

Forefathers' Day Orations, 1769–1865: An Introduction and Checklist

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STUDIES of collective memory and identity politics have rekindled interest in one of the most productive narratives of American history. The foundational saga of the Pilgrims and the role of Plymouth Rock in American mythography hold renewed attraction for scholars concerned with the cultural formation, political appropriation, and public representation of national ideologies in changing contexts. Plymouth Rock provides the point of origin for a number of recent studies that revisit the sites and stories of the Pilgrim heritage, retrace the Pilgrims' participation in the construction and contestation of collective American identities, and remap the inventory of texts, images, and platforms supporting the Pilgrim myth over the course of more than three centuries. Published almost simultaneously, but differing in scope, approach, and agenda, John Seelye's *Memory's Nation*,¹ Ann

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1. John Seelye, *Memory's Nation: The Place of Plymouth Rock* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

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Uhry Abrams's *The Pilgrims and Pocahontas*,² and my own articles on Pilgrim anniversaries from the American Revolution to the Plymouth Tercentenary of 1920/21³ reassess the cultural impact of a regional legend that once governed the national iconography to a considerable extent and shaped the Anglocentric fabric of American civil religion.⁴ These recent publications on the documents and traditions of American ancestor worship springing from Plymouth Rock emphasize the politics and competitiveness of the Pilgrim myth, incorporate a wider range of visual materials and printed matter of diverse kinds into their analyses, and try to recover the scripts and choreographies of commemorations in and beyond New England.⁵

2. Ann Uhry Abrams, *The Pilgrims and Pocahontas: Rival Myths of American Origin* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1999).

3. Udo J. Hebel, "A Proper Recollection of These Things": New England Forefathers' Day Orations 1769–1820 and the National Consecration of a Colonial Past,' *Remembering the Individual / Regional / National Past*, ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1999), 31–58; Udo J. Hebel, 'The Forefathers' Day Celebrations of 1802 and the Enactment of Federalist Constructions of the American Republic,' *The Construction and Contestation of American Cultures and Identities in the Early National Period*, ed. Udo J. Hebel (Heidelberg: Winter, 1999), 303–30; Udo J. Hebel, 'New England Forefathers' Day Celebrations Between the American Revolution and the Civil War,' *Ceremonies and Spectacles: Performing American Culture*, eds. Teresa Alves et al. (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 111–43; Udo J. Hebel, 'Historical Bonding With an Expiring Heritage: Revisiting the Plymouth Tercentenary Festivities of 1920/21,' *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century*, eds. Geneviève Fabre, Jürgen Heideking, and Kai Dreisbach (New York: Berghahn, 2001), 257–97; Udo J. Hebel, 'The Rise and Fall of Forefathers' Day as a Site of National American Memory,' *Sites of Memory in American Literatures and Cultures*, ed. Udo J. Hebel (Heidelberg: Winter, 2003), 141–91.

4. For a review essay discussing Seelye's and Abrams's work, together with Jill Lepore's *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998) and Alfred E. Young's *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), in the contexts of the study of collective memory, see Thomas J. Brown, 'Massachusetts in Memory,' *The Massachusetts Historical Review* 2 (2000): 118–33. *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory*, eds. William H. Truettner and Roger B. Stein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), also deserves mention, although the representation of Plymouth Rock and the Pilgrims as a national myth of origin is not a prime focus of the volume.

5. For earlier sources and studies, see James Thacher, *History of the Town of Plymouth, From Its First Settlement in 1620 to the Present Time*, 2d. ed. (1835; Yarmouthport: Parnassus, 1972); William Russell, *Guide to Plymouth and Recollections of the Pilgrims* (Boston: Coolidge, 1846); Herbert B. Adams, 'Plymouth Rock Restored,' *Magazine of American History* 8 (1882): 789–806 and 9 (1883): 31–52; William T. Davis, *Plymouth Memories of an Octogenarian* (Plymouth, Mass.: Memorial Press, 1906); Albert Matthews, 'The Term Pilgrim Fathers and Early Celebrations of Forefathers' Day,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 17 (1914): 293–391; George F. Willison, *Saints and Strangers* (New York: Time, 1945); Wesley F. Craven, *The Legend of the Founding Fathers* (1956; Westport, Conn.:

The following checklist of Forefathers' Day orations has emerged from my research on the history and choreography of festivities that celebrated the so-called landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock between the Revolution and the Civil War. Before the Civil War reconfigured collective American memory,⁶ and before the further ethnic pluralization of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries eroded the cohesive authority of New England anniversaries as nationally binding rites,⁷ Forefathers' Day provided a major plat-

Greenwood Press, 1983); Francis Russell, 'The Pilgrims and the Rock,' *American Heritage* 13.6 (1962): 48-55; Rose T. Briggs, *Plymouth Rock: History and Significance* (Plymouth, Mass.: Pilgrim Society, 1968); Peter Gomes, *The Pilgrim Society 1820-1920: An Informal Commemorative Essay* (Plymouth, Mass.: Pilgrim Society, 1971); Robert J. Myers, *Celebrations: The Complete Book of American Holidays* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), 295-301; Pershing Vartanian, 'The Puritan as a Symbol in American Thought: A Study of the New England Societies, 1820-1920,' Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1971 [DAI 32.7 (1972):3939A]; Robert D. Arner, 'Plymouth Rock Revisited: The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers,' *Journal of American Culture* 6 (1983): 25-35; Peter Gomes, 'Pilgrims and Puritans: "Heroes" and "Villains" in the Creation of the American Past,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 95 (1983): 1-16; Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture: From Revolution through Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

6. On the Civil War in American public memory recently, see especially Jim Cullen, *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1995); Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ellen M. Litwicky, *America's Public Holidays, 1865-1920* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 2000), ch. 2; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

7. On the development of ethnic, and especially immigrant, festive culture in the United States, see Litwicky, *America's Public Holidays*, chs. 2 and 4; Kenneth Moss, 'St. Patrick's Day Celebrations and the Formation of Irish-American Identity, 1845-1875,' *Journal of Social History* 29 (1995): 123-48; *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities*, eds. Ramón Gutiérrez and Geneviève Fabre (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, eds. Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); April Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American Through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Kathleen N. Conzen, 'Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade,' *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 44-76; Dag Blanck, 'History at Work: The 1888 New Sweden Jubilee,' *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 39 (1988): 5-20; Robert Orsi, 'Parades, Holidays, and Public Rituals,' *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, eds. Mary K. Cayton et al. (New York: Scribner, 1993), 1913-22, at 1916-17. For case studies in local commemorative civic traditions, see John Bodnar, 'Commemorative Activity in Twentieth-Century Indianapolis: The Invention of Civic Traditions,' *Indiana Magazine of History* 87 (1991): 1-23, and David Glassberg, 'Public Ritual and Cultural Hierarchy: Philadelphia's Civic Celebrations at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,' *Pennsylvania Magazine* 107 (1983): 421-48.

form to advocate New England-centered formulations of American history and cultural memory. When the annual cycle of early national and antebellum American festive culture was bursting with celebrations of the Constitution, Independence Day, presidential birthdays, inaugurations, and diverse events of local and national history, the observance of Forefathers' Day on December 21/22⁸ occupied a prominent position in the commemorative landscape and was a serious rival of the Fourth of July.⁹ In his 1836 'Eulogy on King Philip,' Pequot writer and orator William Apess placed the Plymouth anniversary next to the Fourth of July and recognized the contemporary clout and national popularity of Forefathers' Day celebrations from the perspective of those who suffered the consequences of both historical events: 'We say, therefore, let every man of color wrap himself in mourning, for the 22nd of December and the 4th of July are days of mourning and not of joy.'¹⁰ The consideration of materials from outside Massachusetts shows that, in the decades before the Civil War, Forefathers' Day spread across the continent to the shores of the Pacific and even reached beyond the northern border of the

8. The exact date of the 'landing' remained a matter of dispute into the nineteenth century. Whereas December 22 had first been taken to mark the anniversary, December 21 was eventually fixed as the proper date. See *Report of the Pilgrim Society on the Expediency of Celebrating the Landing of the Pilgrims December 21 Instead of December 22* (Boston, 1850).

9. For recent studies of early national festive culture, see especially Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Brooks McNamara, *Day of Jubilee: The Great Age of Public Celebrations in New York, 1788-1909* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Jürgen Heideking, 'The Federal Processions of 1788 and the Origins of American Civil Religion,' *Soundings* 77 (1994): 367-87; Shane White, "'It Was a Proud Day": African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834,' *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 13-50; John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), ch. 2; Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

10. William Apess, 'Eulogy on King Philip, as Pronounced at the Odeon, in Federal Street, Boston (1836),' *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess*, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 286.

United States when New England anniversaries were observed for a brief period in Montreal.¹¹ In post-Civil War times, the power of the civic rite began to wane, and the recently installed holiday of Thanksgiving soon challenged the cultural position of the Plymouth anniversary as a New England celebration of national stature.¹² In view of the demise, if not disappearance, of Forefathers' Day from the calendar of national holidays in the twentieth century, the monumental Plymouth tercentenary festivities of 1920/21 sealed 'the passing away of a New England that would not return'¹³ instead of revitalizing the spirit of 'the so-called Pilgrim Century, from 1820 to 1920.'¹⁴

The cultural significance attributed to celebrations of Forefathers' Day in revolutionary, early national, and antebellum America is reflected in the large number of orations that were printed for wider circulation after their delivery as 'the quintessence of filiopietistic mythography.'¹⁵ This checklist provides for the first time a comprehensive documentation of Forefathers' Day sermons and speeches from the inception of civic performances in pre-revolutionary Plymouth 1769 to their eclipse after the Civil War. No matter which approach investigations of the history of the Pilgrim myth have taken, and no matter what the specific focus of their analyses of related documents and performances has

11. See Hebel, 'New England Forefathers' Day Celebrations Between the American Revolution and the Civil War,' 113-16, and the 'Index to Places of Delivery,' 377.

12. Gomes, 'Pilgrims and Puritans,' 14.

13. See Seelye, *Memory's Nation*, 379-80 on the promotion of the first Thanksgiving as a national anniversary by Sarah Josepha Hale in the late 1850s and its official institution by President Lincoln in 1863. The initiation of Thanksgiving during the Civil War and the post-Civil War changes in American cultural memory inform the cutoff date of the present checklist.

14. Gomes, 'Pilgrims and Puritans,' 2. For a discussion of the weakening of the cultural power of Plymouth Rock, the demise of Forefathers' Day, and the failure of the Plymouth Tercentenary to revive the New England heritage production, see Seelye, *Memory's Nation*, chs. 22-25, and Hebel, 'Historical Bonding With an Expiring Heritage.' Significantly enough, Litwicky's *America's Public Holidays, 1865-1920*, which is focused on 'the holidays invented or revived between the Civil War and World War I' (2), does not refer to Forefathers' Day. Today, the very cradle of the tradition, the Old Colony Club of Plymouth, remains the last site of Forefathers' Day celebrations.

15. Buell, *New England Literary Culture*, 197. Similarly, Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 63-64, 208-11.

been, the orations given at annual commemorations of the foundation of Plymouth have always provided rich source materials.¹⁶ This first documentation of very rare, at times hitherto uncatalogued, items, especially from locations outside New England, and the identification of speeches previously not recognized as Forefathers' Day orations may thus support more far-reaching interpretations of the rhetorical productivity of the anniversary during the period of its highest visibility.¹⁷ It is hoped that this checklist will stimulate further explorations of the political functions of Forefathers' Day in different historical and geographical contexts,¹⁸ and encourage scholars to recover more fully the performative dimensions of the public events for which they were commissioned.¹⁹

The majority of printed addresses were published at the request of the organizing committees soon after their delivery. In

16. Within the script for the celebratory event, orations provide the focal point of what Victor Turner calls the 'plural reflexivity' of cultural performances. Victor Turner, 'Liminality and the Performative Genres,' *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 25.

17. Although Forefathers' Day oratory is not included in any of the following studies of nineteenth-century American rhetoric, they may still support further analyses: *Rhetoric and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Thomas W. Benson (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997); *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Transformations in the Theory and Practice of Rhetoric*, eds. Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993); Nan Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991); eds. Bernard K. Duffy and Halford R. Ryan, *American Orators Before 1900: Critical Studies and Sources* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Barnet Baskerville, *The People's Voice: The Orator in American Society* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1979).

18. For a sample discussion of the historicity and localism of the politics of Forefathers' Day celebrations, see Hebel, 'The Forefathers' Day Celebrations of 1802,' and Hebel, 'New England Forefathers' Day Celebrations Between the American Revolution and the Civil War,' 125-33.

19. For examples of the description and analysis of the scripts and building blocks of Forefathers' Day in the early nineteenth century, see Hebel, 'The Forefathers' Day Celebrations of 1802,' and Hebel, 'New England Forefathers' Day Celebrations Between the American Revolution and the Civil War,' 117-25. For theoretical approaches to the interpretation of Forefathers' Day as cultural performance, see Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984); *Secular Ritual*, eds. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977).

some instances, reprints, (partial) reproductions in newspapers and magazines, and the inclusion in anthologies of different kinds followed. As early as 1804, Jedidiah Morse and Elijah Parish recognized the didactic value of Forefathers' Day oratory and selected passages from the early Plymouth speeches of John Davis, John Quincy Adams, and J. T. Kirkland for their *Compendious History of New England, Designed for Schools and Private Families*. Edward Everett's 1824 Plymouth address was excerpted in John Pierpont's *National Reader* of 1827, between sections from William Robertson's and Daniel Neal's histories of New England and Charles W. Upham's and Felicia Hemans's Pilgrim poems.²⁰ When Frank Moore compiled *American Eloquence: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses, by the Most Eminent Orators of America* in 1857, he deemed it suitable to include John Quincy Adams's 'Oration at Plymouth' of 1802 and Seargent S. Prentiss's 'New England Address' presented in New Orleans in 1845. Selective reproductions of Forefathers' Day speeches in, e.g., *Niles National Register*, *The Literary World*, and *The Liberator* testify to a different, both journalistic and propagandistic, appeal of Forefathers' Day oratory. A particularly noteworthy case in that respect is the complete reproduction of J. R. Benton's 1853 Sacramento oration in the *Sacramento Daily Union* of December 23, 1853, which is the only available version of the speech.²¹

Although the present checklist significantly expands previous documentation, it still needs to be seen whether the 132 entries provide an 'inclusive bibliography'²² for those interested in New

20. The bulk of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Forefathers' Day poetry is available in Thacher, *History of the Town of Plymouth*, 341-2; Russell, *Guide to Plymouth*, Appendix 'Airs of the Pilgrims' [76 pp.]; *Poems of the Pilgrims*, ed. Z. H. Spooner (Boston: Williams, 1881); *Songs of the Pilgrims*, ed. Marvin D. Bisbee (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1887).

21. See the respective additions to entries in the checklist for examples of the various categories. Reviews of Forefathers' Day orations document an academic reception; see the reviews of the addresses of Alden Bradford (1804) in *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (January 1805): 42; Peleg Sprague (1835) in *The American Monthly Magazine* (April 1836): 420-21; Charles B. Haddock (1841) in *American Quarterly Register* 15 (1843): 87; and J. Prescott Hall (1847) in *Literary World* (February 12, 1848): 24-26.

22. Seelye, *Memory's Nation*, 647.

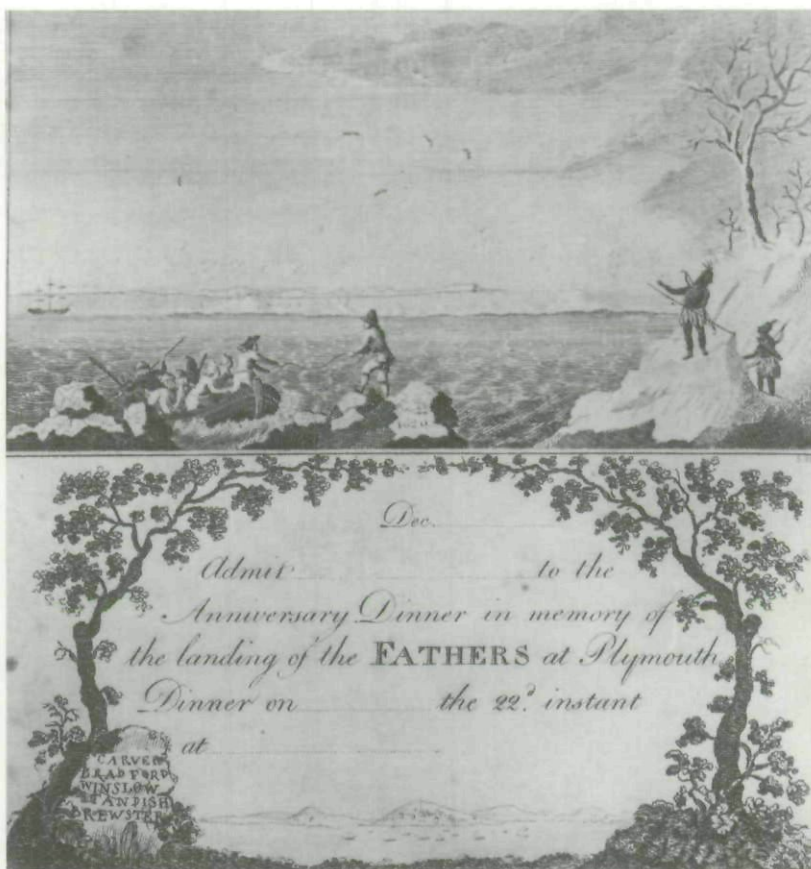


Fig. 1. The Landing of the Pilgrims. Engraved invitation by Samuel Hill (ca. 1798–1800). American Antiquarian Society.

England studies. The full scope and energy of Forefathers' Day oratory went far beyond what has been preserved in print. That the first officially commissioned oration, by Chandler Robbins (1772), has only been handed down in a brief mention in the records of the Old Colony Club, together with letters documenting the introduction of the practice of commissioned orations, is certainly a case in point.²³ Research beyond the trodden paths of

23. See 'Records of the Old Colony Club,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2nd ser., 3 (1886–87), 434; for reproductions of the letters of December 23, 1771, and

Plymouth, beyond the readily available collections of New York orations,²⁴ and beyond the less well-known but still accessible records of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina,²⁵ yields many of the items given here for the first time and draws attention to a largely uncharted (and probably unchartable) archive of forgotten celebrations and lost documents. Thus, a letter sent to Plymouth by a certain W.R.S. from Hillsboro, Illinois, in 1838 gives a report on 'the first celebration (I believe) of the kind that has ever occurred in the Mississippi Valley.' The author regrets the lack of 'local scenery,' but suggests that 'through the instrumentality of imagination, the letter's recipient may recall in some imperfect degree at least, the scenes and events with which he has been associated.' The local variant of the civic rite at Hillsboro seems to have been a fireside enactment of the pioneer interpretation of the historic event, with 'a social circle of Old Colony friends . . . seated round a comfortable fire,' reveling in 'the gradual improvement of society, in the arts, institutions, and conveniences so essential to the happiness of man,' and reenvisioning the day 'when the hardy adventurers of the *Mayflower*, with axe in hand, left their ship at anchor.'²⁶ The address given that day by the Reverend William D. Huntington would probably shed more light on the specifically midwestern frame of the event had it been preserved. Similarly, the diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin records celebrations at Worcester, Massachusetts, in the early 1830s, with explicit mention of evidently lost orations by William

January 7, 1772, see 421-24; also Hebel, "A Proper Recollection of These Things," 32-33. The first address qualifying as a Forefathers' Day oration had been given informally by Edward Winslow at the 1770 celebration; its text has survived in the 'Records of the Old Colony Club' (1, p. 348).

24. See *The New England Society Orations: Addresses, Sermons and Poems Delivered Before the New England Society in the City of New York 1820-1885*, eds. Cephas Brainerd and Eveline Warner Brainerd, 2 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1901); also Horace Hatch, *The New England Society in the City of New York, 1805-1957* (New York: New England Society, 1958).

25. William Way, *History of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina, for One Hundred Years, 1819-1919* (Charleston, S.C.: New England Society, 1920).

26. *Christian Register* (January 27, 1838): 14-15.

Lincoln (1829) and a Reverend Hill (1833).²⁷ In a diary entry for December 22, 1838, Thomas Robbins describes the Plymouth celebration of 1838 and his own—lost—contributions to it in the form of an oration of sixty-five minutes before a ‘large assembly’ and a ‘short extempore address to the Guards.’²⁸ In its lengthy coverage of the 1846 festivities of the New England Society of Cincinnati, the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of December 31, 1846, refers to an untraceable address by Benjamin B. Fessenden, which ‘was commemorative of the virtues and peculiarities of the early inhabitants of New England and exhibited a true and graphic picture of the Yankee character, as well as some interesting historical facts connected with New England and her people.’ The *New Orleans Weekly Picayune* of December 28, 1846, mentions a lost oration by Thomas A. Adams, as well as ‘a most feeling speech, redundant with eloquence and beautiful passages’ by a certain ‘Mr. P.’—most likely Seargent S. Prentiss, the speaker of the year before. Lists of South Carolina orators added to Joshua Barker Whitridge’s *Oration Delivered on the Anniversary of the New-England Society, Charleston, S.C. December 22d, 1835*, and included in Way’s *History of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina*,²⁹ refer to items whose existence can no longer be verified. Broad sides issued for celebrations in, e.g., Cincinnati, San Francisco, and, especially, Middlebury, Vermont, also announce addresses no longer traceable.³⁰ In other cases, speakers

27. ‘Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, 1829–1835,’ *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 8 (1901): 45 and 249.

28. *Diary of Thomas Robbins, D.D. 1796–1854. Printed For His Nephew. Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society*, ed. Increase N. Tarbox, 2 vols. (Boston: Todd, 1886–1887), 2: 517–18.

29. See Way, *History of the New England Society of Charleston*, 269–70.

30. The Sheldon Museum in Middlebury, Vt., holds collections of broad sides and newspaper clippings that document the course of festivities in the two decades before the Civil War and illustrate the potential for further research on the level of local history. The names of speakers given on Middlebury broad sides are Pastor Stoddard (1842), Otto S. Hoyt (1843), James Meacham (1845), T. S. Hubbard (1848), J. A. Beckwith (1851), R. S. Cushman (1852), Geo. N. Boardman (1856), Philip Battell (1857), William H. Lord (1858). On the history of Forefathers’ Day in Middlebury, Vt., see W. Storrs Lee, ‘Forefathers Day,’ *The Middlebury College News Letter* 15.2 (1940): 10–11, 18. The broad side men-

declined to have their commemorative product preserved for posterity, as did the Reverend John Brazer of Salem in 1831.³¹ Finally, the fifteen-page manuscript of a sermon by Winchendon, Massachusetts, pastor Abijah Perkins Marvin for December 22, 1850, entitled 'The Pilgrim Fathers,'³² shows that there is, of course, a middle station between continued availability in print and evident—at times intentional—erasure from the storehouse of collective memory.

The checklist of Forefathers' Day orations through 1865 is arranged chronologically and only includes orations delivered for the declared purpose of commemorating the landing of the founders of Plymouth in 1620. Orations supporting the production and circulation of a usable Plymouth past from other platforms and in the contexts of other public performances have not been considered.³³ The chronological checklist is supplemented with two indexes, one giving the names of orators in alphabetical order and one illustrating the geographical spread of celebrations. Together with a quantitative enlargement of previous bibliographies, this documentation of the national expansion of Plymouth anniversary festivities should enhance our understanding of the position of Forefathers' Day in American culture between the Revolution and the Civil War.

tion of lost orations of Lyman Beecher (Cincinnati, 1845) and James Wilson (San Francisco, 1850) may serve as further examples in this category.

31. See *Christian Register* (December 31, 1831): 210.

32. Abijah Perkins Marvin, 'The Pilgrim Fathers: Sermon for December 22, 1850'; Ms. in Sermons 1844-1881, Folder 1850/51. American Antiquarian Society.

33. See, e.g., Nathanael Emmons, *A Sermon, Delivered Dec. 31, 1820. The Last Day in the Second Century Since Our Forefathers First Settled in Plymouth* (Dedham, Mass.: H. & W. H. Mann, 1821); Stephen Greenleaf Bulfinch, *A Discourse Suggested by Weir's Picture of the Embarkation of the Pilgrims; Delivered in the Unitarian Church, Washington, December 31, 1843* (Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1844); Edward Everett, *Remarks at the Plymouth Festival, on the First of August, 1853*, and Charles Sumner, *A Finger-Point from Plymouth Rock. Remarks at the Plymouth Festival, On the First of August, 1853 in Commemoration of the Embarkation of the Pilgrims* (Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Company, 1853); Richard Yeadon, *Speech of Richard Yeadon [from Charleston] at the Pilgrim Celebration, Massachusetts, August 1, 1853* (New York: Trehern, 1853); Robert Woodward Cushman, *Plymouth Rock: 'The Rock Whence We Were Born.' A Discourse Delivered in Plymouth, August 15, 1855* (Boston: Hewes, 1855); *Proceedings at the Consecration of the Cushman Monument: At Plymouth, September 16, 1858, Including the Discourse and Poem Delivered on That Occasion, Together with a List of Contributions to the Monument* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1859).

Chronological Checklist of Forefathers' Day Orations¹

1 Winslow, Edward

[Address, December 24, 1770]

'Records of the Old Colony Club.' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2nd. Ser., 3 (1886-87): 381-444 (at 416-17).

2 Turner, Charles

A Sermon, Preached at Plymouth, December 22d, 1773. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of the Landing of the Fathers there, A.D. 1620.

Boston: Greenleaf's Printing-Office, 1774. 48 pp.

3 Hitchcock, Gad

A Sermon Preached at Plymouth December 22d, 1774. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of the first Landing of our New-England Ancestors in that Place, Anno Dom. 1620.

Boston: Edes & Gill, 1775. 44 pp.

4 Baldwin, Samuel

A Sermon Preached at Plymouth, December 22, 1775. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving, in commemoration of the first landing of the Fathers of New-England, there; anno domini, 1620.

Boston: Powars & Willis, 1776. 39 pp.

5 Conant, Sylvanus

An Anniversary Sermon Preached at Plymouth, December 23, 1776. In grateful Memory of the first Landing of our worthy Ancestors in that Place, An. Dom. 1620.

Boston, New-England: Thomas & John Fleet, 1777. 31 pp.

1. Entries are based on copies held by the American Antiquarian Society, unless noted, using the following location symbols: [CaOONL] [CtY] [DLC] [MiU] [MH] [NcD] [PHi] [RPB]

6 West, Samuel

An Anniversary Sermon, Preached at Plymouth, December 22d, 1777. In Grateful Memory of the First Landing of Our Pious New-England Ancesters [sic] in That Place, A.D. 1620.

Boston: Draper & Folsom, 1778. 77 pp.

7 Robbins, Chandler

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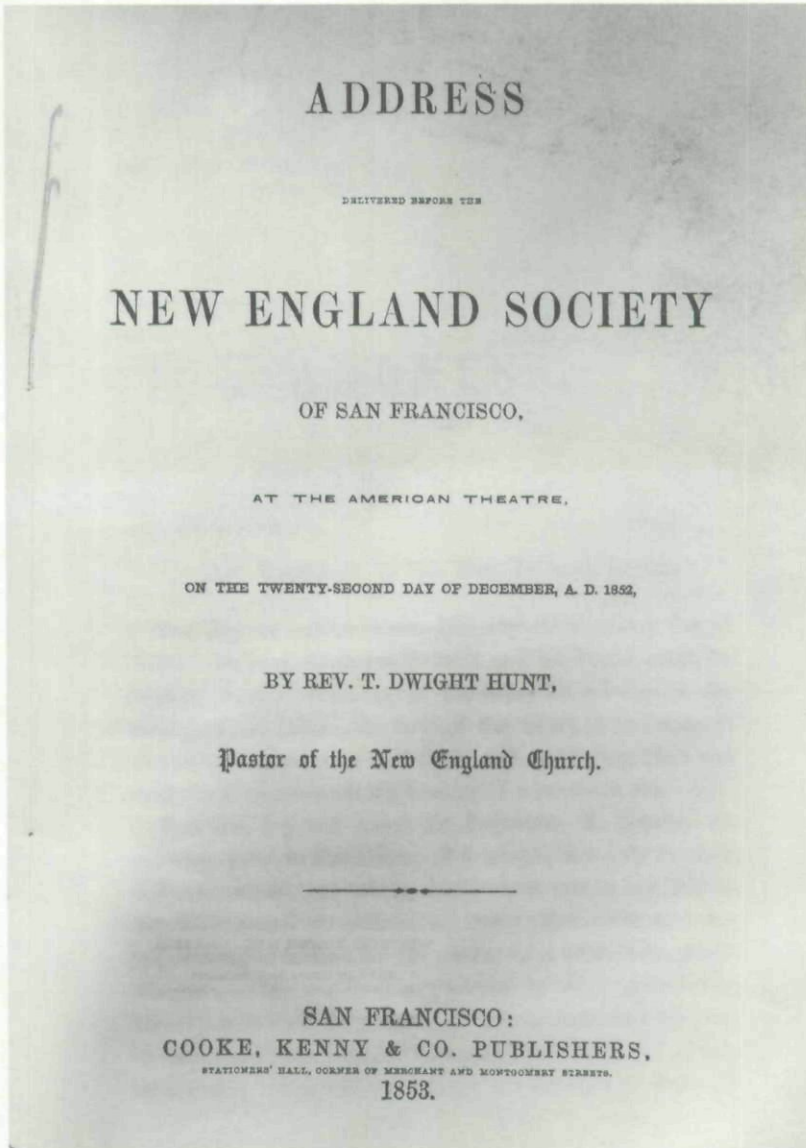


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