

### RE-DEDICATION

OF THE

# OLD STATE HOUSE,

BOSTON.

JULY 11TH, 1882.



Boston:

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.



### RE-DEDICATION OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE.

The five-years' lease of the Old State House expired July 1, 1881. In anticipation of that event it was suggested that the historic interest of the building was so great that it might be desirable to retain the control of, at least, the upper part floor of the building for public uses, and to restore the whole edifice to the appearance it wore a century ago. The City Council, after considerable discussion, voted to appropriate the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars for repairs on the building, putting the charge, as usual, in the hands of the Committee on Public Buildings, of which Alderman William Woolley was chairman in 1881 and 1882.

The work proved greater than was anticipated; but on June 29, 1882, the committee was able to announce the substantial completion of their labors (see City Doc. 100), and to invite the City Council to attend at the formal transfer of the building to His Honor the Mayor, on Tuesday, July 11. Accordingly, on the forenoon of that day, the following proceedings took place, which are now published by order of the City Council.

The ceremonies were held in the East Hall, occupied in colonial times by the Governor and Council, afterwards by the State Senate, and from 1830 to 1840 by the Board of Aldermen. Portraits of the old governors, Winthrop, Endicott, Bellingham, and Burnet, were kindly loaned for the occasion, by direction of Hon. Robert R. Bishop, President of the Senate. The Massachusetts Historical Society loaned portraits of Governors Belcher, Joseph Dudley, and Hutchinson. The Public Library contributed a caricature of Governor Gage, and engravings of Governors Pownall and Andros also hung upon the walls.

In the West Hall, formerly occupied by the House of Representatives, and later by the Common Council, were the superb portraits of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, owned by the city, and Stuart's portrait of Josiah Quiney, Jr., the patriot. Other interesting pictures and engravings adorned the various rooms. The orator of the day delivered his address from the Speaker's desk used in the old House of Representatives, and now owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of Alderman Woolley, chairman of the committee, the assemblage was called to order by Alderman Hersey, who spoke as follows:—

## Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the City Council, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

You are assembled here to-day to receive the report of the committee to whom was assigned the duty of renovating and restoring the Old State House. The work is completed, of which you have

the evidence before you, and I am happy to say it has been done within the estimates and appropriation.

The work of restoration has not been accomplished except by much expenditure of time and thought in delving among old documents for evidences of what the building was in its early days; and it presents to-day, both as its to exterior and interior, substantially the same appearance that it did in those early days of its history when the noble men, whose portraits look down upon us here, walked these streets, and to the gathered citizens within these historic walls spoke the patriotic words of counsel that incited them to deeds of noble daring in defence of national liberty, and made this country a free republic.

It would seem proper that in dedicating this building to purposes akin to those for which it was originally designed, we should seek the Divine favor. I therefore will request the Rev. Dr. Rufus Ellis, pastor of the First Church, to ask a blessing. It would seem appropriate and fitting that he, the pastor of the church which in its early days was located in this immediate vicinity, should thus officiate. You will please give your attention while the Rev. Dr. Ellis asks a blessing.

#### PRAYER BY RUFUS ELLIS, D.D.

O God of our fathers, our dwelling-place in all generations, we thank Thee for our goodly heritage. Not without Thee would we come together. Obedient to Thy voice do we remember the days of old. It is our desire and prayer that by these renewals and restorations we may so strengthen the things that remain, and so bind together our best and most precious hopes, and our dearest memories, that we shall grow thereby in all sweet humanities, and our city be, indeed, as a city set upon a hill whose light cannot be hid, whose light shall shine in praise and works that are just and merciful.

We pray Thee that this ancient house may be forever a common possession, a common joy, and a common pride of all those whose homes and places of daily toil are centred about it, and may it be a memorial to them that they are citizens of no mean city. So may the Lord keep the city; so may its walls be salvation and its gates praise; and so for the abundance of righteousness and love within its borders may all the walls that are builded by human hands be consecrated, and may this be to us at last, in the brighter and better and holier days, that city of our God, of which it is written, I saw no temple therein: and for the light that shines upon all and upon the house may there be nothing uncommon or unclean.

We pray this prayer unto Thee in His name who bids us render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's, and, in the words which He hath taught us, may we with one heart and one voice say unto Thee: Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

Alderman Hersey. — Ladies and gentlemen, perhaps to one member of the city government more than all others is due the credit of whatever success has attended the restoration of this building. I allude to that member whose duty and pleasure it will be to address you on this occasion. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you William H. Whitmore, member of the Common Council from Ward 12.



### ADDRESS OF WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, ESQ.

### Fellow-members of the City Council: —

We are gathered here to-day to re-dedicate a building already hallowed by the patriotic contests of previous generations. We are to strengthen a link in that chain of our history which connects those who resisted the despotism of the Stuarts with those who rebelled against the misgovernment of the mother country, and again with those who so lately fought for the preservation of the unity of the nation. We are to remember that we are henceforth the custodians not only of Faneuil Hall and the Old South, so universally known at the present day, but also of that older and still more revered spot, which, after a temporary neglect and decay, is now to stand preeminent among all the buildings in the land.

I will endeavor to set forth, within a reasonable compass, the claims of the Old State House to be the spot most intimately associated with the history of liberty in this Commonwealth, and the right of the present building to assume to be, not the representative of departed glories, but their actual and existing monument, — never obliterated, never changed in any

essential degree, — as fit to-day as it was a century ago to be the glorious theatre of immortal events.

When our forefathers established this town they found that Nature had apparently marked this spot for a centre of the new settlement. A little projection, of which our State street is the ridge, divided the coves lying north and south. The land reached then as far as Kilby street on the one side, and Merchants' Row on the other. On the north the Town Dock, now covered by Quincy Market and even by streets farther inland, reached to the slopes of Copp's Hill. On the south a cove, occupying Liberty square and its vicinity, severed Fort Hill from approach, except on the line of Franklin street. Directly in the range of this point the lofty height of Beacon Hill towered above the narrow plain, through which Washington street and Court street were to be stretched. Along the banks of these coves, and in the low lands between the three hills of Trimont, the houses of the little settlement were soon closely clustered:

Here, on the site since occupied by Brazier's building, was placed the first meeting-house, wherein from the beginning the townsmen met to consult also upon temporal affairs.

In front of the meeting-house was a lot set apart for a market-place as early as 1634, and definitely recognized as such in the Book of Possessions in 1645. It was, as it now is, the land enclosed by the two arms of the street, and its dimensions have never been lessened. On the southerly side of State street Capt. Robert Keayne lived, on the corner of our Washington street, with two neighbors between him and the meeting-house, while Elder Leverett and two others owned the remaining lots. On the north side of State street John Cogan had built the first shop in Boston, on the corner of Washington street; and down the street were the lots of Rev. John Wilson and seven others. Opposite, on Washington street, John Leverett lived on the corner, with Richard Parker south and west.

Such were the first surroundings of this site, until, in 1640, the meeting-house, "being decayed and too small," was sold, and a new one was built on the site since occupied by Joy's Building. In the meeting-house "the general and great quarter courts are kept," wrote Lechford in 1640. That is to say, our incipient Legislature and primitive courts of law were there held; as, of necessity, must have been convened all town meetings. At that time there were about two hundred and fifty householders in Boston, representing a population of some fifteen hundred persons.

For more than a quarter of a century from the set-

tlement of the town this provision was sufficient. But in 1656 Capt. Keayne died, and his will proved that for years he had been devising benefits for his fellow-townsmen. Keayne was one of the founders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. His controversy, in 1642, with Mrs. Sherman, about a stray pig, had brought the two houses of the magistrates and deputies to such disputes that they had resolved to sit in different chambers. He was a merchant, and had been severely disciplined by the church for trying to make a profit on his ventures beyond the amount which the clergy thought proper.2 We need not suspect Capt. Keayne of extortion, for theologians of that date had hardly escaped from the belief that all interest was usury and all profit a breach of Christian charity. Our merchant, however, submitted to discipline, and was restored to popular favor, being elected to the Legislature, and otherwise employed by the town. For three years before his death he had been writing with his own hand that enormous will of one hundred and fifty-eight folio pages, now preserved on our probate records, by which he disposed of some four thousand pounds, — an enormous fortune in those days. Writing laboriously and carefully, evidently desiring that his money should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Winthrop, ii., 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Winthrop, i., 315.

be wisely expended, Keayne planned various ways of aiding his fellow-townsmen. One-half of his estate went to his son, the other to public uses. Three hundred pounds was for the Town-house; one hundred for the granary; fifty to the free school; fifty to the poor of his church; one hundred to Harvard College; somewhat to the Artillery Company; many legacies to relatives, friends, and servants,— a whimsical, generous, pathetic will, full of a desire to do good according to the best of his light.

But the town of Boston was to receive one gift which would endure even to this day. Three hundred pounds were to be laid out in building a conduit and a market-place, "with some convenient room or two for the Courts to meet in both in summer and winter, and so for the Townsmen and Commissioners in the same building or the like, and a convenient room for a library, and a gallery, or some other handsome room for the elders to meet in; also a room for an armory." There was to be a room for merchants, masters of ships, and strangers, as well as townsfolk. All this, with much repetition and amendment, is set forth in the will; and the main part endured.

In February, 1656-7, the Selectmen began to take action respecting the legacy, and at the town-meeting in March, 1657, "Capt [Thomas] Savage, Mr [Anthony] Stoddard, Mr [Jeremy] Houchin and

Mr Ed[ward] Hutchinson" were chosen a committee "to consider of the modell of the towne house to bee built, as concerning the charge thereof, and the most convenient place; as also to take the subscriptions of the inhabitants to propagate such a building; and seasonably to make report to a publick townes meeting." Keayne had suggested Mr. [Thomas] Broughton and Mr. [John] Clarke, the chirurgeon, as good persons to devise a plan; but these others were trusted citizens.

Exactly when the first Town-house was completed and occupied does not appear by the records.

May 19, 1658, the General Court passed the following order (Rec., iv., p. 327):—

"In answer to the request of the Select men of Boston, the court judgeth it meet to allow unto Boston, for and towards the charges of their town house, Boston's proportion of one single country rate for this year ensuing, provided that sufficient rooms in the said house shall be forever free, for the keeping of all Courts, and also that the place underneath shall be free for all inhabitants in this jurisdiction to make use of as a market for ever, without payment of any toll or tribute whatsoever."

The Selectmen of Boston voted March 28, 1659, that no one should smoke or bring a fire or match under or about the Town-house except in case of military exercise; so that the building was probably then ready.

Feb. 28, 1660-61, a settlement was ordered with Thomas Joy and partner "for the building of the towne-house stayre cases and Conduit" by paying therefor six hundred and eighty pounds, deducting what had been paid.

Oct. 9, 1667, the Legislature ordered "the necessary full and suitable repair of the Town and Court House in Boston, founded by the late Captain Robert Keayne," one-half of the expense to be paid by the country, one-quarter by the country of Suffolk, one-quarter by the town of Boston. May 31, 1671, they ordered on the same terms, "by a firm whole wall to the bottom of the braces, with brick or stone to repair the Court or Town House, so that all inconveniences by rotting the timbers &c. be prevented."

The form of this first Town-house is, of course, a matter of conjecture. Josselyn, who was here in 1663, says, in his account printed three years later, that there is in Boston "a Town House built upon pillars, where the Merchants may confer; in the Chambers above, they keep their monthly Courts."

John Dunton, in 1686, merely repeats the same words. From items in the town records it seems that Richard Taylor hired the shop under the stairs at the west end of the Town-house in 1661, and in 1669 he obtained an extension of his term for sixty-one years. In 1666 Robert Gibbs obtained a lease

of the cellar under the Town-house; and in 1664 Thomas Lake and Hezekiah Usher seem to have been in possession of the east end of the cellar. In 1678 Samuel Shrimpton bought out Lake's interest from his widow, and obtained an extension of the lease for thirty-nine years.

We may therefore safely assume that the building was raised on pillars, with a flight of steps at each end, the lower floor partly partitioned off for shops, leaving a large space for the daily exchange. As early as 1664 a bell was ordered to be rung at eleven o'clock every working day, to give notice of the assembling there for one hour of merchants, strangers, and inhabitants. In 1683 it was voted "that a note set up under the Town House upon one of the pillars, concerning the price of wheat, shall be sufficient notice to the bakers to size their bread by, according to law."

Upstairs there would be, of necessity, two rooms, one for the Governor and Council, the other for the Representatives. Naturally there would be also some anterooms; and we cannot doubt that even the first building covered about all the ground in the present lot. In fact, the French map by Franquelin, made in 1693, shows the space occupied by the Town-house to be as large as the present ground.

Sewall records (Diary, i., 458), that on September

8, 1697, "the Governour and Council first meet in the Council Chamber, as it is now fitted with ceiling, Glazing, Painting, new Floor that brings it to a Level; New Hearth even with it." This meeting was made noteworthy by the announcement by Col. Pierce that limestone had been discovered at Newbury,—a matter of the highest importance, as, up to that time, the colonists had been obliged to burn oyster-shells for lime.

The other portions of Keayne's plans did not prove so permanent. In 1684 and in 1695 mention is made of the Town's Library; but it was perhaps lost in the fire, 1711. As to his conduit we know that it failed in some twelve years.

It was doubtless to be constructed in imitation of the structures then common in England. "They are a kind of stone eage or cap, under cover of which the conduit pipe rises to the top and then lets down its stream; sometimes openly (the cap being a cage), sometimes unseen, to a reservoir near the bottom." The waste-water was allowed to escape by paved gutters, or otherwise to seek the earth. Doubtless Captain Keayne expected to utilize the springs near his house as a supply of water for daily use, and "especially in case of fire." But such open

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prof. William Everett has kindly furnished the above description from his observation.

streams were unsuited to this climate; and that feature of English towns could not be imitated here. In March, 1672, it was voted that, as the work "by the Providence of God hath not proved so useful as was expected and desired," by an agreement with the overseers of Keayne's will, "liberty was given to Nicholas Page to take away the bricks belonging to the conduit, and to fill the place even with the ground."

The first building stood from 1658 to 1711, when it was burned in a terrible conflagration. In it presided Governors Endicott, Bellingham, Leverett, and Bradstreet, under the old charter; Andros, under the orders of King James; and Phips, Stoughton, Bellomont, and Joseph Dudley under the new charter. Through many perils—from Indian foes, from English tyranny, and from domestic treachery—the settlement steadily increased in population and wealth during these fifty-three years. It is estimated by Shattuck that the population of Boston was, in A.D. 1680, four thousand five hundred persons; in A.D. 1700, six thousand seven hundred persons; in A.D. 1710, nine thousand persons.

At one time, indeed, in 1689, this Town-house was the centre of a revolution. In April of that year the colonists, inspired by the news that William of

Orange had landed in England, took the desperate resolve to rebel against King James and his governor here. It was a rash venture; but it succeeded. Within the previous year Andros, a veteran soldier of large experience, had constructed on the neighboring height a fortification, which gave its name to Fort Hill. He had royal troops under his command, and a man-of-war was anchored off the shore. But the leaders of the people assembled at the Townhouse in Boston, supported by the bold and resolute freemen of the colony, and in a single day the royal authority was overthrown. It should be forever remembered that, although a like success in England at the same time secured the immunity of these Bostonians, still the actors were then ignorant of that event, and for at least a month they were open and avowed rebels. Nor can it be doubted that the whole course of our history was immensely influenced by the fact that, when William and Mary ascended the throne, they found the colony of Massachusetts so far distinguished from other colonies as to have fought independently for its rights. This old Town-house was the first shrine of liberty; and every subsequent act can be clearly shown to be the natural and logical consequence of that first uprising of a free people.

As the centre of the town, this old hall must have

witnessed many stirring scenes. Thus we find it recorded that on May 14, 1692, Sir William Phips arrived, the first governor under the Second or Provincial Charter. Sewall writes (Diary, i., 360), "Sir William arrives in the Nonsuch Frigat: Candles are lighted before he gets into Town-house. Eight Companies wait on Him to his house, and then on Mr. Mather to his. Made no volleys because 'twas Satterday night." "Monday May 16. Eight Companies and two from Charlestown guard Sir William and his Councillors to the Town-house where the Commissions are read and Oaths taken." Boston, at this date, had not far from one thousand houses and seven thousand inhabitants (Palfrey, iv., 136); but at the election of a representative in May, 1698, when there was a spirited contest, only three hundred and eighteen votes were cast. (Sewall, i., 480.)

Phips's administration lasted only two years and a half, and is forever darkened by the shadow of the witchcraft delusion and its judicial murders.

Happily for us, none of the sentences were pronounced in Boston; though at the last court held here one Mary Watkins, a servant, despite the verdict of the jury, was imprisoned by order of the Court, and sold into bondage in Virginia. (Drake, Hist., 503). Hutchinson (Hist., ii., 61) relates that Dame Mary Phips, the governor's wife, was ap-

plied to in behalf of a woman held for trial for witchcraft.

"The good lady, propriâ virtute, granted and signed a warrant for the woman's discharge, which was obeyed by the keeper, and the woman lives still for aught I know." It is fair to conclude that the document was in the usual form, and was taken from the official papers in the governor's chamber. We may safely infer that in this building the first female governor exercised her rights, and we may rejoice that the usurpation was for the glorious prerogative of pardon.

From November, 1694, to June, 1702, the government was mainly in the hands of Lieut. Governor Stoughton, though for a year the Earl of Bellomont was the nominal governor. Just before the arrival of Bellomont news was received of the rejection of several of our laws by the home government. Sewall (i., 496) thus describes the scene: "Drum is beat and Allowance and Disallowance of the Acts is published. Lieutenant Governor [Stoughton] and Council standing in the Gallery. Great many Auditors below."

Another day of excitement in the old building must have been that one in July, 1699, when Captain William Kidd was examined by Lord Bellomont and his Council, charged with many notorious piracies.

Research, which destroys so many illusions, shows us that the noted pirate was far from being so wicked or so bloodthirsty as fame reported, and certainly reveals a strong infusion of poltroonery in his character. The muse, however, promptly recorded of him,—

"My name was William Kidd,
As I sailed, as I sailed,
And most wickedly 1 did,
As I sailed."

As an evidence of the various uses to which the building was put, we find that in 1701, "because of the Rain and Mist," the election of captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was held in the Town-house, when the choice fell upon Judge Sewall. They call'd down the Council out of the Chamber and set their chairs below: Col. Pynchon gave the Staves and Ensign. . . . . Drew out before Mr. Usher's, gave three volleys; drew into the Town-House again." Then Rev. Mr. Pemberton prayed, and the company escorted their commander safely home. So again in 1702, "rainy day, we exercise on the Town-house in the Morn."

On May 28, 1702, news arrived at Boston of the death of King William.

"And at last the Gazette containing the Proclaiming of the Queen came to hand. Then we resolved

to proclaim her Majesty here. Regiment drawn up, and Life-Guard of Horse; Council, Representatives, Ministers, Justices, Gentlemen, taken within the Guard. Mr. Secretary, on foot, read the order of the Council, the Proclamation and Queen's Proclamation for continuing Commissions. Mr. Sheriff Gookin gave it to the people. Volleys. Guns. Went into chamber to drink." (Sewall, ii., 56.)

June 1, 1703. "Town-meeting is held in the old Meeting-house because of the General Assembly; 2 p.m. Voters two hundred and six." This entry of Sewall confirms our suspicion that the Legislature had the first claim to occupy the building. In March, 1706–7, the records show that the town meeting was held in the old meeting-house.

In 1704 Captain John Quelch and five other pirates were tried here, and sentenced to be hung. The sentence was executed June 30. Sewall gives us at this time the following picture:—

"As the Governor [Dudley] sat at the Council-Table 'twas told him Madam Paige [his niece] was dead. He clap'd his hands, and quickly went out, and return'd not to the Chamber again; but ordered Mr. Secretary to prorogue the Court till the 16th of August, which Mr. Secretary did by going into the House of Deputies." (Sewall, ii., 109.)

Sewall records on February 6, 1707-8: —

"Queen's Birthday. I could not find it in my heart to go to the Town-house, because hardly anything is professedly there done but drinking Healths."

1708–9, January 6. "Presently after Lecture, the Act of Parliament regulating Coin is published by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet." (Sewall, ii., 248.) Undoubtedly from the balcony of the Council Chamber.

March 13, 1709–10. "General Town Meeting. Mr. Cotton Mather went to Prayer; I stood in the Lobby, then went into the Council Chamber. Constable—— came to me and surprised me with telling me that I was Chosen Moderator. I went in, and they would have me sit on the Seat, which I did." (Sewall ii., 275.)

From this entry it seems that the town meetings were held in the Representatives' Hall, which could well hold the citizens, as the voters only numbered about two hundred. Other entries make it probable that the Supreme Court also used that room, the Council Chamber serving as a consultation room for the judges.

In 1711 the town was much agitated by the arrival of some fifteen men-of-war and seven thousand troops destined for an attack on Quebec. There were abundant festivities and solemn exchange of courtesies between the English and our

local authorities. The ignominious failure of the expedition was a sad blow to Massachusetts, although the loss of life was confined mainly to the ships of the British portion of the fleet.

To add to the general depression, a great fire in Boston occurred "about 7 or 8 o'clock of the night, between the 2d and 3d of October." "It broke out in an old Tenement within a back Yard in Cornhill (i.e., our Washington street), near the First Meetinghouse, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish Woman (one Mary Morse), by using Fire near a parcel of Ocum, Chips, and other combustible Rubbish." This spot was in or near Williams' Court. "All the houses on both sides of Cornhill [Washington street] from School street to what is called the stone-shop in Dock-square, all the upper part of King street [State street] on the south and north side, together with the Town-House, and what was called the Old Meeting-House above it, were consumed to ashes." (Hutchinson, ii., 200.)

Thus ended, after half a century's use, the first Town-house which has stood on this spot. Of course it was necessary to replace it at once; and on the 17th of October the Selectmen of Boston addressed the Legislature, asking its "Advice and Direction for the Restoring and Rebuilding of the

House for those Publick Uses, and about the place where to set the same."

A joint committee of four councillors and seven deputies, with Elisha Hutchinson, chairman, was at once appointed, who recommend that a new house be built "in or near where the Old Town House stood," the "breadth not to exceed thirty-six feet, the length so as to be convenient." "The charge to be borne the one half by the Province, the other half by the Town of Boston and County of Suffolk in equal Proportion."

Accordingly, a new committee was appointed, viz.: Elisha Hutchinson and Penn Townsend, councillors, Addington Davenport, Samuel Thaxter and Capt. Phipps, deputies, to attend to the affair, with two persons to be added by the town of Boston. The town assented, and joined Thomas Brattle and William Payne.

March 12, 1711-12, the Legislature voted, as instructions to the committee, that the building be not more than one hundred and twelve feet nor less than one hundred and ten feet in length. November 17, 1712, they voted, as instructions to the committee, "that they fit the East Chamber for the Use of His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable the Council, the Middle Chamber for the House, the West Chamber for the Superior and Inferior Courts."

And "that there be but two Officers below Stairs in the Province and Court House now Building in Boston, one for the Secretary, the other for the Register of Deeds in the County of Suffolk."

Although we do not know who designed the brick building which speedily arose on the site, we can to-day inspect its sturdy walls and recognise the influence of the Queen Anne period. It is beyond controversy that the fire of 1747 and the various changes which have been made in the building, in no way affected the exterior walls. We are to-day assembled in a building which dates back to  $\Lambda$ .D. 1713, and we can form a correct idea of its original and ever continuing appearance.

In 1720 Daniel Neal printed his "Present State of New England," and thus describes the building in its earliest days:—

"From the Head of the Peer you go up the chief Street of the Town, at the upper End of which is the Town House or Exchange; a fine Piece of Building, containing besides the Walk for the Merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and another spacious Room for the Sessions of the Courts of Justice, the Exchange is surrounded with Booksellers Shops, which have a good Trade." (Neal, p. 587.)

In 1708 it was computed that Boston had twelve or thirteen thousand inhabitants; in 1720, eighteen or

twenty thousand. (Neal, 601.) The council consisted of twenty-eight members, the House of one hundred and three. (Neal, 605.)

During the eighteen months which were needed for rebuilding the Town-house, the town meetings were held as follows: Nov. 16, 1711, in Rev. Mr. Colman's meeting-house in Brattle street; March, 1712, in the same; March, 1712–13, at the south meeting-house, and May 13, 1713, in the new Town-house. Sewall records (ii., 387), May 28, 1713.

"All the Councillors are sworn except Major Brown, who was not in Town. In the afternoon I declar'd to the Council that Prayer had been too much neglected formerly; we were now in a New House, we ought to Reform; without it, I would not be there. Mr. Secretary assented, and I was desired to see it effected. May 29th. Dr. Increase Mather prays Excellently in the Council."

For some years at least this custom of beginning a session of the council with prayer was continued.

It seems from Sewall's notes that there was a large table in the council chamber, at which the members sat, and that the Governor occupied the head of it. It is a fair inference that this table reached from the east window towards the door, and if so it was in conformity to our New England custom by which the minister or other presiding officer is so invariably placed in front of a window.

To this council chamber the deputies were summoned, and committees of that body were here received. At such conferences the Governor was not allowed to take part, though on one occasion at least he remained in the room. There was a "closet," probably one of the ante-rooms opening from the chamber, to which the Governor could withdraw for private consultation; and perhaps the other anteroom was needed for the accommodations of the twenty-eight councillors.

It seems that in this chamber the Overseers of Harvard College met at times, and once the "Inspectors of the Grammar Schools" of Boston met there. The chamber was also used as a consultation room for the judges. Notwithstanding the order to construct a west room for the courts, it is very doubtful if this were really done. In 1717, Sewall speaks of a trial held in the old meeting-house opposite, while sentence was pronounced in the court chamber. Was not this the chamber of the Great and General Court, that is, our House of Representatives? When the fire of 1747 took place, mention is made of the "Council Chamber, the Chamber of the House of Representatives and the Apartments thereof, in that Story." Another account speaks of "the Council Chamber" and "both

the Lobbies," and also the "Offices kept in the Upper Story;" but it says "the County Records and Papers belonging to the Inferior Court, being deposited in an Office upon the lower Floor, were most of them preserved."

There is proof that the Council Chamber was the scene of festivities on state occasions, such as the birthday of the sovereign or his accession, the arrival of a new governor, etc. Here also were held public funerals, as in the case of Fitz-John Winthrop. From the balcony, at the east end, it was customary to proclaim the laws, with sound of trumpets and beat of drums; and doubtless from so convenient an elevation, loyal addresses were delivered to the assembled townsmen on occasion.

As it happens, we know much less of the arrangement of the Representatives' Hall at this period, as our chief authority, Sewall, was a councillor and judge. We know that the number of deputies was one hundred and three in 1720; and as new towns were corporated, the number rose to about one hundred and twenty-five.

The speaker was annually chosen, and the choice submitted to the governor, who rarely negatived. In 1705, Thomas Oakes; in 1720, Elisha Cook; in 1739, Paul Dudley; in 1741, Samuel Watts; in 1766, James Otis, were respectively chosen and set aside.

The House also elected a clerk, but the office was generally continued from year to year.

The forms of the House were probably copied from those of Parliament, the council figuring as our House of Lords. The will of the Governor was signified by messages or speeches; the wishes of the deputies by committees and by messages. Hutchinson says (ii, 259), apropos of a quarrel between Governor Dudley and the House about the power of adjournment, "It has always been the practice of the house, before and since, upon a message from the governor, to stop all business and go up without delay." It seems also that divisions of the House were made by going to the north and south sides. We infer from this that the speaker sat at the west end, facing the main doors, and that the deputies were marshalled by him on either hand.

In this chamber from 1711 to 1747 presided as Governor, Joseph Dudley, William Tailer, Samuel Shute, William Dummer, Jonathan Belcher and William Shirley, all upright and worthy men, but all of them so hampered by restrictions from the home government, as to be frequently involved in disputes with the representatives of the people. During this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tailer and Dummer were Lieutenant Governors, acting in the place of the Governors.

period the population increased steadily from eleven thousand in 1715 to seventeen thousand in 1744, though after the last date it remained stationary or slightly decreased.

In November, 1747, the Town-house was the centre of another uprising. Commodore Knowles was in command of a fleet lying off the harbor. Having lost some deserters, he sent a press-gang into the harbor, seizing sailors from the ships, and even landsmen from the wharves. There was at once an outburst of popular indignation, in which all ranks joined. "As soon as it was dusk, several thousand people assembled in King street, below the Town House, where the General Court was sitting. Stones and brick batts were thrown through the glass into. the Council Chamber. The Governor [Shirley], however, with several gentlemen of the Council and House, ventured into the balcony," 1 and after silence was obtained addressed the assemblage. He promised to try to obtain the release of the townsmen; but the crowd was not to be thus pacified. For three days the contest continued, the people having seized some of the officers from the fleet as hostages, and the commodore threatening to bombard the town by way of reprisal. Finally the Legislature interposed with promises to both sides; the impressed men were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, ii., 432.

liberated, and the squadron sailed, to the great relief of all in authority.

On Wednesday, December 9, 1747, the Townhouse was greatly injured by a fire. The following extract from the newspapers will explain the extent of the loss:—

·· Yesterday morning between 6 & 7 o'clock we were exceedingly surprised by a most terrible Fire, which broke out at the Court House in this Town, whereby that spacious and beautiful Building except the bare outward Walls, was entirely destroyed. As the Fire began in the middle or second Story, the Records, Books, Papers, Furniture, Pictures of the Kings and Queens, &c., which were in the Council Chamber, the Chamber of the Honse of Representatives, and the Apartments thereof, in that Story, were consumed; as were also the Books and Papers in the Offices of the upper Story: Those in the Offices below were mostly saved. In the Cellars which were hired by several Persons, a great quantity of Wines and other Liquors were lost. The publick Damage sustain'd by this sad Disaster is inexpressibly great and the Loss to some particular Persons, 't is said will amount to several Thousand Pounds. The Vehemence of the Flames occasion'd such a great Heat as to set the Roofs of some of the opposite Houses on Fire notwithstanding they had been covered with Snow, and it was extinguished with much Difficulty. How the Fire was occasion'd, whether by Defects in the Chimney or Hearth as some think, is uncertain." — Boston Weekly News Letter, Thursday, December 10, 1747.

The account in the Boston Evening Post, for the fourteenth of December, adds:—

<sup>&</sup>quot;The fine Pictures and other Furniture in the Conneil Chamber

were destroyed as were also the Books, Papers and Records in both the Lobbies, and those in the Offices kept in the upper Story; but the County Records and Papers belonging to the Inferiour Court being deposited in an Office upon the lower Floor, were most of them preserved."

The same paper prints the following extracts from the Journal of the House of Representatives:—

" 12 December A.D. 1747.

- "Upon a motion made and seconded,
- "Resolved, that the House now make particular Enquiry how the late Fire in the Court House was first discovered, and by what Means it was occasioned. After examining the Door-keeper and receiving a particular account of the Time and Circumstances of his leaving the House the Evening before, and enquiring of those Gentlemen who early discovered the Fire.
- "Resolved, That it appears to the Satisfaction of this House, that the late Fire which consumed the Court House, proceeded from the Wood-work under the Hearth taking Fire, and that the Fire first broke out in the Entry-way between the Council Chamber and the Representatives' Room, and from thence went up the Stair Case, and through the Roof, and continued until the House was consumed."

The General Court was offered the use of Faneuil Hall, but was accommodated for the few days remaining in the session at the Royal Exchange tavern kept by Luke Vardy, on the west corner of Exchange and State streets.

It seems that, as in 1711, the expense of the repairs was paid, one-half by the Province, one-quarter by the town of Boston, and one-quarter by the towns in the county of Suffolk. The expense was £3,705 11s. 4d. lawful money. Whatever plans were made for this restoration, it would seem that the exterior walls at least were not touched.

Fortunately, as in Neal's case, in 1720, we have a description of the new building from one who saw it in its freshness. Capt. Francis Goelet (whose journal is printed in the N.E. Historical and Genealogical Register for 1870, p. 72) thus describes it in the autumn of 1750:—

"They have also a Town House, built of Brick, situated in King's street. It's a very Grand Brick Building, Arch'd all Round, and Two Storie Heigh, Sash'd above; its Lower Part is always Open, design'd as a Change, tho' the Merchants in Fair Weather make their Change in the open Street at the Eastermost End. In the upper Story are the Council and Assembly Chambers &c. It has a neat Capulo, sash'd all round, and which on rejoycing days is Elluminated."

Capt. Goelet mentions that on October 30th, His Majesty's Birth-day, he "went at noon with Capt. Wendell to the Councill Chamber in the Towne House, where [he] drank the Loyall Toasts with the Lieutenant Governor, Councill," etc.

By the records of the House it appears that Dec. 12, 1752, there was paid £6 13s. 4d. to Moses Deshon "for the arms of the Colony which he has carved, and put up in the House of Representatives."

By the bill of the painter in 1773, it seems that the Colony arms still remained, while the King's arms, also then paid for, were probably in the Council Chamber. The historic Codfish was also mentioned, and various pictures, of which the only one named is that of Gov. Burnet.

Very strangely, it appears by the newspapers of June, 1766, that a gallery was put in the Representatives' Hall, though it is hard to imagine where space was found for it. Chandeliers, of course, hung in each hall, and the desk of the Clerk or Speaker of the House is still preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society.<sup>1</sup>

When the work of the restoration was commenced last year, it was found that the framing of the timbers was such that there must have been a circular stairway in the place now occupied by it, from the first floor to the halls, and that the landings must have presented their present form.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Although described as the Speaker's desk, it seems almost impossible that it could have been so used. It may have been the clerk's desk, but the presiding officer would apparently require a more prominent place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The balusters in the new stairway are copied from those in Gov. Shirley's house, still standing in Roxbury. As he was the governor at the date of the rebuilding, in 1747, no better exemplars could be desired. Similar balusters are in the home of the Quincys. The plans made by Isaiah Rogers in 1830 show the same stairway, out of centre, and the floor beams explain the cause of this eccentricity.

The same investigation showed that the Representatives' Hall had its easterly end curved, while the Council Chamber was square. These indications coincide with a description published in 1791, when the halls were occupied by the Legislature of the State, and when, apparently, no changes had been made. The Massachusetts Magazine for August, 1791, gives a south-west view of the building, *i.e.*, one taken from the Washington-street end, and the following description is added:—

"The State House is an elegant brick building, standing at the head of State Street, one mile and 297 yards from the fortification. It is 110 feet in length and thirty-eight in breadth. The foundations of the present walls were laid A.D. 1712, the former State House having been reduced to ashes in the great fire of the preceding year. The internal part of this building again experienced the desolating flame in 1747, when a vast number of ancient books and early records, together with a collection of valuable papers, were destroyed, and to the ravages of this calamity we may attribute the imperfect accounts that are to be obtained of the first and second building. The ascent to the lower floor, as fronting the Long wharf, is by an elevated flight of large stone steps, railed round with neat iron balustrades. There are three other entrances: one at the opposite end, facing to Cornhill, and the other two in the opposite centres of the length. The Clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court and Court of Common Pleas hold their offices upon the first floor, which also serves in bad weather as an exchange for the mercantile part of the community. A range of Doric pillars support the floors of the second story, which is

destined for the accommodation of the General Legislature. The Senate Chamber is thirty-two feet square and fifteen feet in height, furnished with a convenient lobby for committees to transact business in. The Representatives' Chamber is fifty-seven and a half feet in length, thirty-two in breadth, and the same height as the former, with a well-constructed lobby. The third or upper story is improved by different committees during the session, and has an East, West and South lobby; beside several apartments for publick papers and records. On the centre of the roof is a tower, consisting of three stories, finished according to the Tuscan, Dorick and Ionick orders complete, and from thence is a fine prospect of the Harbor and adjacent Country."

The painter's bill of 1773 also mentions the Lion and the Unicorn which crowned the east end of the exterior, the carved corner-pieces on the west front, the balcony and pediment in front at the main window of the Council Chamber, and the steps, which, for a time, reached from the first floor down State street.

These features have all been reproduced in the restored building. It was, indeed, a question whether

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This figure, fifty-seven and one half feet, is an impossibility, being more than one-half the length of the building. But thirty-seven and one-half feet would reach exactly to the line of the curved end of the hall as shown on Rogers' plans and now reconstructed. Evidently the writer put his notes of the measurements in figures, and either he or his printer mistook thirty-seven and one-half for fifty-seven and one-half. The error really confirms the exactness of the record.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These steps figure in the quaint picture dated about 1810, now owned by the Historical Society, but they were removed before the view in Hales' Survey was taken.

or not to restore the Royal arms upon the east end, but a feature so distinctive, architecturally, could not be well omitted. Happily, no one will to-day misunderstand the feeling with which we replace this memento of our colonial days,—a recognition merely of the facts of history, neither forgetful of the protection which the mother country once extended, nor boastful of the change which has given us a national coat-of-arms, a national flag, and a supreme government, at least equal to those which we renounced a century ago.

Having thus considered the history of the walls of this building, let us review the scenes which took place therein. During the administration of Shirley (1741-1757), and of Pownall (1757-1760), the colony was undoubtedly loyal. The great expenditures made by England to carry out the favorite wish of the colonists by the overthrow of the French power in America, had not only pleased but enriched the sea-board colonies. Many of our citizens served with credit in the various armies which attacked Canada, many others had served in the navy or the transport service, and Boston especially had become accustomed to the presence of English troops and Crown officials. Shirley had identified himself with the colony, had built a house here and reared a family amid Bostonian surroundings. His ardor in

military affairs led him to be less strenuous in smaller civil matters, and he had acquiesced in such encroachments by the Legislature as restrained the power of the Crown or the influence of the governor.

Pownall's short rule of three years was noteworthy mainly for its military record.

In August, 1760, Francis Bernard arrived here to succeed Pownall, and five months later, news was received of the accession of George III. With the new king and the new governor begins the closing chapter of our colonial history. This is not the time to attempt to describe the causes which led to the Revolution, except in so far as any important events took place in this building. Here, under this roof, indeed, were encamped the hostile forces of the civil government. In this room the Royal Governor and his generally subservient Council could listen to the applause which greeted the impassioned eloquence of the popular leaders of the Representatives in the adjoining hall, as they gradually developed the ideas of "no represention, no taxation," and "no representation, no legislation," as Hutchinson scornfully termed them (Hist., iii., 164). How often must these lobbies and entries have been thronged by the citizens of Boston, anxious to catch the latest intelligence of Royal obstinacy or of popular indignation. In those days the press was so circumscribed

in its province, that the news was only to be obtained by contact with the actors; and here was the centre of all that absorbed the attention of the community. The town meetings were held at Faneuil Hall, and when more room was needed, they adjourned to the Old South Church. Yet, powerful as was the influence of Boston, the citizens could only issue instructions to their representatives in the august body, which, in these halls, spoke in the name of the entire colony. It will be necessary to give a few instances of the occurrences in these apartments, from the evidence of the actors therein.

In 1761, soon after Bernard's arrival, James Otis, Jr., aroused the public by his famous plea against the Writs of Assistance. John Adams has admirably described the scene in this hall, in a letter written to a friend in 1817:—

"The scene is the Council chamber in the old town house in Boston. The date is in the month of February, 1761, nine years before you entered my office in Cole lane. As this was five years before you entered college, you must have been in the second form of Master Lovell's school. That Council chamber was as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is often forgotten that Faneuil Hall prior to A.D. 1808, was much smaller than it now is. The addition of another story and an extension on the south side added greatly to the space. Of course these changes have not destroyed the identity of the building, but they are much greater than those made in these Memorial Halls, where only one wall has been replaced in each room, and those on the exact lines of the former partitions.

respectable an apartment as the House of Commons or the House of Lords in Great Britain, in proportion, or that in the State House in Philadelphia, in which the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. In this chamber, round a great fire, were seated five judges, with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson at their head as Chief Justice, all arrayed in their new, fresh, rich robes of scarlet English broadcloth; in their large cambric bands and immense judicial wigs. In this chamber were seated at a long table all the barristers-at-law of Boston and of the neighboring county of Middlesex, in gowns, bands, and tie wigs. They were not seated on ivory chairs, but their dress was more solemn and more pompous than that of the Roman Senate, when the Gauls broke in upon them. In the corner of the room must be placed as a spectator and an auditor, wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning and immense reading, hanging by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a great cloth coat, in the person of Mr. Pratt, who had been solicited on both sides, but would engage on neither, being, as Chief Justice of New York, about to leave Boston forever. Two portraits, at more than full length, of King Charles the Second and of King James the Second, in splendid golden frames, were hung up on the most conspicuous sides of the apartment. If my young eyes or old memory have not deceived me, these were as fine pictures as I ever saw; the colors of the royal ermines and long, flowing robes were the most glowing, the figures the most noble and graceful, the features the most distinct and characteristic, far superior to those of the king and queen of France in the Senate chamber of Congress - these were worthy of the pencils of Rubens and Vandyke. There was no painter in England capable of them at that time. They had been sent over without frames in Governor Pownall's time, but he was no admirer of Charles or James. The pictures were stowed away in a garret, among rubbish, until Governor Bernard came, who had them cleaned, superbly framed, and placed in council for the admiration and imitation of all men—no doubt with the advice and concurrence of Hutchinson and all his nebula of stars and satellites. One circumstance more. Samuel Quincy and John Adams had been admitted barristers at that term. John was the youngest; he should be painted looking like a short, thick archbishop of Canterbury, seated at the table with a pen in his hand, lost in admiration."

He then proceeds to describe the characters in the drama, and thus depicts the chief:—

"Otis was a flame of fire. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown, to defend the vigorous youth, the non sine diis animosus infans. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born."

The immediate result was a modification of the form of the writs; but the greater consequence was the prominence of Otis, and the attention called to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adams' Life and Works, Vol. X., p. 245.

the oppressive character of the English revenue laws when applied to this country.

A lull succeeded in the political atmosphere for the next two years, and the news of the peace with France, received here in May, 1763, was joyfully welcomed. Soon, however, the clouds gathered, indicative of the coming storm. The vast expense of the war rendered new taxes inevitable; unfortunately, the consideration of the renewal of a tax which had just expired,—one on the importation of molasses into the colonies,—led the Grenville ministry to determine "to raise by a stamp duty, or in some other way, a sum from America, sufficient to ease government in part from the future charges which might be necessary there." (Hutchinson, iii., 109.)

In April, 1765, news was received of the passage of the act, and popular opposition was at once excited. On the birthday of the Prince of Wales, August 12, it was concerted to hang the appointed distributor of stamps in effigy. This was done two days later, the image being suspended from the Liberty Tree, which stood on the corner of Essex and Washington streets. The Council was hastily assembled, but prudently advised that nothing be done, hoping that the matter would end there.

"Before night the image was taken down, and carried through the Town House, in the chamber whereof the Governor and Council were sitting. Forty or fifty tradesmen, decently dressed, preceded; and some thousands of the mob followed down King street to Oliver's dock, near which Mr. Oliver had lately erected a building, which, it was conjectured, he designed for a stamp office. This was laid flat to the ground in a few minutes. From thence the mob proceeded for Fort Hill, but Mr. Oliver's house being in the way, they endeavored to force themselves into it, and being opposed, broke the windows, beat down the doors, entered, and destroyed part of his furniture, and continued in riot until midnight before they separated." (Hutchinson, iii., 121.)

On the evening of August 26 a mob collected in King street, "drawn there by a bonfire, and well supplied with strong drink." They plundered the cellars of the comptroller of customs, and then marched to the house of Thomas Hutchinson, in Garden court, near Fleet street, where, all night long, undisturbed by the frightened neighborhood, the work of destruction went on. These inexcusable outrages were promptly disavowed in town meeting, and most probably were the work of those turbulent and lawless men who always appear whenever authority is suspended, to dishonor and injure the cause they nominally support.

When the Legislature met, on October 24, 1765, Boston was represented by a new member, — Samuel Adams, — then first the recipient of high office, but already a leader among the advocates of independence. Otis was in New York, attending a convention of delegates from the various colonies, which had been convoked by royal authority. The difference in the political views of these leaders was marked, though it did not prevent their unison in many points. Otis believed that Parliament was supreme, but that the Colonies were entitled to repre-Adams "professed principles, sentation therein. which he owned without reserve in private discourse, to be independency; and, from time to time, he made advances towards it in publick, as far as would serve the great purpose of attaining to it. To his influence may be attributed the great advance made in this session." (Hutchinson, iii., 134.) On the 29th of October, in the adjoining hall, the House passed the famous Resolves, prepared by Samuel Adams, one of which declares, "That all acts made by any power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this Province, imposing taxes on the inhabitants, are infringements of our inherent and unalienable rights as men and British subjects, and render void the most valuable declarations of our charter."

To be sure, this was coupled with a declaration of loyalty to the Crown and to Parliament; but the first resolve contained a political truth, and the last a politic profession.

On May 16, 1766, the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received here, and caused universal rejoicing. In September the Rockingham-Shelburne ministry came into power, and was believed to be friendly to the Colonies. The governor here had several disputes with the legislature, the Council displayed unusual independence, and the influence of Adams, now promoted to the office of Clerk of the House, was steadily on the increase. The same state of affairs characterized the whole of the following year, 1767, until, in the autumn, news was received of the passage of an act levying "small duties on paper, glass, and painters' colors, imported into America; to take off 12d., which had been charged in England on every pound of tea exported, and to lay 3d. only, payable upon its importation into America." (Hutchinson, iii., 179.) Commissioners were appointed to enforce the customs' laws, and an act was passed legalizing the writs of assistance, under which search was made for smuggled goods.

In February, 1768, the House passed a bill ordering letters to be written to the other colonies, "with respect to the importance of joining with them in petitioning his majesty at this time." This was

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The office having some emolument, it had generally been filled by one of the members, who took the same share in debating and voting as if he had not been clerk, and rather acquired than lost influence by being so." (Hutchinson, iii., 148.)

Adams' measure,—a potent weapon in the coming conflict. Another resolve was, "that this House will, by all prudent means, endeavor to discountenance the use of foreign superfluities, and to encourage the manufactures of this Province."

The English government demanded the rescinding the vote authorizing the Circular Letter, but the House, by a vote of 92 to 17, refused obedience. "The galleries were cleared, and all communication with the other Board or from the outside, was shut off during the debate." (Life of S. Adams, i., iii.) Even a committee of the Council, with certain resolutions of that branch, was refused admittance.

The House was prorogued the same day, and dissolved the next day, but not till it had passed an address to the King asking for the removal of Governor Bernard.

An ill-advised measure at this time added to the popular discontent. Owing to Bernard's representations, it had been decided that one or two regiments should be sent from Halifax to Boston. On hearing of the riots here, the government in England ordered two more regiments from Ireland. The news of the first order was received in Boston about the beginning of September, 1768, and, as the Legislature was not expected to meet for a year, the town-meeting of Boston took action. On learning from the governor

that the troops were soon to arrive, - one regiment for the Castle and two for the town, — the meeting voted to hold a convention on September 22, of delegates from all the other towns, "in order that such measures may be concerted and advised, as his majesty's service and the peace and safety of his subjects in the province may require." As Hutchinson says (Hist., iii., 205), "it must be allowed by all, that the proceedings of this meeting had a greater tendency towards a revolution in government than any preceding measures in any of the colonies. The inhabitants of one town alone took upon them to convene an assembly from all the towns, that, in everything but in name, would be a House of Representatives." A most just comment; and let us to-day be proud of the fact that the town thus assuming the lead was Boston. Although the result of the meeting, which was duly held at Faneuil Hall, was not as tangible as was hoped, it showed the colonists how to proceed towards a rebellion whilst preserving the forms of law. The convention adjourned September 29, the day after the fleet and soldiers reached Nantasket. The troops, amounting to one thousand men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, landed without opposition. One regiment pitched their tents on the Common; the others were marched to Faneuil Hall, and, after some dispute, were sheltered there for one night. "The next day, Gov. Bernard ordered the doors of the Town House to be opened, except that of the Council Chamber; and such part were lodged there as Faneuil Hall rooms would not accommodate. The representatives' room was filled, in common with the rest." (Hutchinson, iii., 212.)

Gen. Gage was summoned from New York, and the Council attempted to find a way to satisfy both sides. The result was that houses were hired for the troops, but in the immediate vicinity of the Town House. The quartering of troops at this spot was felt keenly by the province. The next town meeting demanded of Gen. Mackay, then in command, the removal of the troops on election day. He replied that he could not do this, but would confine them to their barracks. When the Legislature met, in May, 1769, its first work, after organizing, was to resolve that, "an armament by sea and land investing the metropolis, and a military guard, with cannon pointed at the very door of the State House, where this Assembly is held, is inconsistent with that dignity, as well as that freedom, with which we have a right to deliberate, consult, and determine." They added that they expected the governor to order the removal of these forces during the session of the Assembly. As they refused to transact business while the troops

remained, and as the governor would not consent, he adjourned the Legislature to Cambridge. Finally, two regiments were sent back to Halifax, the 14th and 29th remaining here. Bernard was recalled, and sailed on July 31, 1769, amid demonstrations of popular joy. By his departure the duties devolved upon Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, a native of Boston, a man of fortune and eminent abilities, but already distasteful to his fellow-citizens as the ablest defender of the royalist views in the colony. He came to the command in times which were daily becoming more turbulent, and, having persistently taken the part of the Crown, he has justly forfeited all claims to the respect of the descendants of the rebels.

During the autumn of 1769 the bitter feeling between the colonists and the loyalists rapidly increased. James Otis was dangerously wounded in an affray with a Crown officer in the British Coffee House, which stood on State street, at the present No. 66. It is probable that the violence he then received completed the overthrow of his intellect, and, thenceforward, he ceased to lead in public affairs. On the 22d of February, 1770, a local riot led to the shooting, by one Richardson, of a boy named Christopher Snyder, the first victim to the evil passions excited by the state of affairs.

The merchants of the town had been nearly unanimous in giving effect to the popular wish to prevent the importation of English goods, although the taxes had been taken off of all imports except tea. Early in 1770, however, a new turn was given to popular thought, by what is known as the State Street Massacre. From these windows we overlook the scene of this famous event, but it has been too often described to need more than the briefest reference. A fight between the soldiers and the workmen at Gray's ropewalk, on March 2, 1770, had raised a resentment in the minds of the troops, which led to fatal results. On Monday evening, March 5th, the soldiers began to show signs of insubordination. In and around their barracks, in Dock Square, they assailed the passers-by with threats and blows. The boys of the town rang the bell in the First Church, and the citizens began to throng towards the Town House. A large crowd gathered in Dock square, for, in those days, a few minutes' walk would bring every householder to the centre of the town. Here a leader, presumably William Molineaux, advised the people to disperse — a counsel followed by part, while others started for State street. The Custom House stood at the corner of State and Exchange streets, and there a sentinel was posted. A crowd of boys

assaulted him with snowballs, until a messenger was sent hastily to the guard-house near by. Some seven or eight men, under Capt. Preston, at once rushed to the relief of the guard, loaded quickly, and stood at bay. The mob pressed upon them, striking their muskets, and otherwise insulting them, being evidently of the belief that the soldiers would not fire. The order was given to present arms, and then to fire, though it was never discovered who gave the fatal word. A rambling fire by the guard, at these close quarters, killed three persons and wounded eight others.

At once the partisans of each side rushed to the spot. The soldiers were drawn up in order of battle, but remained under the control of their officers. The bells of the churches aroused the alarmed inhabitants, who thronged the street to gaze upon the blood-stained snow, which testified to the awful tragedy. A few hastened to summon Gov. Hutchinson, who, "to satisfy the people, called for Captain Preston, and inquired why he fired upon the inhabitants without the direction of a civil magistrate. The noise was so great that his answer could not be understood, and some, who were apprehensive of the lieutenant-governor's danger from the general confusion, called out, 'The Town House! the Town House!' and, with irre-

sistible violence, he was forced up by the crowd into the Council Chamber. There, demand was immediately made of him to order the troops to withdraw from the Town House to their barracks. He refused to comply, and, calling from the balcony, to the great body of people which remained in the street, he expressed his great concern at the unhappy event, assured them he would do everything in his power in order to a full and impartial inquiry, that the law might have its course, and advised them to go peaceably to their several homes. Upon this there was a cry, 'Home! home!' and a great part separated and went home."—
(Hutchinson, iii., 273.)

Captain Preston and the soldiers implicated surrendered themselves before morning, and were committed to prison. This was not sufficient to satisfy the people, and a town meeting was held in Faneuil Hall. The selectmen had already waited upon Hutchinson, in this chamber, to demand the removal of the troops from the town. He repeated that he had not the power, but summoned Colonels Dalrymple and Carr to confer with the Council.

When the selectmen reached the meeting Samuel Adams addressed it. A committee of fifteen, headed by Adams, proceeded to the Council Chamber to repeat the demand for the removal of the troops.

The committee presented its message and withdrew into another room to wait for an answer. Dalrymple consented to withdraw the 29th Regiment to the Castle, and the Council adjourned till the afternoon, in hopes that the concession would prove enough.

At three o'clock the town-meeting reassembled, but adjourned to the Old South Church to accommodate the increasing crowds. "The committee, led by Samuel Adams, his head bared in reverence to the occasion, and his gray locks flowing in the wind, issued from the Council chamber." Through a crowd reaching to the church the committee silently passed, and, in the presence of three thousand eager listeners, the proposal of the royal governor was announced. It was at once voted to be insufficient, and a new committee, with the same leader, was appointed to make a final demand.

John Adams has eloquently described the scene in the following words:—

"Now for the picture. The theatre and the scenery are the same with those at the discussion of writs of assistance. The same glorious portraits of King Charles II. and King James II., to which might be added, and should be added, little miserable likenesses of Governor Winthrop, Governor Bradstreet, Governor Endicott, and Governor Belcher, hung up in obscure corners of the room. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, Commander-in-Chief in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adams' Life and Works, Vol. X., p. 249.

the absence of the governor, must be placed at the head of the council table. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's military forces, taking rank of all His Majesty's counsellors, must be seated by the side of the Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the province. Eight and twenty connsellors must be painted, all seated at the council board. Let me see — what costume? What was the fashion of that day in the month of March? Large white wigs, English scarlet cloth cloaks, some of them with gold-laced hats not on their heads, indeed, in so august a presence, but on the table before them, or under the table beneath them. Before these illustrious personages appeared Samuel Adams, a member of the House of Representatives, and their clerks, now at the head of the committee of the great assembly at the Old South Church."

"Such was the situation of affairs when Samuel Adams was reasoning with Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple. He had fairly driven them from all their outworks, breastworks, and intrenchments to their citadel. There they pansed and considered and deliberated. The heads of Hutchinson and Dalrymple were laid together in whispers for a long time; when the whispering ceased a long and solemn pause ensued, extremely painful to an impatient, expecting audience. Hutchinson, in time, broke silence. He had consulted with Colonel Dalrymple, and the colonel had authorized him to say that he might order one regiment down to the Castle, if that would satisfy the people. With a self-recollection, a self-possession, a self-command, a presence of mind that was admired by every man present, Samuel Adams arose with an air of dignity and majesty of which he was sometimes capable, stretched forth his arm, though even then quivering with palsy, and with an harmonions voice and decisive tone said, 'If the Lieutenant-Governor or

Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two, and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind or preserve the peace of the province.' These few words thrilled the veins of every man in the andience, and produced the great result. After a little awkward hesitation it was agreed that the town should be evacuated and both regiments sent to the Castle."

Hutchinson's own account of the affair agrees substantially with this, though throwing the responsibility upon Col. Dalrymple. On March 10 and 11 the two regiments were removed to the Castle.

Surely such an event as this must render this hall forever memorable. Whatever else had been done, at other times and places, here was taken the first open step toward successful rebellion. A government which removes its military force from a fort, a town, or a province, at the demand of its subjects, can hope to regain its ascendancy in the future only by the display of an irresistible armament in the same place. Hutchinson, who well understood the position, wrote to a friend, in March, 1770: "The body of the people are all of a mind, and there is no stemming the torrent. It is the common language of Adams and the rest, that they are not to be intimidated by acts of Parliament, for they will not be executed here. . . . We are most

The legislature was convened in March, 1770, at Cambridge, despite their protest that the writs specified that the meeting was "to be held at the Town House in Boston." Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Hawley, were the leaders in the House, ably assisted by James Bowdoin in the Council.

In October the trial of Capt. Preston and his soldiers was held in this hall, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., acting as their counsel, and Preston was fully acquitted. Two of the soldiers were convicted of manslaughter.

"The trials were far from satisfactory to the prosecutors; and, in a short time, a great part of the people were induced to believe the acquittals unjust and contrary to evidence; and the killing of the men was declared to be a horrid massacre, with the same freedom as if the jury had found those concerned in it guilty of murder. A few days after the trial, while the Court continued to sit, an incendiary paper was posted up, in the night, upon the door of the Town House, complaining of the Court for cheating

the injured people with a show of justice, and calling upon them to rise and free the world from such domestick tyrants." (Hutchinson, iii., 330.)

The removal of the train-band from the Castle and its delivery to the royal forces, was another ground of offence to the colonists.

In March, 1771, Hutchinson's commission as governor arrived, and he met the legislature at Cambridge as before. In the preceding year he had vetoed the election of eleven of his Council, as they were of the popular side. In this year he accepted them all, except John Hancock and Jerathmeel Bowers. The reported disagreement between Hancock and Adams, and the fact that the latter was opposed in his election in May, 1772, by two hundred and eighteen votes in seven hundred and twenty-three at the Boston meeting, probably influenced the governor to allow the legislature, in 1772, to return to its old apartments in this building.

As I confine myself to what was done here, I pass over the various events which tended to hasten the final rupture. But it was in the adjoining hall, after ordering the galleries to be cleared, that Samuel Adams produced those confidential letters of Hutchinson to his English friends, which convinced the public that there was no safety for any of the opponents of the government.

In 1773 it became known that the experiment was to be made of shipping tea to this country and of collecting the duty upon it.

On November 28, 1773, the tea arrived, and, as Hutchinson bitterly remarks, "while the governor and Council were sitting on the Monday in the Council chamber, and known to be consulting upon means for preserving the peace of the town, several thousands, inhabitants of Boston and other towns, were assembled in a publick meeting-house, at a small distance, in direct opposition and defiance." We all know the result: that, after exhausting all peaceable means for the return of the "detested herb," a body of patriots, illegally but rightly, took the responsibility of consigning three hundred and forty-two chests of tea to the waves of Boston Harbor. was the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America. . . . Their leaders feared no consequences. . . . They had gone too far to recede. If the colonies were subject to the supreme authority and laws of Great Britain, their offences long since had been of the highest nature. . . And it is certain that, ever after this time, an opinion was easily instilled, and was constantly increasing, that the body of the people had also gone too far to recede, and that an open and general revolt must be the consequence; and it was not long before actual preparations were

visibly making for it in most parts of the province." (Hutchinson, iii., 439.)

Of course this proceeding could not be ignored by Parliament, and, in March, 1774, the Boston Port Bill, closing the port during the pleasure of the King, was passed, with other acts taking all the power from the people or their representatives, and giving it to the Crown. Persons accused of rioting could be sent to England for trial, and special orders were given for the arrest of Samuel Adams and other leaders.

On May 17, 1774, Thomas Gage, the commanderin-chief of all the troops in this country, arrived in Boston, commissioned as Governor of the province. Landing at Long Wharf, he was escorted up State street by the Boston Cadets, under the command of Hancock. In this hall he was duly sworn into office, and from the balcony the usual proclamation was made.

The last session of the legislature held under the royal government was at Salem, on June 7, 1774. It was dissolved on the 17th, after it had provided for the appointment of James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, as delegates to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia. Thenceforward the old government was extinct. In the following year a Provincial Congress, elected by the people, assembled at Water-

town, to exercise powers acknowledged by all the citizens of the new State. In Boston, the royal governor, with his select board of thirty counsellors, appointed by himself, kept up for a while the farce of civic government. The true authority was in his hands as commanding the troops, and his official residence was at the Province House, opposite the head of Milk street.

Hardly anything is on record in regard to the Town House during the siege. It is stated that it was used as a barracks; certainly, after the evacuation of the town, no complaint was made of any injury done to it by the troops. On the 19th of April, 1775, the battle of Lexington was fought; on the 17th of June following, the battle of Bunker Hill. On the 10th October, 1775, Gage was recalled to England, and, during his absence, Gen. Howe commanded on the sea-board, and Gen. Carleton in Canada. On the 17th of March, 1776, the British troops evacuated the town; and, on the 20th, the main body of the American army marched in.

On the 29th of March, the citizens of Boston held a regular meeting for the election of town officers, in the Old Brick Church, Faneuil Hall having been fitted up as a theatre by the British officers.

On the 18th of July, 1776, the Declaration of

Independence "was made public, with great parade and exultation, from the balcony on the east end."

The State government, which consisted of the legislature without a governor, still remained at Watertown. The session for 1776 begun May 29, and continued, by one prorogation and one adjournment, until the 12th of November, when it was transferred to Boston. The "Boston Gazette" of November 4, announces its own removal from Watertown to the printing-office opposite the Court House, in Queen street, and in its next issue, Monday, November 11, states, "Saturday last, the General Assembly of this State adjourn'd from Watertown, to meet at the State House in this Town, Tomorrow, at Ten o'clock."

The various State officials also returned to this building, which continued in use as the State House, for nearly twenty years. In 1780 the State Constitution was adopted, and John Hancock, the first governor of the State, was installed here, to the great delight of his fellow-townsmen. James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, and Increase Sumner, succeeded Hancock, and presided in this chamber.

In 1782 a great reception was given in the Council Chamber to the French fleet and army, then returning to Europe.

On the 23d of April, 1783, the Proclamation of

Peace was received here, "and the sheriff of the County of Suffolk, Joseph Henderson, Esq., announced the same from the balcony of the State House, at one o'clock, before which a large concourse of the most respectable inhabitants of the town were assembled, who demonstrated by three loud huzzas, their joy upon this occasion. After which, thirteen cannon, from the fortresses at the Castle, and the same number at Fort Hill, were fired."

In October, 1789, Washington visited Boston, and reviewed the procession in his honor from a balcony erected from the centre window of the Representatives' Hall.

Finally, the project of a new State House was agitated, and the corner-stone thereof was laid July 4, 1795, with Masonic honors. It was first occupied by the Legislature on the 11th of January, 1798, when that august body marched in procession from the Old State House to the New.

By the deed which now is exhibited on these walls, the State transferred its ownership in half of the building to the town of Boston in 1803.

After the legislature had departed, the Town House fell upon evil days. The town-meetings were held in the enlarged Faneuil Hall, with which we are familiar. The courts were transferred to what was called the Old Court Honse, a three-story brick building on Court street, occupying the site of the oldest jail, and now covered by the east end of the Court House. Various uses were made of the rooms; the lower part became stores, a post-office, or an exchange, whilst the various lodges of Freemasous occupied the upper floor. A newspaper, "The Repository," was printed in this room, in 1805. The exterior was little altered save by the removal of the stairs at the east end, and of the Lion and Unicorn from their places. The Town Pump seems also to have become prominent at this time.

In 1830, the city, which had for some seven years conducted its municipal affairs very inconveniently at Faneuil Hall, awoke to the possibility of utilizing this building as a City Hall. The work of restoration was confided to Isaiah Rogers, and he entrusted part of the details to a young architect just beginning the series of works which makes the name of William Washburn familiar to us. It was a time when classical types were in vogue, and, therefore, the additions were patterned on Grecian models. Heavy wooden porticos were added at each end, and these halls on the second floor were fitted to the uses of the City Council. In this room the Aldermen met; in the Repre-

sentatives' Hall the Common Council. "Around the circular area of the stairs," and in the third story, were the various city offices. This occupancy, which lasted for ten years, until 1840, is recollected by many of our citizens.

The building was, for a third time, put in peril, when, on the 21st of November, 1832, the fire in a building opposite was communicated to the roof of this building, but, happily, was soon arrested. Salmon's picture of the event is familiar to us all, having been engraved on the diplomas of the Fire Department. Surely we may say of the venerable tower, almost in Longfellow's words,—

"In the market-place of Bruges, stands the belfry old and brown, Thrice consumed and thrice rebuilded, still it watches o'er the town."

After the removal of the City Hall to its School-street site, this building was again abandoned to business purposes, and, in the hands of successive lessees, it rapidly deteriorated. A hideous mansard roof disfigured its external lines; new partitions obliterated for the time the fair proportions of these halls; signs, telegraph wires and poles in countless number contributed to the shameful defacement. So completely were the memories of the site forgotten, and so arrogant were the fancied demands of commerce, that, in 1875, it was almost decided

to pull down the building. Happily better counsels prevailed, and, in 1881, the City Council authorized that work of restoration, which, on its completion, is to-day submitted to your consideration.

A complete account of what has been done will be submitted by the City Architect. It will be enough to state at present, that we now behold substantially the same halls which echoed the eloquence of Adams, Quincy, Otis, and Warren, and which witnessed the baffled intrigues of Hutchinson and Oliver, and the unsuccessful plans of Gage and Clinton, Howe and Burgoyne.

When in 1830, Harrison Gray Otis, then mayor of the city, stood here to welcome the inauguration of his government, he thus addressed the Council in regard to this building:—

"It exhibits no pomp of architectural grandeur or refined taste, and has no prefensions to vie with the magnificent structures of other countries or even of our own. Yet it is a goodly and venerable pile; and with recent improvements is an ornament of the place, of whose liberty it was once the citadel. And it has an interest for Bostonians who enter it this day, like that which is felt by grown children for an ancient matron by whom they were reared, and whom, visiting after years of absence, they find in her neat, chaste, old-fashioned attire, spruced up to receive them, with her comforts about her, and the same kind, hospitable, and excellent creature whom they left in less flourishing circumstances. But to this edifice there is not only a natural,

but 'a spiritual body,' which is the immortal soul of Independence. Nor is there, on the face of the earth, another building, however venerable for its antiquity, or stately in its magnificence, however decorated by columns and porticos, and cartoons, and statues and altars, and outshining the wealth of Ormus or of Ind, entitled in history to more honorable mention, or whose spires and turrets are surrounded with more glorious halo than this unpretending building.

"I refer you to the day when Independence, mature in age and loveliness, advanced with angelic grace from the chamber in which she was born into the same balcony, and holding in her hand the immortal scroll on which her name and character and claims to her inheritance were inscribed, received from the street, filled with an impenetrable phalanx, and windows glittering with a blaze of beauty, the heartfelt homage and electrifying peals of men, women, and children of the whole city. The splendor of that glorious vision of my childhood seems to be now present to my view, and the harmony of that universal concert to vibrate in my ear.

"We, gentlemen, have now become, for a short period, occupants of this Temple of Liberty. Henceforth, for many years, the City Government will probably be here administered. . . . May we, and those who will succeed us, appreciate the responsibleness attached to our places by the merit of our predecessors; and though we cannot serve our country to the same advantage, may we love it with equal fidelity. And may the guardian genius of our beloved city forever delight to dwell in these renovated walls!"

After the lapse of half a century we assemble to renew these pious labors, and to repeat his fervent prayers for their success; but the times are more propitious for us, since the present generation has been taught anew the necessity of perpetually cultivating those patriotic virtues which alone can animate a nation in times of adversity.

Twenty years have passed since the assembled citizens of Boston were again aroused, from the balcony of this chamber, by the eloquence of those speakers who uttered the cry, "To arms!"

God grant that in our day that appeal may never again be made; but should the necessity arise, it must be made to a community which has been daily familiar with the lessons taught by the memories of these halls as well as of the "Cradle of Liberty,"—Fancuil Hall.

"Here the child Independence was born!" and what untold glories in the future that birth portended! The independence for which our fathers fought was freedom of thought, speech, and action in every land and in every generation. The chain which they broke was not simply that of Great Britain over America, but the greater fetters of usurped authority over the bodies and minds of millions in other lands. To our success is to be attributed whatever liberty has been achieved for the suffering nations of Europe, or for the long-enslaved victims of unwarrantable oppression in our own land. I had thought I had recited all the stirring events

connected with this building, but I pause to add that it afforded a temporary shelter to William Lloyd Garrison as he was unwillingly rescued from the misguided rage of a pro-slavery mob. Let us rejoice that we to-day can assert, that, among the results of that Independence which was first proclaimed on this spot, has been the purging of the Great Republic of the anomalous stain and reproach of domestic slavery.

And, surely, if we have, at so great cost of treasure and blood, expiated our national sin, we may turn, with expectant gaze, to our sister nations for a similar sacrifice. The independence which we inculcate demands that, wherever, under any professed form of law, the labor of the peasant profits only his master, that iniquity shall cease, — whether it be in the familiar case of Ireland, whose wrongs meet with so prompt a response in kindred bosoms here, — or of Russia, where the lurid torch of Nihilism reveals the misery of untold millions, — or wherever else the wretched serf looks eagerly to the land of promise on this side of the Atlantic.

Fellow-citizens, so long as we maintain the sacred fires upon the altars, we may claim the right to be especially favored by the divinity. I cannot allow myself to dwell upon the possibility of any future surrender of these walls to any purpose less appropriate than that we now celebrate. I cannot anticipate any decrease in the prosperity or the public spirit of our beloved city. I can only predict that future generations, for centuries to come, will visit this spot and will remember us thankfully for what we have this day done.

To you, Mr. Mayor, as the highest representative of the city, I now transfer the care and custody of the Old State House, felicitating you upon the honorable duty, and congratulating the city that it devolves upon one so well qualified, by assiduous study, to appreciate the value of this acquisition.

At the conclusion of Mr. Whitmore's address, His Honor Mayor Green said:—

#### MAYOR GREEN'S REMARKS.

Mr. Chairman: — The Old State House to-day comes back to the city, and as the chief executive officer I greet the venerable structure with a warm and hearty welcome. After an occupation of many years for purposes of general business, these halls are now to be used for the reception and preservation of historical objects of local interest. The committee of which you are at the head, Mr. Alderman, having this matter in charge, deserve the thanks of the community, for the way in which it has been

done. I know full well that the work has fallen largely on the shoulders of the Councilman who has given us this morning his interesting and instructive address, and it is through his untiring zeal as an antiquary that this plan has been brought to a successful issue. I sympathize most warmly with him in the expression that the use we now give to these halls may be the permanent one. He has told how this building was erected as a town house, and traced its history from the earliest days to the present time. Its close connection with the various political events of our city and State makes it a conspicuous monument in our local annals.

The formal dedication of a public building is a custom of comparatively modern times. The founders of New England were too busy to indulge in mere formalities; and even if they had the time, they were apt to look upon such observances as idle and frivolous. They regarded the various purposes to which a building was put as in themselves a sufficient dedication; and for this reason they avoided any special ceremony to emphasize its objects or uses. While it is true, then, that this structure was never formally dedicated, it is equally true that it was consecrated by all that was high and noble in patriotic service, through the words that were spoken and the deeds that were inspired within its walls.

The political town meeting is an outgrowth of New England life, and it has been the very cradle of American liberty and independence. It originated with the first comers and has been kept up by their successors till the present time. The freemen of the several towns came together in public meeting to discuss and settle questions of general interest. They chose town officers, to whom was delegated the power to manage their civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. It was at such gatherings that a free and full recognition of popular rights was first made in this country, and the very foundation and cornerstone of our present political system laid. The best insight of the forces that developed local self-government is to be found in the action of such meetings. The causes that brought about the separation of the American colonies from the mother country were ripening during many years, but they were kept alive and active by these public assemblages. Boston was the largest and most influential town on the continent, and was always ready to take the lead in public affairs. When she spoke her voice was heard with no doubtful sound, and she had all New England for an audience. Her utterances were given from this building as well as from Faneuil Hall and the Old South Meeting-house. These three structures are full of historical reminiscences and associations, and I envy not the man who can approach any one of them with ordinary feelings. Rude though they are in external form they represent in their traditions the highest form of religion and patriotism, as understood by the framers of our government. He lacks some of the human sensibilities whose heart is not thrilled, and whose emotions are not quickened, when he enters their portals.

I do not forget the fact that this building was occupied by the municipal authorities during a period of ten years. On Sept. 17, 1830, the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, the City Government, under the Mayoralty of Harrison Gray Otis, took possession of these apartments, and used them until March 18, 1841. It was under this roof that the administrations of Charles Wells, Theodore Lyman, Samuel T. Armstrong, and Samuel A. Eliot were carried on; and it was while Jonathan Chapman was Mayor that the city offices were again removed to the City Hall, standing between Court square and School street. Whatever may be the fate of other public buildings, let us cherish the hope that the Old State House may stand as a connecting link between the provincial and national periods of our country's history, and that it may continually remind us of the unselfish devotion and hard struggles of

the men who laid the foundation of our present government.

Alderman Hersey.—I recognize among our honored guests to-day, the face and form of him whose memory extends far back into the past, and who, I know, can give us some personal reminiscences connected with this building. I allude to the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder.

### REMARKS OF HON. MARSHALL P. WILDER.

I did not expect, Mr. Mayor, and Mr. Chairman, to be called upon here to say a single word to-day. At my time of life, and under this oppressive heat, my words must be very few. But I rejoice from the bottom of my heart that I am able to be here on this consecrated spot, and participate in the ceremony of the restoration of the Old State House.

I say my words must be few; but I desire to tender to His Honor the Mayor, and to the City Government, the thanks of the Historic-Genealogical Society, in their behalf and in my own; I desire to thank you for the wisdom of making the appropriation which has placed again, as we believe, much in its old style, this building of former days; and I desire to thank Mr. Whitmore for his energetic, enterprising, persistent, and successful labors in bring-

ing again into this form, this structure, so ancient, and so renowned in the history of this city, because of the events, so graphically described by Mr. Whitmore and His Honor the Mayor, which transpired upon this spot. Here Independence drew its first breath. This spot, now consecrated by the restoration of this building, will perpetuate the history of those men, who, more than any others, led in the American revolution, and gave to the world the first great, free, and independent nation on earth.

The work has been well accomplished. Nothing could be more appropriate; and the provision made for it by the City Government, I am sure you will all say, could not have been more judiciously expended. For I hold that next to training the spirit for the life eternal, there is no obligation more solemn than that of perpetuating to future generations the principles and virtues of those noble men who gave to the world this great republic,—principles and virtues upon which must ever rest the happiness and prosperity of all our people.

This ended the formal exercises. The following letters, addressed to the Chairman of the Committee, Alderman Woolley, were not read, owing to his absence; but they are worthy of preservation in the history of the celebration:—

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Executive Department, July 8, 1882.

My dear Mr. Alderman: — I thank you for your kind invitation to the Re-dedication of the Old State House, with its interesting associations. I am unable to accept on account of engagements at the same hour, but I beg to send my kindest wishes for the occasion.

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. LONG.

WM. WOOLLEY, Esq.

NAVY YARD, BOSTON, COMMANDANT'S OFFICE, July 10, 1882.

DEAR SIR:—I have had the honor of receiving your kind invitation to attend at the Old State House to-morrow to participate in the ceremonies of the Re-dedication of that ancient and interesting structure. I greatly regret that my health is such that I will not be able to attend.

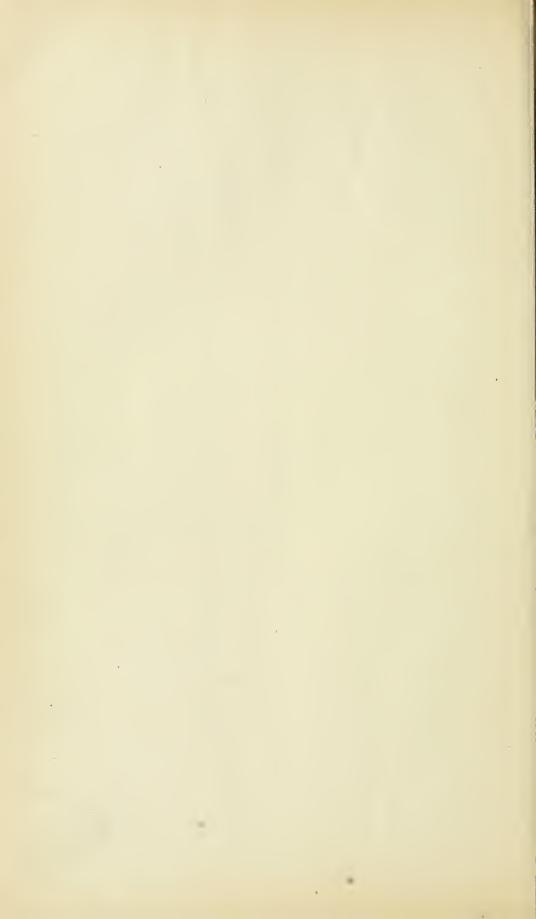
With many thanks to you, and to Mr. Whitmore, I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

O. C. BADGER,

Commodore, U.S.N.

WILLIAM WOOLLEY, Esq.,
City Council, City Hall, Boston.



## RE-DEDICATION

OF THE

# OLD STATE HOUSE,

BOSTON.

JULY 11TH, 1882.



## Boston:

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

1882.

