 28 "stud"; had no pews till some time after it was built, and then only by special vote of the town, as a favor to distinguished individuals; two galleries; no porches nor turret; and was completed in 1712 at an expense of £608. This house was several times repaired. In 1749 pews were built around the lower floor, and some in the lower gallery.

January 31, 1791, the town voted to enlarge and repair the house in its present [1835] form. It is 72 feet long, 50 wide, and 28 high; and has three porches, a spire 90 feet high, and square pews on the lower floor, and by the walls in the gallery. Builders, Abner Wheeler and Reuben Bryant; expense, £924. It was dedicated January 24, 1792, when the Rev. Dr. Ripley preached a sermon, which was printed.⁴¹

40. The [Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) of Boston kindly loaned me a concise private journal kept by his grandfather, from January, 1775 to August, 1776; and several letters to his wife written at Cambridge and at the Northward; which, beside detailing some important historical facts, are remarkable for their easy, sprightly style. The Rev. Mr. Roots addressed a letter to the church, giving an account of his last sickness. A notice of his character appeared in the Boston Gazette, November 4, 1776.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity

with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)

41. Ibid.



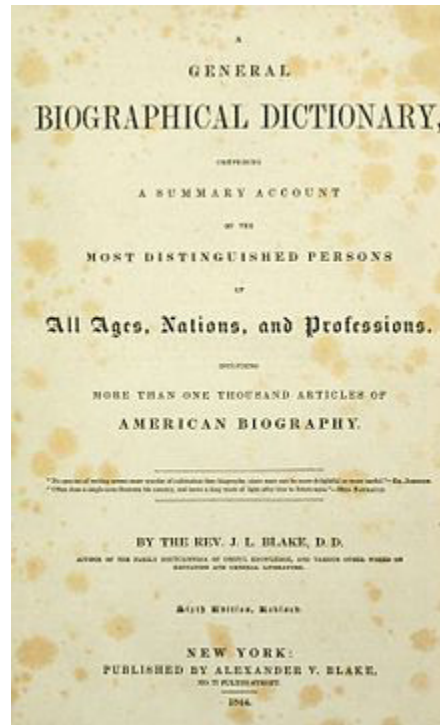
REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON

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1856

The [Reverend John Lauris Blake, D.D.](#)'s FIRST BOOK IN ASTRONOMY, FIRST BOOK IN NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, FIRST READER, and A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY; COMPRISING A SUMMARY OF THE LIVES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONS OF ALL AGES NATIONS, AND PROFESSIONS, INCLUDING MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND ARTICLES OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY (Philadelphia: H. Cowperthwait & co.).

A copy of this biographical dictionary has been found in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#). We don't seem to have a record of what use he might have made of it — but we do have electronic text on an 1859 edition of the volume.



BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

This source contains for instance the following information:

BROOKS, Eleazer, a Brigadier-General, was born in Concord, Mass., in 1726. Although without the advantages of education, he acquired a valuable fund of knowledge. It was his practice in early life to read the most approved books, and then converse with the most intelligent men respecting them. In 1774 he was chosen a representative to the General Court, and continued 37 years in public life — being successively a Representative, a member of the Senate, and of the Council. He took a decided part in the American Revolution. At the head of a regiment he was engaged in the battle of White Plains, in 1776, and



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distinguished himself by his cool, determined bravery. In the year 1801, he withdrew from public life to the enjoyment of the tranquil scenes of domestic life. He died in 1806, aged 80.

EMERSON, William, a minister of Boston, graduated at Harvard College in 1789, was ordained minister of Harvard in 1792, and in 1799 was installed pastor of the first church in Boston. In 1804 he was one of the conductors of a literary journal called The Monthly Anthology. He died in 1811, aged 42. He published a number of Sermons, and a History of the First Church in Boston, 8vo.

WILLARD, Samuel, Vice President of Harvard College, born at Concord, Massachusetts, January 31, 1640, was a son of Simon Willard, a man of considerable distinction. He graduated at Harvard College in 1659. From 1663 to 1676 he was a minister in the town of Groton; but having been driven hence by the hostilities of the Indians, he was, April 10, 1678, settled as a colleague of Mr. Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Upon the resignation of President Mather, he, as Vice President, assumed the superintendence of Harvard College, which duty he continued to discharge until his death, September 12, 1707, aged 68. He possessed a rich imagination, quick and accurate perception, and extensive intellectual resources. He was a clear and profound disputant, a zealous champion of the cause of truth, as well as a fervent, devoted Christian, and strove to dispel, with all the strength of his judgment and the warmth of his heart, the fatal witchcraft delusion. He published three funeral sermons; two election sermons; three fast-day sermons; and twenty-five occasional sermons. In 1726, a folio volume was published, entitled, A Body of Divinity, in two hundred and fifty expository lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, which was the first work on divinity published in America, and is considered to be a very meritorious production.

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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1932

Summer: Leslie Perrin Wilson of the Concord Free Public Library has commented on this account in her IN HISTORY'S EMBRACE: "Sometime between 1862 and 1906, perhaps around the time of the 1875 anniversary celebration of the Concord Fight, the Whipping Post Elm had been transformed into a memorial of April 19, 1775. But its metamorphosis didn't stop there. In the early 1930s, the tree was specifically connected with one of Concord's heroes of the Revolution. In the summer of 1932, souvenirs made from pieces of the "Emerson Elm" — so called because it was said to have been planted by the Reverend William Emerson, grandfather of Concord's famous philosopher, author, and lecturer— were advertised for sale at Richardson Drug and The Concord Herald office. At this point, those who knew Concord history and were familiar with its documentation started to wonder how the Whipping Post Elm had become the Emerson Elm.... The evidence strongly suggests that Keyes's dating of the planting of the Whipping Post Elm was inaccurate, and that William Emerson's alleged role in the event was the invention of later Concordians who hoped to capitalize on the tree's mystique. And what about its use as Concord's whipping post? The only honest answer to this question is 'Maybe.' Stocks, pillory, and whipping post were certainly used by our Puritan predecessors in New England to punish misbehavior, and were typically located centrally, on town commons. It is possible that the Great Elm on Monument Square served a penal purpose. But the fact remains that no primary source documents the tree's planting and use as a whipping post. The town records from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth century are silent on the subject. Furthermore, Prescott Keyes was correct in pointing out to Allen French that the tree was probably no longer used, or at least much used, as a whipping post between 1790 and 1820, when physical punishment fell into disfavor and was replaced by imprisonment." (pages 14-17)

WILLIAM EMERSON

"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: October 8, 2014



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.



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