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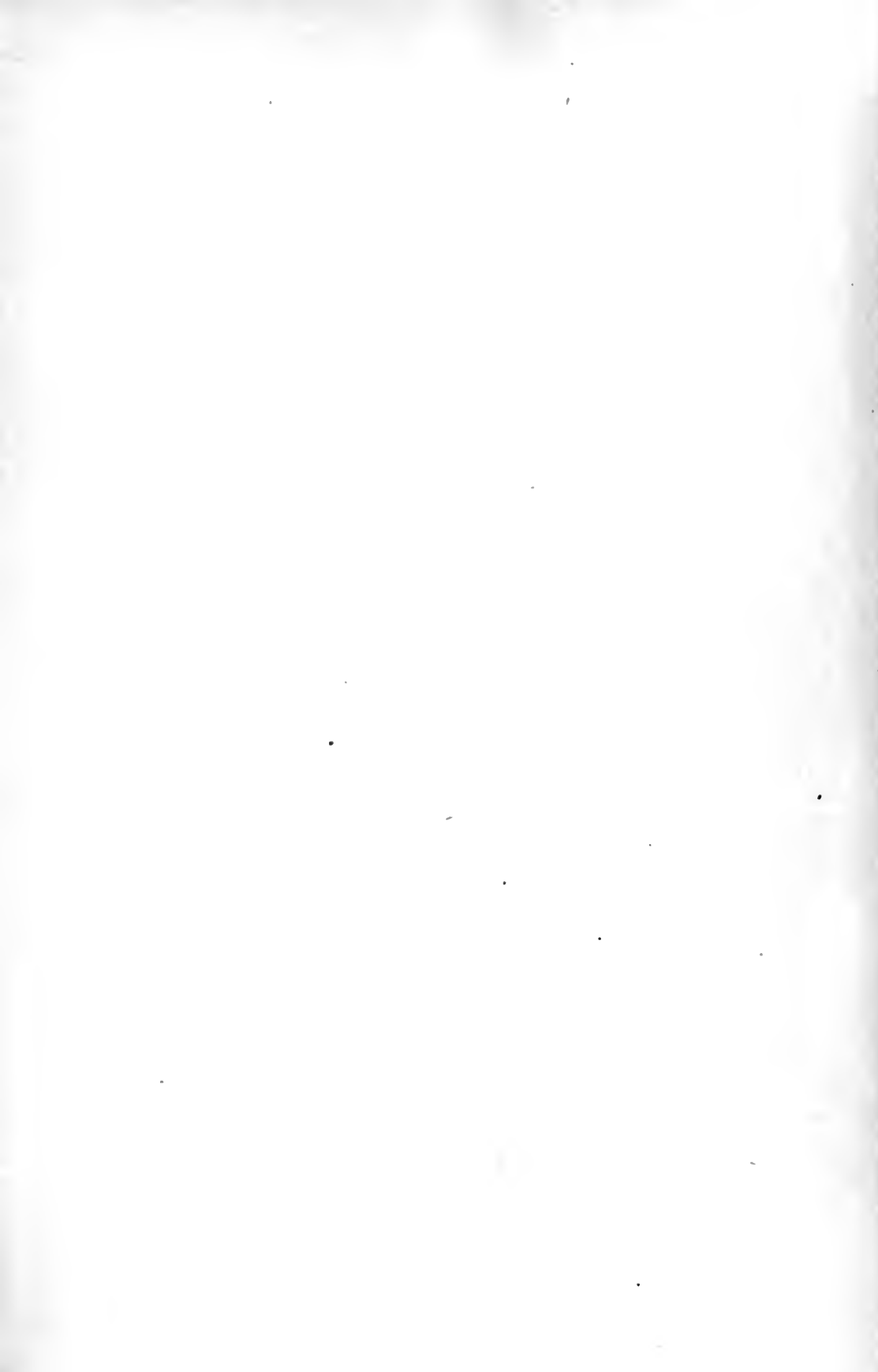
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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1919

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*Engraved for The Centennial Directory of Massachusetts
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PUBLICATIONS

OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXI

W. S. Lee.
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TRANSACTIONS

1919

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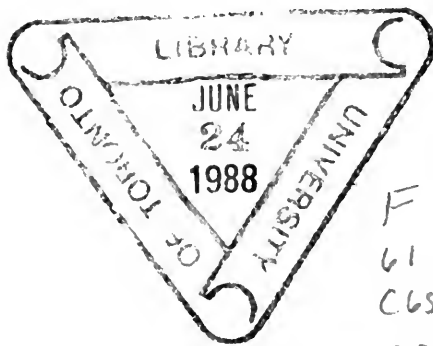
BOSTON

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1920



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PREFACE

VOLUME XXI, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at four meetings, from March to December, 1919, in continuation of Volume XX.

The committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Mr. Charles Fitch Bates, Miss Ada Bouvé, Mr. Charles William Jenks, Dr. Charles Lemuel Nichols, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, the Corporation of Harvard College, the Dedham Historical Society, the Harvard College Library, the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Archives Department).

For the Committee of Publication,

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON,

Chairman.

Boston, 1 March, 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
OFFICERS, 1 MARCH, 1920	xi
RESIDENT MEMBERS	xii
HONORARY MEMBERS	xiv
CORRESPONDING MEMBERS	xiv
MEMBERS DECEASED	xv

PAPERS, NOTES, REMARKS, AND DOCUMENTS

Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant, by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE	1
Comenius and Harvard College, by ALBERT MATTHEWS . . .	146
Catalogue of John Harvard's Library, by ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER	190
John Dunton Again, by CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH	232
Remarks by SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH, in exhibiting a Map of Boston in 1648	251
A Charter Party, dated 22 October, 1659, exhibited by JOHN WHITEMORE FARWELL	254
A Water-Color View of Harvard College, made about 1807, ex- hibited by WALDO LINCOLN	257
Comment by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE	257
Remarks by JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, on certain Names in the Dedham Church Records	258
Early Sunday Schools in Boston, by ALBERT MATTHEWS . . .	259
Is there a Mark Baskett Bible of 1752? by CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS	285

	PAGE
Land Warrants issued under Andros, 1687-1688, communicated by JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE	292
The Harvard College Charter of 1672, by ALBERT MATTHEWS .	363
Remarks by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, in exhibiting a Water- Color View of Harvard College made by Houdin d'Orge- mont in 1795	410
New England Town Mandates, communicated from KENNETH COLEGROVE	411
Remarks by JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, on a Tradition relating to the Regicides Goffe and Whalley	449
Receipts of the Record Books and Papers of the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, 1776, communicated by HENRY HER- BERT EDES	452

BUSINESS PROCEEDINGS

Members Elected	1, 231
Committee to Nominate Officers appointed	231
Committee to Examine the Treasurer's Accounts appointed . . .	231
Committee on Memorials appointed	231
Report of the Council	403
Report of the Treasurer	406
Report of the Auditing Committee	408
Officers Elected	408
Annual Dinner	409
Death of Member announced	410
Delegates to the Annual Conference of Historical Societies ap- pointed	410

INDEX	455
-----------------	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PORTRAIT OF JOHN AMOS COMENIUS	146
TITLE-PAGE OF JOHN DOWNNAME'S CHRISTIAN WARFARE AGAINST THE DEVILL, WORLD AND FLESH, 1633	206
WATER-COLOR VIEW OF HARVARD COLLEGE, MADE ABOUT 1807	256
FACSIMILE OF ENTRIES IN THE DEDHAM CHURCH RECORDS . .	258
TITLE-PAGE OF THE MARK BASKETT BIBLE, 1761	286
FACSIMILE OF PASSAGES IN THE ALLEGED MARK BASKETT BIBLE, 1752	288
TITLE-PAGE OF THE MARK BASKETT BIBLE, 1763	290
TITLE-PAGE OF THE ALLEGED MARK BASKETT BIBLE, 1752 . .	292
DRAUGHT OF THE HARVARD COLLEGE CHARTER OF 1672, I .	388
DRAUGHT OF THE HARVARD COLLEGE CHARTER OF 1672, II .	392
DRAUGHT OF THE HARVARD COLLEGE CHARTER OF 1672, III .	396
DRAUGHT OF THE HARVARD COLLEGE CHARTER OF 1672, IV .	400
WATER-COLOR VIEW OF HARVARD COLLEGE, MADE BY HOUDIN D'ORGEMONT, 1795	410
FACSIMILES OF TWO DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE RECORD BOOKS OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, DATED 26 AND 30 APRIL, 1776	452
FACSIMILE OF AN ENTRY IN THE DIARY OF THE REV. JONATHAN TOWNSEND, DATED 17 JULY, 1737	453

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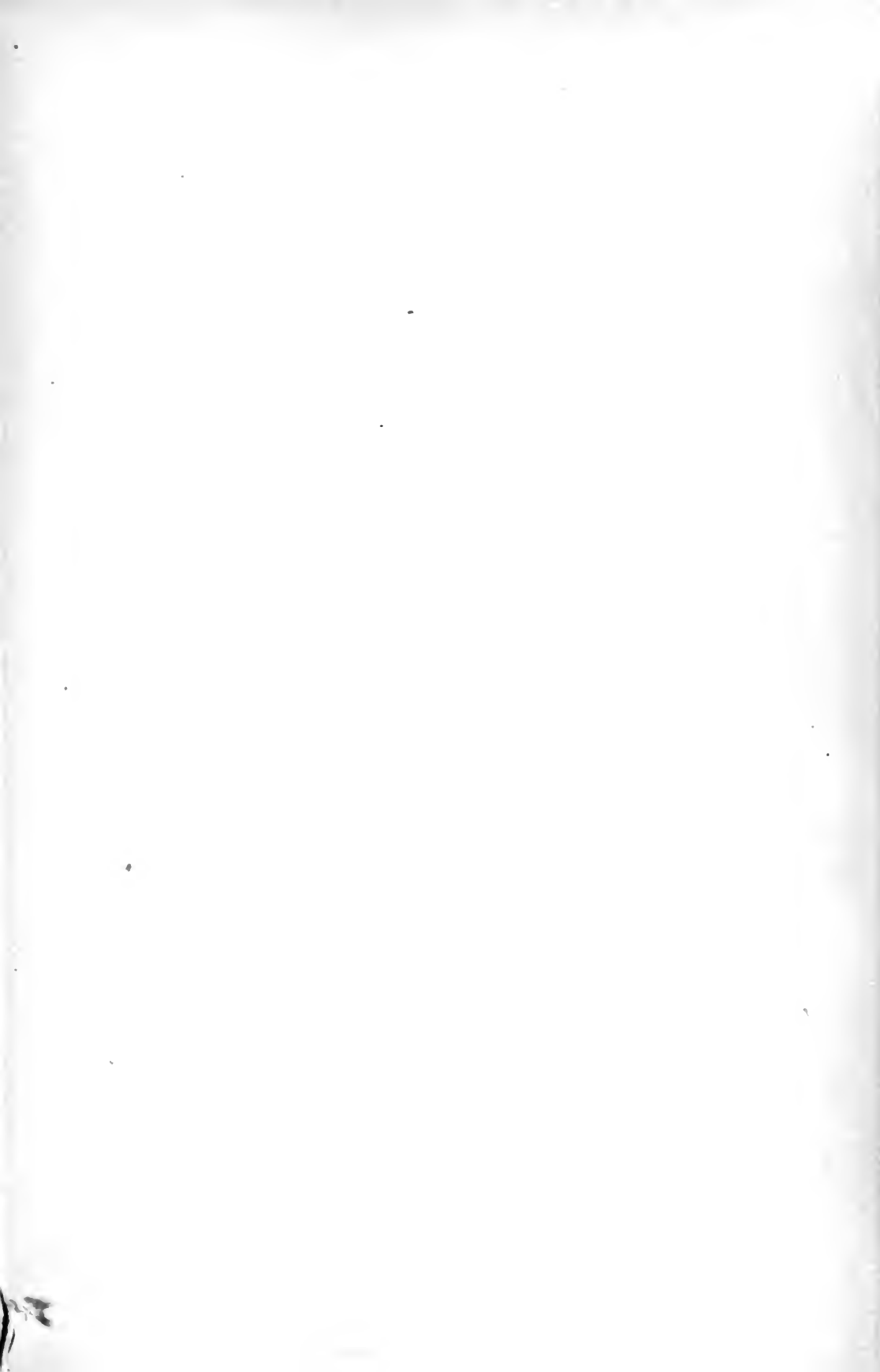
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HENRY LEE HIGGINSON, LL.D.	14 November, 1919

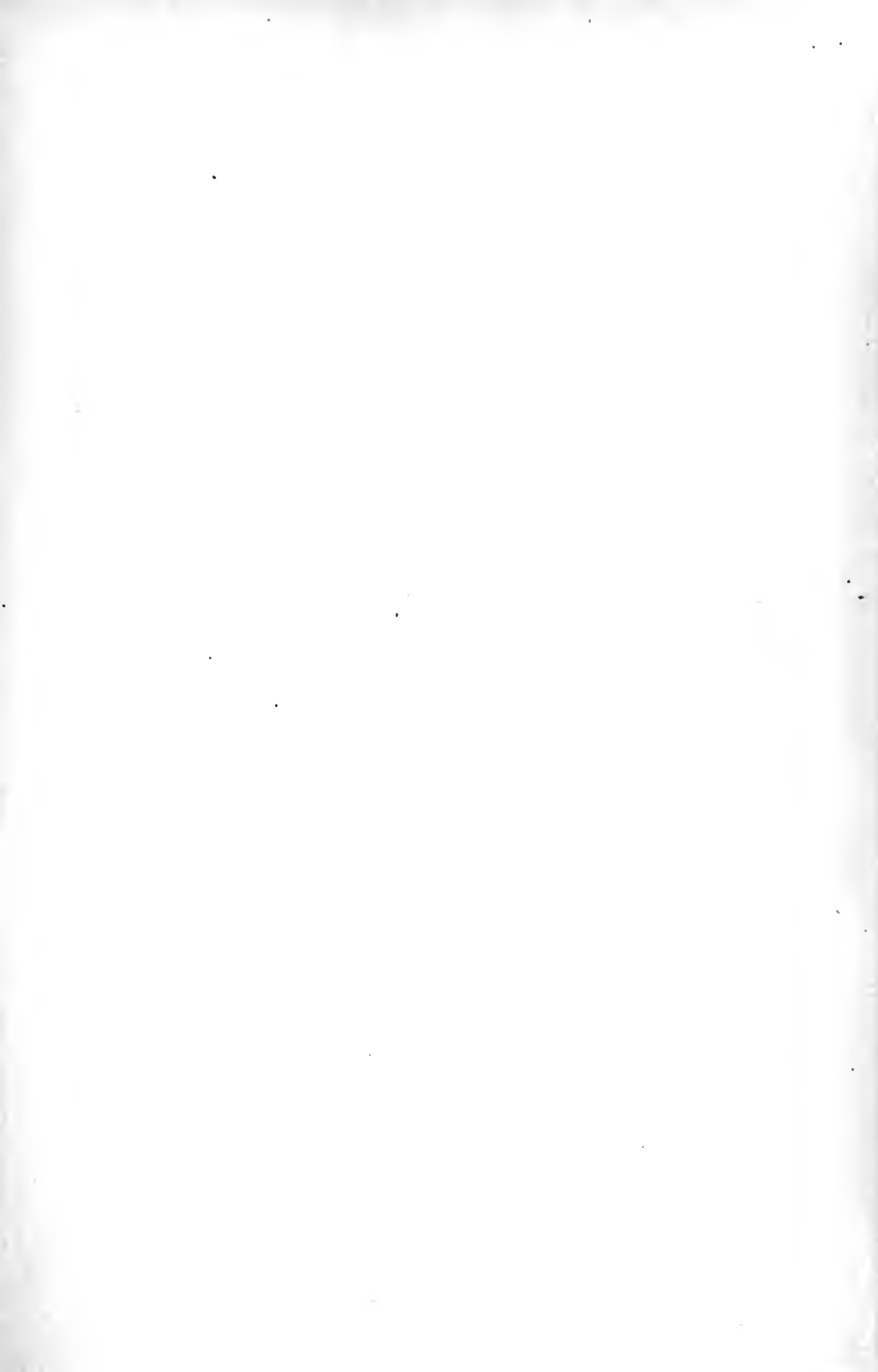
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FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D.	22 November, 1919
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TRANSACTIONS

1919



TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

MARCH MEETING, 1919

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 March, 1919, at three o'clock in the afternoon, HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. ROBERT GOULD SHAW accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. MORRIS GRAY of Newton, and Mr. SAMUEL WILLISTON of Belmont, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. GEORGE L. KITTRIDGE read the following paper:

DR. ROBERT CHILD THE REMONSTRANT

My original purpose in this paper was to throw together a few facts about Dr. Robert Child that seem to have escaped the notice of New England historians, such, for instance, as the date of his M.D. at Padua, his friendly relations with Boyle and Hartlib, certain details of his travels on the Continent, his acquaintance with the celebrated Harvard alchemist George Stirck, his authorship of two important treatises on agriculture (which include a number of observations on America), his interest in the development of Ireland under the Commonwealth, and the date of his death. As to

his historic clash with the governing forces of the Bay Colony, I supposed, in my guileless ignorance, that the ins and outs of the controversy had been long ago traced by the students of our early annals, and that I could pass over that portion of his life that makes him so conspicuous a figure in our constitutional development with a brief reference to standard authorities. But it soon appeared that I had reckoned without my host. Nowhere was there discoverable an account of the famous Remonstrance of 1646, and of the two resultant prosecutions, that assembled all the *res gestae* or established the chronology of the affair. It became necessary, therefore, to study this episode afresh, with an open mind, and to weigh the evidence as judicially as might be practicable; and thus, in an unguarded moment, I found myself taking up arms against a sea of troubles.

These troubles, in the main, are of rather recent origin. In an earlier generation, when Palfrey composed his masterly sketch of the Remonstrant imbroglio, it was assumed that two men, or two parties, could disagree and come to grips without imposing upon us the duty of inferring that either of them was altogether in the wrong. But of late — at least in the case of our Remonstrant — *animus non caelum mutamus*. Generalities have elbowed concrete particulars into the limbo of the discredited. Scholars no longer regard Robert Child as what he was, — an ardent Presbyterian, a disciple of Robert Baylie, eager to extend to all his countrymen the blessings of a rigid conformity, — but as an advocate of general religious toleration and freedom of conscience, principles which he and his party abhorred with all the strength of their earnest souls as the devil's latest device for the ruin of society and the damnation of mankind. And, on the other hand, I find the fathers of our Commonwealth no longer looked at, in this instance, as the shrewd and valorous (if severe) upholders of a well-conceived plan of civic development, but as a little oligarchy of bigots, conscientiously repressive of everything that we, their descendants, hold to be the inalienable heritage of a freeborn man. The contest between the Remonstrants and the government of the Bay cannot be understood if we approach the subject with any such prejudices. Free speech, the right of petition and appeal, resistance to arbitrary rule, equality before the law, the separateness of church and state, "I am the cap-

tain of my soul" — these are principles that may or may not be involved in the controversy of 1646 and 1647; but that controversy was not conducted upon those principles, either by Child and his associates on the one side or by the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay on the other.

Two parties were struggling for the control of England — the Presbyterians and the Independents. Both were right and both were wrong, as is always the case with partisans; but, in the long run, it has appeared — and is admitted — that the triumph of Independency made for the progress of freedom. It was a closely fought match, and never more hotly contested than at precisely that time when Child and the Remonstrants struck their blow for the Presbyterian party. Of course, the Independents, who bore sway in Massachusetts, countered with all their strength. They could not abandon their friends who were fighting for their very existence in the mother country. *Principiis obsta* was of necessity their motto. The question was not — Shall liberty or bigotry prevail in Massachusetts? It was — Shall Presbyterianism (as it was then, with all its faults) or Independency (as it was then, with all its faults) prevail as a political system among English-speaking men on both sides of the sea? Robert Child is a singularly attractive — even a charming — figure in the life of his time; he fought valorously for his own side when neutrality was a crime; he deserves all honor. But he cannot be judged, in this matter of the Remonstrance, as an individual: he must stand or fall with his party; and what that party was, the bare facts, when we reach them, should determine without argument. It was a party that did not wish either to tolerate or to be tolerated. Its one great principle was domination, for it knew that it was of God and that all other parties were of the devil. Let us admit, if one insists, that the Independents were as bigoted as the Presbyterians. So be it, they were not *more* bigoted, and there could be no advantage to the Colony in undergoing a revolution that should merely substitute one bigotry for another.

That the state of things was as I have described it, *as to parties*, needs no argument, for such is the consensus of historians. It remains to show that the Remonstrance was in truth a party affair. For this we may leave the case to the facts of record, to which we will now turn.

Robert Child was born in 1613 in Kent, probably at Northfleet, where his father, John Child, appears to have had a comfortable estate.¹ At all events, the Child family was of long standing in the county² and both Robert Child and his brother, Major John, were well-to-do. Robert was regarded by our ancestors as a "gentleman" and a "person of quality."³ Robert Child was matriculated at Bene't College (Corpus Christi), Cambridge, at Easter Term, 1628, as a Pensioner, took his A.B. in 1631-2, and proceeded A.M. in 1635.⁴ He went immediately to the University of Leyden, where he entered as a Student of Medicine on May 23, 1635, at the age of twenty-two.⁵ How long he remained at Leyden we do not know, but it is certain that he finished his medical studies at Padua.

Child claimed to have the degree of M.D. from Padua,⁶ and,

¹ The date of Child's birth is inferred from his age (22) when he entered the University of Leyden on May 23, 1635 (see note 5, below). His county (Kent) is mentioned in the record of his admission to Corpus Christi (List appended to Part i of Robert Masters's History of the College of Corpus Christi, 1753, p. 12), and he describes himself in an agreement of August 23, 1650, as "Robert Child of Northfleet in the County of Kent Doctor in Physicke" (Suffolk Deeds, i. 216). His (presumably elder) brother, Major John Child, was also of Northfleet (see p. 94, below). His father's name is given in the Padua record (see p. 5 note 4, below).

² The name of Child (Peter de la Child) occurs in Kent as early as 1262 (Archæologia Cantiana, iii. 252; cf. x. 40; xiii. 209, 305, 308, 426; xviii. 355, 364; xxvii. 45-47, 221). I suspect that Robert Child belonged to that branch of the family that in the sixteenth century held the manor of Parrocks (Porrocks, Paddock) in the parish of Milton-juxta-Gravesend (John Harris, History of Kent, 1719, pp. 136-137; Hasted's Kent, 2d ed., iii. 339-341 [1797]; Cruden, History of the Town of Gravesend, 1843, pp. 284, 387). The John Child who, on April 27, 1637, was appointed administrator of the estate of Thomas Child, his brother, of "Milton next Gravesend" (Archæologia Cantiana, xx. 26) may have been Robert Child's brother the Major. The John Child of Kent who, about 1626, was reported by the Commissioners for the Loan as conformable and as having given assurance to pay (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1625-1626, p. 521), may have been the father. The persons mentioned by Waters, Gleanings, i. 762, seem to belong to quite a different family, but, as Kentishmen, may have been related.

³ Winthrop, ii. 358 (294).

⁴ Savage, 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 247; Venn, Book of Matriculations and Degrees, i. 147 (in the record of matriculation the name is spelled *Chiles*). The county (Kent), which identifies this student as our man, is given in the List printed by Masters (see note 1, above).

⁵ Album Studiorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, Hague, 1875, col. 271 ("Robertus Child Anglus").

⁶ Cf. note 1, above. Major John Child calls him "my Brother *Robert Child* Doctor of Physick" (New-Englands Jonas, p. 1).

though modern writers have usually taken his word, a slight shadow still rests upon his title. For this, the language of the Declaration of the General Court (November, 1646) in answer to the Remonstrance seems to be primarily responsible: "The first . . . is a Paduan Doctor (as he is reputed)."¹ The words seem deliberately chosen to cast a doubt on Child's pretensions. Their tone, at all events, had that effect upon Hutchinson, who remarks that "Child was a young gentleman, just before come from Padua, where he studied phisic, and as was reputed, had taken the degree of doctor."² Winslow, in adverting to the subject, uses a tantalizing "however," which, while appearing to admit the fact, has really the effect of leaving one's judgment in suspense: "However he tooke the degree of Doctor in Physick at *Padua*, yet doth not at all practise, though hee hath bene twice in the Countrey where many times is need enough."³ I am glad to be able to set the matter at rest. The archives of the University of Padua testify that "Robertus Child, anglus filius Johannis," passed his examinations for the degree of M.D. on Friday, August 13, 1638.⁴

Child probably went home soon after getting his medical degree, for what seems to have been his first absence from England lasted "two or three years," as appears from a curious passage in his treatise entitled "A large Letter concerning the Defects and Remedies of English Husbandry," written in 1651 and forming the bulk of "Samuel Hartlib his Legacie" published in that year.⁵ This same

¹ Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society), i. 239.

² History of Massachusetts, 2d ed., 1765, i. 145.

³ New-Englands Salamander, p. 7.

⁴ University Archives, vol. cclxxv, p. 179. Some years ago, I asked Mr. William C. Lane, who was writing to Padua, to ask the University Librarian if he could find any entries relating to Robert Child, George Stirk, or Nathaniel Eaton. In his reply (January 12, 1914), the Head of the University Library, Dr. Gaetano Buryada, wrote: "Ho fatto le ricerche da Lei desiderate, ma posso dirLe che solo di Robertus *Child*, anglus filius Johannis, qui si trova notizia. Nel nostro archivio universitario, nel volume 275 che si riferisce ai Dottori e licenziati in chirurgia dal 1629 al 1640, a p. 179 e proprio nell' anno 1638, mese di agosto, giorno di Venerdi, 13, dava gli esami il Child per addottorarsi in medicina. Di Nat. Eaton e dello Stirk non trovo ricordo alcuno, ma debbo pure aggiungere che i nostri atti di archivio hanno molte lacune."

⁵ "There are two wayes of making *Cider* and *Perry*: one, by bruising and beating them, and then presently to put them into a vessel to *ferment* or work (as it is usually called) of themselves: The other way is to boil the juice with

treatise gives much incidental information about his travels; but some of the notes may refer to other visits to the Continent, for after his return he probably visited France again some years later, perhaps in 1642.¹ "I have travelled twice through *France*," he says in the Large Letter,² and his agricultural observations show acquaintance with almost every part of the country from Normandy to the Spanish border.³ Probably he visited Spain,⁴ and perhaps Flanders⁵ and Germany.⁶ Italy he of course knew well.⁷ Winslow in a somewhat insinuating passage, to which we shall return, declares that "as for Doctor *Childe*, hee is a Gentleman that hath travelled other parts before hee came to us, namely *Italy*; confesseth hee was twice at *Rome*, speaketh sometimes highly as I have heard reported in favour of the Jesuites."⁸ It was fortunate for Child's reputation that he did not confide to the fathers of the Bay Colony an incident of his Italian experiences that he mentions in another treatise: "As concerning the extraordinary bignesse of Goose livers, it is in *Italy* amongst the *Jews*, where I have eaten of them, highly esteemed, but at present not much in credit amongst the *Italians*, and to my Palate it is not so excellent a dainty."⁹ Jews and Jesuits would have made a fine alliteration for the author of New-Englands Salamander to play with.¹⁰ Wherever Child went, he kept his eyes open, and he returned to England not only with a medical degree

some good *spices*, by which the rawnesse is taken away, and then to ferment it with some yeast, if it work not of it self, this is the best way: and I have tasted *Cider* thus made of an excellent delicate taste. Neither let any complaine of the windiness; for it is onely want of use: When I had for 2 or 3 years continually drunk *wine* beyond Sea, the strongest beer for 2 or 3 weeks was as windy to me, as *Cider* will be to any; and afterwards when I went to *Paris*, the *wine* of that place was as troublesome as *English beer* for a little time" (2d ed., 1652, p. 20; 3d ed., 1655, p. 20). As to Child's authorship of this Large Letter, see p. 107, below.

¹ See the passage quoted in p. 5 note 5, and cf. p. 9, below.

² Legacie, 2d ed., 1652, p. 23; 3d ed., 1655, p. 23.

³ Legacie, 2d ed., pp. 1-3, 5, 14, 26, 28, 47; 3d ed., pp. 1-3, 5, 14, 26, 28, 48.

⁴ Legacie, 2d ed., p. 44; 3d ed., p. 45.

⁵ Legacie, 2d ed., p. 45, 47; 3d ed., p. 46, 48.

⁶ Legacie, 2d ed., pp. 29, 51; 3d ed., pp. 29, 52. Cf. p. 102 note 1, below.

⁷ Legacie, 2d ed., pp. 5, 27, 28, 51, 52; 3d ed., pp. 5, 27, 28, 52, 53.

⁸ New-Englands Salamander, p. 7. Cf. p. 102 note 1, below.

⁹ An Answer to the Animadversor on the Letter to Mr. Samuel Hartlib of Husbandry (in Samuel Hartlib his Legacy of Husbandry, 3d ed., 1655, p. 168).

¹⁰ See p. 61, below.

but with a vast store of exact knowledge on agriculture and kindred matters. Something led him to think of visiting New England, and thither he went sometime between 1638 and 1641.

Nothing exists in the way of evidence as to the moment when Child made the acquaintance of the younger John Winthrop. Their friendship may have begun in England when Winthrop was there in 1634 and 1635, or even as early as 1631, the year of his first embarkation for America; but Winslow's language suggests that Child was a stranger to the New Englanders until he presented letters of introduction.¹ After all, it is a question of idle curiosity; for, if they had not met before, they certainly became intimate when Child visited the Bay the first time.

Most authorities have overlooked Child's first visit to this country,² but the evidence is decisive. Winslow, writing in 1647, is perfectly clear:

Hee hath beene twice in the Countrey. . . . At his first coming to *New-England* he brought letters commendatory, found good acceptance by reason thereof with the best; fals upon a dilligent survey of the whole Countrey, and painefully travells on foot from Plantation to Plantation; takes notice of the Havens, situation, strength, Churches, Townes, number of Inhabitants, and when he had finished this toylesome taske, returnes againe for *England*, being able to give a better account then any of the Countrey in that respect. Hee comes a second time, and not onely bestoweth some Bookes on the Colledge, as Sir *Kenelme Digby*³ and many others commendably did, but brings second Letters commendatory, having put in some stock among some Merchants of *London*, and for the advancement of Iron workes in the Countrey, which through Gods goodnesse are like to become very profitable to them; but hath no more to doe in the managing of them then any here who have other their Agents being expert in the worke. This Gentlemans carriage is now changed, and is not onely ready to close with such as are discontented, but to bee a leader of such against the government, affront the Authoritie God hath hitherto honored with his blessing, appeale from their justice, and thereby seeke to evade any censure.⁴

¹ Cf. p. 30, below.

² It is noted by Felt (*Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 583) and by W. T. R. Marvin, *New-England's Jonas*, 1869 (Introduction, p. xxiv note 41).

³ A list of the books given to Harvard College by Digby is on record in College Book i. 259, but this remark appears to be the only allusion to Child's benefaction.

⁴ *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 7-8.

And Child himself, in his first extant letter to John Winthrop, Jr., written in May, 1641,¹ speaks of his intention to "returne" to New England.² This fixes the date of his first visit within the limits just defined. At the end, Child sends his regards to several eminent persons in the Colony, both lay and clerical: "Remēber my service to yo^r father[,] M^r Dudley, M^r Bellingham, M^r Hūphreys — M^r Cotton, M^r Wilson, M^r Peters — ūto whome I am much beholdē." In a later letter, also written before his second visit, he sends his best respects to Mr. Maverick,³ with whom he was afterwards associated in the Remonstrance. Manifestly, as Winslow has already told us, the letters commendatory had been effective on Child's first visit, and he had indeed "found good acceptation with the best." Child's perambulation of the settlements, undertaken in the same spirit that had guided his European travels, had satisfied him that the new country had resources worth developing, and he was ready to invest something in the plantation.

It is astonishing, in view of this letter of 1641, — even if there were no other testimony available, — that Child should more than once be styled an Episcopalian by recent writers on New England.⁴ He calls it good news that Laud is in the Tower and sure to be punished severely, rejoices that "Lord p^rlates — deanes, prebends, are fallen," and looks forward hopefully to a like fate for the bishops.⁵

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 148-151. This letter must have been written between May 8 and 12, for, in a brief budget of "good newes," Child informs Winthrop that "y^e deputy [Strafford] in cōdemēd by both houses," but does not mention his execution. What he says of a fine of £100,000 on canons to help toward the payment to the Scots sounds like an incorrect rumor based on the debate of May 11 in the House of Commons (W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, i. 59).

² "I intend when I returne to you (god willing) to prosecute y^e planting of vines throwly" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 150).

³ March 1, 1644[-5] (iii. 155). In quoting the Winthrop Papers, I have in almost every instance gone back to the manuscripts. This will explain a number of divergences from the printed text.

⁴ Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 1856, pp. 292, 299; Marvin, with a "probably," in his edition of *New-Englands Jonas*, 1869, p. xxii note 40; Whittier, *1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, xviii. 390, 392; C. E. Banks in his edition of *Henry Gardener's New-Englands Vindication*, p. 32 note 34 (*Gorges Society*, No. 1, 1884); Augustine Jones, *Life and Work of Thomas Dudley*, 1899, p. 337.

⁵ Winthrop Papers, iii. 150, 151.

In fact, he was a high Presbyterian, as appears abundantly in his later history.

Child's letter of 1641 offers several other points of interest. It has much to say of books, especially of those relating to chemistry, encloses a catalogue (now, alas! no more) of his "chymicall bookes," asks Winthrop to send a list of such works on the subject as *he* possesses, reports on certain volumes which Winthrop had asked him to procure, and announces the sending of several works "from myne own library . . . to pvse till I come to New England." Alchemy was a subject to which both Child and Winthrop devoted much study, and it is continually mentioned in their correspondence. In due season we shall revert to this topic. The following passage is too important to be abridged: "I Intend, if I haue leysure, to goe to Burdeau, from thence to Tholouse to salute Faber¹ — to procure vines and a vigneron,² who can likewise manage silkwormes if it be possible — if I can doe you any pleasure there, pray let me heare from you speedily. I intend when I returne to you (god willing) to prosecute y^e planting of vines throwly, to try somewhat cōcerning silkwormes, and would to my power helpe forward y^e digging of some good mine, if you haue found any in y^e cōtrey."³ Of Child's interest in American mines, which cost him dear, we shall hear more as we proceed. Whether he went to France again before returning to New England we cannot tell, but a sentence in his Answer to the Animadversor⁴ may refer to such a visit: "I lived in *Charanton* two leagus from *Paris*, a whole Vintage, purposely to see how wine was made in France."⁵

Undoubtedly Winthrop received the letter of 1641 before he sailed for England by way of Newfoundland on August 3 in the same

¹ Pierre Jean Fabre, the celebrated French physician and chemist, who died in 1650 (see Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, i. 259-260). He was a correspondent of the younger Winthrop (Cromwell Mortimer, dedication of vol. xl of the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1741).

² Cf. Child's essay on the Defects of English Husbandry: "Yet I counsell to get a *Vigneron* from *France*, where there are plenty, and at cheaper rates than ordinary servants here, and who will be serviceable also for *Gardening*" (Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie*, 2d ed., 1652, p. 28; 3d ed., 1655, p. 28).

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 150.

⁴ See p. 109, below.

⁵ Samuel Hartlib his *Legacy*, 3d ed., 1655, p. 148.

year.¹ He arrived at Bristol on September 28² and remained in Europe more than a year and a half, in the course of which he visited the Continent and may have attended a few medical lectures or anatomical demonstrations at a Dutch or German university.³ One of the main objects of his sojourn in the mother country was to promote the establishment of iron works in Massachusetts. He raised a thousand pounds for this project,⁴ Child being one of the investors,⁵ and the congenial pair must have had many a confabulation. One of these has left a record, for we know that Winthrop told Child of his discovery of black lead at Tantousq,⁶ and that Child promised to stand a quarter part of the expense in developing the mine.⁷ We shall hear more of this speculation presently.

In May, 1643, Winthrop set sail for Boston in the ship "An Cleeve" of London, with "many workmen servants & materialls" for iron works. He had lain "many daies at Gravesend," waiting to be cleared, and, when this formality was over, had been further detained by a scrupulous or interfering port-officer named Robinson, so that he missed a favorable wind and was kept beating about on the English coast above six weeks. After a voyage of more than fourteen weeks he arrived at Boston "neere winter." It was too late to begin operations, and Winthrop had to maintain the imported workmen in idleness until spring.⁸ On the way, he had touched at the Isle of Wight, where some of them seem to have de-

¹ Winthrop, ii. 38 (31).

² John Winthrop, Jr., to his wife, October 8, 1641 (Winthrop Papers, iv. 35).

³ Sir William Boswell to De Vic, November 1, 1642 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 323). We learn from this letter that Winthrop was travelling under the style of "Student in Physic."

⁴ Under 1645 Winthrop notes that "Mr. John Winthrop, the younger, coming from England two years since, brought with him 1000 pounds stock and divers workmen to begin an iron work" (ii. 261 [212]). One concrete trace of the collection of English capital for this project remains in the form of a receipt given by Winthrop, Emanuel Downing, and Hugh Peter to Nicholas Bond for £100 "for the Iron worke," March 23, 1642[-3] (Winthrop Papers, i. 516).

⁵ See pp. 11, 60-61, 65, below.

⁶ See pp. 11, 14-15, 92, 99, 112-115, below.

⁷ Child to Winthrop, March 1, 1644[-5] (Winthrop Papers, iii. 153-155).

⁸ Winthrop's draught of a petition to Parliament, perhaps never presented (Winthrop Papers, iv. 36-37; cf. 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, viii. 13, 14 note). He alleged that he was damnified above £1000 for delay and for wear and tear of workmen. Emanuel Downing, who was also interested in the iron works, seems to have been on the same ship (iii. 152).

erted. On this and other matters he wrote from the Isle to Child, whose reply, dated Gravesend, June 27, 1643, has been preserved. He hopes the rest of the voyage to New England "hath bin both speedy and pspous" but fears Winthrop will not have time to get the works started so late in the season. "These times put me to my wits ends well if o^r Iron busines goe on, all is well." "Pray remember to send me word cōcerning y^e black lead mines." When he wrote this letter, Child meant to sail for Massachusetts in the next spring.¹

On February 25, 1644[-5], Emanuel Downing wrote to the younger Winthrop from London: "Dr. Child purposeth to come over with me, and writes by this shipp of all his owne affaires vnto you."² This letter of Child's is extant and is dated March 1 of the same year. He means to sail for New England soon, perhaps by the following ship. He sends five or six sorts of vines, some prune grafts, and various plants and seeds. When he comes over, he will "vndertake a vineyard wth all care and industry," for he is "confident in 3 yeares wine may be made as good as any in France." (These remarks are worth noting in connection with Child's distinguished essay on the Defects of English Husbandry, to which we shall come in due season.) He is glad to hear that "y^e Iron workes doe goe on, and y^t o^r hopes encrease," and reports some changes in the *personnel* of the English adventurers in the project. Money is scarce, but "we are taking care to provide moneys according to yo^r bills." Mr. Leader, whom Winthrop knows well, has been invited to go over as manager.³ In fact, though Child did not know it, owing to absence from London, the bargain with Richard Leader had been struck. He was to serve the company for seven years from March 25 at an annual salary of £100.⁴

Meanwhile the iron works were in progress, though not yet a going concern. Braintree had been selected by the younger Win-

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 151-152.

² Winthrop Papers, i. 60. Downing had left Massachusetts again late in 1644 or early in 1645 (*id.*, i. 89), bringing a letter from Winthrop to Child, to which Child's letter of March 1, 1644[-5], is a reply.

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 153.

⁴ Emanuel Downing (from London) to John Winthrop, Jr., February 25, 1644[-5] (Winthrop Papers, i. 61; cf. i. 62-64, and 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, iii. 190-197).

throp as the most suitable situation,¹ and here, on January 19, 1644, the town of Boston had granted to him and his "partners" three thousand acres of common land "for the encouragement of an iron worke, to be set up about Monotocot River." These were to be laid out "in the Land next adjoining and most convenient for their said Iron works."² This looks as if the site of the works had already been acquired. Another site was procured at Lynn, at a place called Hammersmith, on the Abousett or Saugus River. At which of the two foundries iron was first manufactured is a vexed question, which we may leave to the local antiquaries.³ Both belonged to the same company, however, which received a monopoly from the General Court in March, 1644.⁴ Somewhere and somehow £1000 had been spent by the following November; a furnace had been set up, but the forge and "finery" were not ready.⁵ The management passed from Winthrop to Richard Leader, an expert, in 1645⁶ and from Leader to John Gifford in 1650.⁷

¹ 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, viii. 13-14.

² Town Records (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 77; cf. pp. 91-92, 127); Suffolk Deeds, i. 73.

³ Lewis and Newhall, History of Lynn, index, s. v. *iron works*; Pattee, History of Old Braintree and Quincy, pp. 450-472; E. P. Robinson, Essex Institute Historical Collections, xviii. 241-254; N. M. Hawkes, Register of the Lynn Historical Society for 1902, pp. 46-60.

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 61-62; Winthrop, ii. 261 (212-213). The Company's privileges were afterwards extended or otherwise modified in their favor (Records, ii. 81-82, 125-128, 185-186).

⁵ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 81-82.

⁶ On June 4, 1645, nine persons (including Robert Child), adventurers for the iron works, wrote to Winthrop introducing "our agent," Mr. Richard Leader, now sent over (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, viii. 15-16). Emanuel Downing, writing to Winthrop from England on February 25, March 3, and May 5, 1645, has many suggestions as to what compensation Winthrop should receive for his past services (Winthrop Papers, i. 61-64).

⁷ Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Essex Institute, i. 294. Emanuel Downing wrote from Salem to John Winthrop, Jr., February 24, 1650[-1]: "I suppose you haue heard how Mr. Leddar hath left the Iron works . . . Here is one Jeffries come in Mr. Leddars place" (Winthrop Papers, i. 76). In 1651 Leader was in trouble for "threatening and slandering the courts, magistrates, and government" of Massachusetts, and for "affronting" the constable in the execution of his duty. He made his peace by means of an apology in writing (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 227-228). There is a good brief sketch of him by Dr. Charles E. Banks in Tuttle and Dean, Captain John Mason (Prince Society, 1887), p. 92 note 180; but it is comical to read that his severing his connection with the iron works before the expiration of his

We need not pursue the annals of this ill-starred speculation, but a few names and dates must be mentioned to make future references intelligible. At first everybody had high hopes, and in May, 1645, the General Court issued a call for Massachusetts subscriptions which reads like a promoter's prospectus.¹ But the concern was under-capitalized and never made any money. Serious trouble began in 1652. Three of the New England owners — Captain Robert Bridges, Henry Webb, and Joshua Foot — were acting as commissioners for the undertakers, and John Beex or Becx was the leading proprietor in London. Neither the Londoners nor the local executive committee were pleased with Gifford's management, and Gifford was dissatisfied with the state of his accounts.² To secure Gifford and two large creditors (Webb himself and Jeremy Howchin), the committee, on May 24, 1653, gave them a mortgage of the whole property, real and personal — houses, lands, wharves, forges, furnaces, tools, fuel, iron, cattle, boats, bills receivable, and "all the seruants Scotts or English."³ A whirlwind of litigation followed, which lasted for several years. Gifford sued the company and the company sued Gifford; countless suits were brought against the company, or Gifford as its agent, by creditors, and some judgments were obtained.⁴ Gifford was for a time in prison for his debt to the

contract was "a change which had its beginning, doubtless, in a lack of sympathy with the religious views of his employers." William Awbrey of London, merchant, was engaged by the adventurers as their agent on August 23, 1650, and soon came to Massachusetts (Suffolk Deeds, i. 216-218). He was acting in this capacity in January, 1651[-2], and for some time thereafter (Suffolk Deeds, i. 178-180, 227, 232). Apparently he coöperated with Gifford. One Mr. Dawes, "a grave man of good fashion," had come over in 1648 "to oversee Mr. Leader," but "they could not agree" and he returned before September 30 (John Winthrop to his son John, August 14 and September 30, 1648, in Savage's Winthrop, 1853, ii. 434-435).

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 103-104; cf. iii. 31.

² See Beex's letter to the committee, September 28, 1652, and Webb's letters to Beex, November 6 and December 14, 1653; letter from John Beex and Thomas Foley to Josias Winslow and Captain Keayne, December 26, 1654 (Records and Files of the Quarterl. Courts of Essex County, i. 400-401, ii. 75-91).

³ Suffolk Deeds, i. 306.

⁴ Records and Files, i. 284, 286, 289-295, 300, 309-310, 319, 332, 335, 336, 347-348, 372-374, 378, 385-386, 393-394, 398-402, 417, 425-426; ii. 130, 193; Suffolk Deeds, ii. 266, 271-272; iii. 3, 30, 137; Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 351, 369-372, 379, 381, 406; iv. i. 155-156, 188, 194-195, 216-220, 237, 241-244, 251-254, 268, 330-331.

company, but in May, 1656, he was released by the General Court at the request of the Londoners, who had changed their minds about him,¹ and he went home to tell his story, whereupon, on July 16, 1657, eight of the English partners, for themselves and the others, attorneyed to their associate John Beex, and Beex in turn entrusted the whole business to Gifford (August 25), who came back to Massachusetts,² full of fight. In October, 1657, though the works were still in operation both at Braintree and at Hammersmith, the Court declared that they were "not like long to continew," not being properly supported by the London undertakers, and gave privileges to other parties.³ They went on, nevertheless. In 1658 Gifford got a verdict against Webb for defaming him to the London partners and for unjust imprisonment,⁴ and as late as 1662 he was attempting to recover damages from the estate of Keayne (deceased) on a similar complaint.⁵ Soon after the Restoration, the English adventurers were on hand with a petition to the King to right their wrongs, but nothing came of it.⁶ The best summary of the whole matter is Captain Edward Johnson's choice piece of unconscious humor: "Divers persons of good rank and quality in England, were stirred up by the provident hand of the Lord to venture their estates upon an iron work, which they began at *Braintree*, and profited the owners little, but rather wasted their stock."⁷ Child was one of those who wasted their stock: he lost £450, as we shall see presently.

Meantime we may return to Child's letter of March 1, 1644[-5]. A considerable portion is taken up with a learned excursus on black lead, in criticism of an essay that Winthrop had sent him. He advises Winthrop to "dig lustily," and is still quite ready to "bear the fourth part" of the expense, but "Pray let not out too much cost, till you haue more certainty then as yet you haue." Child had been talking the matter over with Emanuel Downing and Winthrop's brother Stephen, both then in England, and he even thinks of "set-

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 406, iv. i. 268.

² Suffolk Deeds, iii. 155-161.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. i. 311.

⁴ Records and Files, ii. 71-72, 74-97, 116. Cf. Lords' Journals, xi. 38, 41; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 87.

⁵ Records and Files, ii. 389.

⁶ Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1661-1668, p. 17.

⁷ Wonder-working Providence, 1654, bk. iii. chap. 6, p. 207.

ting himself" where the mine is, if he finds the place agreeable.¹ This might lead one to infer that the mine he had his eye on was that at Nashawake (Lancaster), for in June, 1644, the General Court had granted permission for a plantation there to Robert Child and others.²

"I thanke you," Child continues, "for engaging me in the Lake discovery, and Misticks mines, though as yet we receive no pfit." The mines in question, I suppose, were at Mistick in Connecticut, where Winthrop had discovered iron ore; he had received authority in 1644 "to make a plantation in the . . . Pequott country . . . & also to lay out a convenient place for iron works."³

By the Lake discovery Child means the project formed in 1644 by certain Boston merchants to find the great lake supposed to lie in the northwest region of the Massachusetts patent and to engage in the beaver trade, thought to originate there, "which came to all the eastern and southern parts." At the March court in 1644 this company obtained a monopoly for that purpose for twenty-one years and in May "they set out in a pinnace, . . . which was to sail up Delaware river" as far as possible, whence the expedition was to be continued in skiffs or canoes under the guidance of William Aspinwall; they were stopped by the Dutch and reached Boston, on their return, on July 20.⁴ Darby Field thought he saw this great lake from the White Hills in 1642,⁵ and years before, in 1632, Edward Howes had written with enthusiasm of this body of water, expressing the fear that the Dutch would anticipate the English in exploring it.⁶ Another company for the

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 153-155.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 75 (after May 29). Child mentions the Nashawake mine in his Answer to Boot (see p. 112, below).

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 71; Winthrop Papers, i. 517-518. Cf. Winthrop's 1661 will (Waters, Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger, p. 70).

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 60; Winthrop, ii. 193-194 (160-161), 218, 219 (178-179), 229 (187). The adventurers were Valentine Hill, Robert Sedgwick, William Tinge, Francis Norton, Thomas Clarke, Joshua Hewes, and William Aspinwall.

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 82 (68).

⁶ See his letter of November 23, 1632 (Winthrop Papers, i. 480-481), and a note in Howes's hand in a copy of Sir Dudley Digges's essay *Of the Circumference of the Earth, or A Treatise of the North-east-passage* (1612) which

Lake discovery received similar privileges at the October Court in 1645.¹

Summer came, and still Child had not sailed for New England, but his departure was imminent, for on June 23, 1645, Hugh Peter wrote from Deal to the elder Winthrop: "D^r Child is come y^t honest man who will bee of exceeding great vse if the Country know how to improue² him, indeed he is very very vsefull, I pray let vs not play tricks with such men by our ielousyes."³ This is a tantalizing passage. By "jealousies" Peter means, of course, *suspicious*. I cannot avoid the inference that Child's high Presbyterianism had attracted the attention of the leading men in the Colony with whom he associated on his former visit, and that some report had reached Peter which made him fear that the Doctor might be looked at askance. His warning words, it seems likely, were penned just before Child embarked and perhaps came over by the same ship. At all events, Child was in New England in the following September, and had been here long enough to strike a bargain with Richard Vines, for, on the 30th of that month, Vines conveyed to Child all his rights under the Saco patent, and in October he gave him livery and seisin.⁴ Whether Child viewed his new possessions at this

Howes sent to Winthrop in 1632 and which is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Winthrop Papers, i. 480 note): see Ford, *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, lii. 278. In a letter of September 3, 1636, Howes asks "What newes of the Lake?" (Winthrop Papers, i. 503).

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 53-54. The original petition of the adventurers (Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Richard Dummer, William Hubbard, William Hathorne, and William Payne) is in the Massachusetts Archives, cxix. 5.

² I. e., utilize.

³ Winthrop Papers, i. 108.

⁴ James Graham in his report of title, 1688, declares: "I do Also find that . . . Richard Vines by his Certaine Writing under his hand and Seale Bearing Date y^e Last Day of September one thousand Six hundred fourty five did convey and Sell unto Robert Child Phisicion his heires and Assignes all that Parcell of Land on y^e South Side of y^e River Swackadock Alias Saco in the Province of Maine as is Said in the Above Graunt but find No Conveyance from said Child or from any Vnder him" (Documentary History of the State of Maine, iv. 443). For the Vines patent see *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vii. 121-125. "I Richard Vines of Saco gen^t haue barganed and Sould the patent aboue Specified vnto Robert Childe Esq^r Doct^o: of phisick and given him livery and seasin. [Vpon the [] day of 8^{ber} 1645 in the presence of M^r Addam Winthorpe and Mr Benjamin Gillam" (York Deeds, i. ii. 9; Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford*, 1830, pp. 74, 319). On October 22, 1645, William Aspinwall "attested a Copie" of Vines's deed to Child (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii. 10).

time, or whether he had surveyed them on his previous visit, we cannot tell. At any rate, he did visit Saco at least once in his life, now or formerly, as we shall see when we examine his agricultural writings.

From October, 1645, to May, 1646, we hear nothing of Child. Then, however, he emerges — Remonstrance in hand. At the risk of repeating many familiar things, I shall run through the history of the Remonstrance, for all the facts have never been brought together in one place, though the story has been told again and again, sometimes with scant regard to accuracy in detail.¹

The "Remonstrance and humble Petition" of Robert Child, Thomas Burton, John Smith, Thomas Fowle, David Yale, Samuel Maverick, and John Dand was submitted to the General Court, with a request for an immediate answer, on May 19, 1646,² which was near the close of that session, but its consideration was postponed until the autumn.³ Major John Child, the Remonstrant's brother, asserts

¹ The fullest account of the whole affair is that by W. T. R. Marvin in his reprint of *New-Englands Jonas* (Boston, 1869). This is so detailed, and — in the main — so clear and accurate, that my review of the facts may seem a work of supererogation. Still, there are a good many points in which Marvin's narrative needs correction or supplement, and some of them are of much significance. It was impossible to indicate these points and to enforce their bearing on the subject without telling the whole story. Palfrey's treatment of the episode (*History of New England*, book ii, chapter 4) is admirable, especially for the lucidity with which the relations of the Remonstrance to English politics are brought out; but it is not quite full enough for my purpose. Besides, his arguments have been treated so cavalierly by some recent writers that a reopening of the case is at least excusable. Bancroft (*History of the United States*, 19th ed., 1862, chap. x., i. 437-444) is also excellent, but his plan does not call for details. Most or all of the other important accounts are cited in the course of this paper. Winthrop is naturally our chief authority; he is supplemented by John Child's *New-Englands Jonas*, Winslow's *New-Englands Salamander*, and Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*. Hubbard depends entirely upon Winthrop, but does not always follow him with due care (chap. 55, ed. 1848, pp. 500, 512-518). Hutchinson is of some use, since he apparently had access to documents now lost (see p. 41 note 1, below), but he unfortunately confused the Remonstrants with the Hingham petitioners (see p. 25, below) — an error found also in Oldmixon's *British Empire in America* (2d ed., 1741, i. 88-90), in Neal's *History of New-England*, 1720, i. 213-218, and in Chalmers's *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, 1780*, i. 179-181. From one of these sources it has made its way into Grahame's *History of the Rise and Progress of the United States*, 1827, i. 320-325.

² *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 13.

³ Winthrop, ii. 320-321 (261-262). The Court convened on May 6 (Massa-

(no doubt truthfully) that it was "in a peaceable way presented, only by two of the Subscribers,"¹ implying, it seems, a contrast to the riotous goings-on that had accompanied the presentation of certain petitions to the Long Parliament in recent years. We shall have occasion to examine the contents of this Remonstrance presently.² Meantime, suffice it to say that it painted a dismal picture of the civil and religious condition of Massachusetts, described the inhabitants as poverty-stricken and discontented, accused the magistrates of arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, and foretold the utter ruin of the Colony unless certain thoroughgoing reforms were put into operation immediately. The reforms contemplated may be summed up under three heads: (1) that the fundamental laws of England and "such others as are no wayes repugnant to them" should be forthwith established in Massachusetts; (2) that the rights of freemen should be extended to "all truly English" (whether church-members or not); and (3) that all well-conducted members of the Church of England should be received without further tests or covenants into the New England churches, or else be allowed "to settle [themselves] here in a church way, according to the best reformatations of England and Scotland," that is, of course, on the Presbyterian model. If their prayers were not granted, the Remonstrants declared that they should feel constrained to appeal to Parliament for redress.

This document naturally disturbed the magistrates, coming as it did immediately after the efforts of William Vassall to get up petitions to Parliament against the New England government,³ and

chusetts Colony Records, iii. 61; Winthrop, ii. 316 [258]) and "lasted near three weeks" (Winthrop, *ibid.*).

¹ New-Englands Jonas, p. 14.

² The text of the Remonstrance may be found in New-Englands Jonas, pp. 6-13, and in the Hutchinson Papers, i. 214-223. There is a very brief abstract, summing up the main complaints and demands, in the Massachusetts Archives, cvi. 6 (printed by Sumner, *History of East Boston*, pp. 101-102).

³ See Winthrop, ii. 319, 340, 391 (260-261, 278, 321); Winslow, *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. i. 16-18, 23. The history of Vassall's activity is obscure. It is certain, however, that he carried to England certain petitions against the colonial government (one apparently from the Bay and another from Plymouth) by the Supply, which sailed from Boston November 9, 1646 (see p. 33, below), and that he had been occupied with these before Child's Remonstrance was pre-

at a time when Gorton and some of his associates had been in England for at least half a year,¹ extending their alliance among the most turbulent sectaries there and pressing their case before the Commissioners for Plantations. Nor was the discomposure lessened by the conduct of the Remonstrants, who, in the interval between the May and the October Court, in 1646, had so industriously circulated their manifesto in the neighboring colonies that, by the end of the year, it had reached "the Dutch Plantation, Virginia, and Bermudas."² Soon after the petition was presented, Winthrop received a letter from Winslow (dated June 30, 1646)³ which shows how serious the Remonstrance looked to the Plymouth Colony. "A 2d thing," writes Winslow, "w^{ch} moved me to put pen to pap is to entreate you to be better preped (at lest to staue off prejudice against yo^r Govern^t in the Co^mittee of Parliam^t) in regard of the peticoners & many others who are very busie, who not onely threaten us as well as you, but grossly abuse us & insult & boast as if the victory were attayned before the enterprise is begun if I may so say: ffor I confesse I r[ecieve]d a very proud l^r lately w^{ch} makes me feere things are not to begin."⁴ By "better prepared" I suppose Winslow means better prepared than the Bay had shown itself in Gorton's case, in which the malcontents had the advantage in their first application to the English Commissioners.⁵ Before the October meeting of the General Court, the administration had received from the Commissioners for Plantations an order (dated May 15, 1646) which favored the Gortonians and appeared to assert such jurisdiction over the Colony as the magistrates regarded as a violation of their chartered rights, as well as an encouragement of appeals to the home authorities.⁶

On May 15, 1646, the General Court passed a vote recommending a synod of the New England churches,⁷ and it has been thought sented. On Vassall's character, see the defence of him in 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, vi. 471-479.

¹ See p. 44, below.

² Winslow, *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 6.

³ Winthrop Papers, i. 182.

⁴ I. e., "are well advanced."

⁵ See Winthrop, ii. 332 (272).

⁶ Winthrop, ii. 342-344 (280-282).

⁷ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 154-156; iii. 70-73; Winthrop, ii. 323-324 (264-265).

that their action was influenced by the Remonstrance,¹ but this was not presented until the 19th,² as it happens, and, anyhow, the elders had brought in a bill proposing the synod at the previous session, in October, 1645, several months before the Remonstrance was drawn up.³ However, at the November session in 1646 the Court did adopt two measures which bear some relation to that document. The first of these was the appointment of a committee to "examine" and "compose in good order" the laws already in force and to suggest others — since we wish to "manifest our vtter disaffec̄con to arbitrary goūment." True this committee was but to finish a piece of work begun in 1645, but the mention of arbitrary government undoubtedly glances at the Remonstrance. The second measure was a plan to avoid "all complaints by reason of vnæquall rates,"⁴ and this, too, was a point that Child and his associates had made. *Per contra*, a bill enlarging the privileges of non-freemen, which was ready to pass at the May session in 1646, was postponed on account, it seems, of the presentation of the Remonstrance at that time,⁵ but it became a law at the May session in 1647.⁶

The persons whom Child induced to join him as signatories were of various opinions in religion, and doubtless had — most of them — no clear idea of his main design, the chief bond of union among them being dissatisfaction with the dominant party. The colonial authorities made much of this divergence of sentiment. Johnson, who, in his Wonder-working Providence, 1654, sides with the magistrates, remarks with some humor, that "the persons were of a Linsiwolsie disposition, some for Prelacy, some for Presbytery, and some for Plebsbytery, but all joynd together in the thing they would, which was to stir up the people to dislike of the present Government."⁷

The colonial authorities were not spoiling for a fight, and "an

¹ Palfrey, *History of New England*, 1860, ii. 170; Marvin, *New-Englands Jonas*, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

² John Child, *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 13.

³ Winthrop, ii. 323 (264).

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 109, 128, 157, 196; iii. 26–27, 46–47, 74–75, 84–85, 87–88.

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 321 (262).

⁶ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 197; iii. 109–110.

⁷ Bk. iii. chap. 3, p. 202.

eminent person"¹ made some attempt to satisfy the Remonstrants in "a private conference," which seems to have taken place in 1646, before the October court came in. We owe our account of the incident to Winslow. The eminent person asked the petitioners "what Church government it was they would have? One of them answered, he desired that particular government which Mr. *John Goodwin* in Colemanstreet² was exercised in. Another of them said, hee knew not what that was: but hee for his part desired the Presbyterian government. A third of them said hee desired the Episcopall government if it might bee, if not, the Presbyterian: And a fourth told mee himselfe that hee disclaimed anything in the Petition that was against the government of the Churches in *New-England*, &c. resting and liking what was there done in that kind."³

No. 1 in this list sounds as if it were John Dand, whom the General Court describes as an "ould grocer of London" with a failing intellect.⁴ Whoever desired the particular government that Mr. Goodwin was exercised in, ought in all conscience to have been content with New England Congregationalism, for Goodwin was one of the leading lights of Independency. He had been sequestered from St.

¹ Perhaps the Governor (Winthrop) or the Deputy Governor (Thomas Dudley).

² This was the famous preacher whose book justifying the trial of Charles I (*Ἰβριστοδίκαι*. The Obstructours of Justice. Or A Defence of the Honourable Sentence passed upon the late King, by the High Court of Justice. London, 1649) had the honor to be burned by the common hangman in 1660 along with Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* and *Εικονοκλάστης* (Chalmers, Supplemental Apology, 1799, pp. 7-9; Masson, *Life of Milton*, vi. 181-182, 193). He became Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, December 18, 1633, succeeding John Davenport, who had resigned (*Newcourt, Repertorium*, i. 537; Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, p. 385), and he was sequestered May 22, 1645 (Hennessy, p. cliv note u 1; cf. p. 470), by the Committee for Plundered Ministers (Freshfield, *Some Remarks upon the Book of Records, etc.*, from *Archæologia*, vol. 1. p. 8) but was reinstated by Parliament in 1649 (Freshfield, pp. 10-11). Meantime he had been minister of a private congregation, which was now received very hospitably by the vestry: the details of the arrangement are extremely curious (Freshfield, pp. 11-12; W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, 1900, ii. 134-136). Neal describes him succinctly as "a learned Divine, and a quick Disputant, but of a peculiar Mould, being a Republican, an Independant, and a thorough Arminian" (*History of the Puritans*, iii. 391, ed. 1736); cf. Burnet, *Own Time*, ed. Airy, 1897, i. 283-284. See also [Baylie, *Dissuasive*, 1645, p. 56; Cotton, *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, 1648, pt. i. pp. 23-28.

³ *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 3.

⁴ Declaration, November, 1646 (*Hutchinson Papers*, i. 240).

Stephen's, Coleman Street, in 1645, by the (Presbyterian) Parliamentary Committee "because he refused to baptize the Children of his Parishioners promiscuously, and to administer the Sacrament to his whole Parish,"¹ and was at this moment the minister of an Independent church in London. It was a similar refusal on the part of the Massachusetts churches that the Remonstrants alleged as their great ecclesiastical grievance. Dand, then, was badly mixed in his mind, and a mere statement of his position by Winslow was enough to label him (for every intelligent contemporary) as an almost imbecile Mr. Facing-both-ways.

No. 2 must have been Child himself. No. 3 was assuredly Maverick.² What Maverick wanted it is easy to discover. Having been admitted as a freeman before church-membership was made a prerequisite, he was under no political disabilities, but he did not like the administration, and — not having been in England since the Presbyterian party had borne sway — he may have fondly imagined

¹ Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iii. 391-392 (1736). The New England Independents, the Remonstrants complained, would not admit sober and godly members of the [Presbyteriated] Church of England to the Lord's table (or their children to baptism) without their previous assent to the covenant of some local church (Hutchinson Papers, pp. 193-194, Prince Society, i. 220-221). As to baptizing the children of non-church-members (in the New England sense), there was, as a matter of fact, great diversity of practice. This is clearly set forth in the resolutions of the General Court in May, 1646, recommending the Cambridge assembly or synod of 1646 (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 70-73; cf. Winthrop, ii. 323-324 [264-265], 329-332 [269-271]). As to communion, it seems clear (from a kind of agreement discernible in the gingerly-conducted debate on this point in *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, *New-Englands Jonas*, and *New-Englands Salamander*) that Presbyterians were sometimes allowed to communicate without actually joining a New England church. We should note, further, that to extend the right of communion to all parishioners indiscriminately was no more a principle of Presbyterian than of Congregational discipline. On the contrary, the Presbyterian system required that only such parishioners should communicate as had passed a catechetical test and were also certified by the elders as of moral and godly conduct. This principle, indeed, was regarded as so vital by the Presbyterian clergy in England that, when a parish declined to assent to it, they in many instances refused to administer the sacrament at all. On the whole subject see the excellent discussion in Dr. William A. Shaw's *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, London, 1900, ii. 142-164.

² "A freeman, but no member of any church, and the reason hath beene his professed affection to the hierarchie" (Declaration of the General Court, November, 1646, Hutchinson Papers, i. 239).

that direct Parliamentary control under a General Governor or a board of Commissioners would be less oppressive than the rule of the little commonwealth. He was frankly an Episcopalian, but church matters were not his chief concern: what he desired was to abolish the quasi-independence of the Bay Colony, and with this end in view he was quite ready to join hands with a high Presbyterian like Child, the deadly enemy of prelacy. Neither he nor Child, of course, had the slightest sympathy with general toleration or with liberty of conscience, the two *bêtes noires* alike of Episcopalians and of Presbyterians and of New England Congregationalists.

No. 4 must have been Fowle, whom Brewster doubtless talked with in London. He is described by the General Court as a church-member who "will be no freeman" since "he likes better to be eased of that trouble and charge."¹ Politics, then, were not his object; and, since he liked the Congregational system, he can have had no wish to introduce Presbyterianism for its own sake. In 1645 he had been a petitioner "for y^e abrogacōn or alte^ra^cōn of y^e lawes-ag^{nt} y^e Anabap^{ts}, and y^t lawe y^t requires speciall allowance for new come^rs residing here."² This shows where he stood: he was really and truly an advocate for liberty of conscience or at least for a large toleration. As such, he is the first of his kind that we have so far discovered in the little band, and we may well ask what on earth he was doing *dans cette galère*. John Smith, whom Brewster does not characterize, was doubtless of similar sentiments, for he was a Providence man. At all events, his objects can hardly have been political, since he was not an inhabitant of the Bay.

Thomas Burton and David Yale are likewise omitted in Brewster's catalogue of opinions. They are both compared, in the Declaration of the General Court, to "those who were called by Absalom to

¹ Declaration of November, 1646 (Hutchinson Papers, i. 239). It is he, undoubtedly to whom the same document refers in the following sentence: "These remonstrants are now come to the church doore, when one of their companie gives them the slipp, not daring (it seemes) to enter for feare of an admonition" (i. 241). This accords with what Winslow says of his approving the New England church system.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 51; cf. iii. 64. Emanuel Downing was one of the petitioners. Cf. p. 29 note 1, below. The counter-petition of 1646 — "that such Lawes or orders as are in force amongst vs against Anabaptists or other erronious persones . . . may not be abrogated . . . nor any waies weakned" — is in the Massachusetts Archives, x. 210–211.

accompany him to Hebron"¹ — an allusion that escaped nobody in those Scripture-reading days: "And with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerusalem, that were called; and they went in their simplicity, and they knew not anything."²

Of Thomas Burton little is known. He is described by the Court as "a clarke of the prothonotaries office, a sojournour . . ., and of no visible estate in the country, one who hath never appeared formerly in such designe, however he hath been drawne into this."³ The prothonotary was the Chief Clerk of the King's Bench or the Common Pleas in England. Burton had been in the country for not less than six years and his connections were certainly respectable, for he had married Margaret, daughter of John Otis, great-grandfather of the Patriot.⁴ Apparently he was not a church-member, or he would doubtless by this time have been admitted a freeman; besides, his membership would surely have been mentioned in the passage that describes him in the Declaration of the Court. He lived at Hingham, and the baptism of his five daughters is on record there (1641-1649).⁵ Such a record would usually suffice to show that he belonged to the Hingham church, but the pastor of that town, the Rev. Peter Hobart, did not believe in restricting baptism to the children of church-members.⁶ Since Burton had been prothonotary's clerk, he was doubtless a member of the Church of England, and probably, like Mr. Hobart,⁷ he had Presbyterian sentiments. His legal train-

¹ Hutchinson Papers, i. 239-240.

² 2 Samuel, xv. 11.

³ Declaration of the General Court, November session, 1646, Hutchinson Papers, i. 239.

⁴ History of Hingham, ii. 112, iii. 101-102.

⁵ ii. 112.

⁶ "Hee refuseth to baptize no children that are tendred to him (although this liberty stands not upon a Presbyterian bottom)" writes Winslow, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 100. Major Child thus challenges Winslow: "Dares Mr. *Winslow* say that Mr. *Hubard* was not punished neither directly nor indirectly, for baptizing some children whose parents were not members of their Churches, and that his sharp fines & disgracefull being bound to the good behaviour, had no influence from the baptism of those children?" (*New-Englands Jonas*, p. [22]). Winslow replies: "For answer, I doe and dare affirme in my conscience, that I am firmly perswaded hee was not" (*New-Englands Salamander*, p. 28). If, as it would seem, Burton's children were among those for whose baptism Hobart was blamed, Burton's impulse to join the Remonstrants would have been especially powerful.

⁷ Winthrop, ii. 288 (235); *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 99.

ing, too, must have predisposed him to favor the extension of the laws of England to the Colony. Here, then, for the first time, we have a petitioner whose sentiments accorded almost exactly with those of Robert Child, and, in truth, Burton seems to have acted as the Doctor's right-hand man in the whole case.¹

But Burton probably had another reason for joining in the Remonstrance. The troubles incident to a military election at Hingham were a *cause célèbre* in 1645, and it is quite possible that Burton, like his pastor, was among the eighty-one petitioners who thought themselves harshly treated by the General Court. The Hingham affair was still in hot controversy when Child presented the Remonstrance in May, 1646, for it was on the 18th of March preceding that Mr. Hobart had objected to the validity of the Marshal's warrant, as not being made out in the King's name, had declared that he and the other Hingham petitioners "had sent into *England* unto his Friends the busines, and expected shortly an answer and advice from thence," and had criticized the government for exceeding its powers, alleging that it was "not more then a Corporation in *England*."² These points, or most of them, were also made in Child's Remonstrance, and likewise (it would seem) in Vassall's petition, and the magistrates therefore regarded the Hingham case as closely connected with that of the Child party, and believed that the two groups were not only acting in concert but were also in league with Vassall.³ So convinced were they, indeed, of such an alliance that at the October court in 1646, when they were about to consult the elders about the business of Gorton and Child, Mr. Hobart was accused of having a hand in Vassall's petition, and though he denied all knowledge of it, was required to withdraw from the conference on the ground that he had shown himself opposed to authority and was at that moment under bonds for his good behavior.⁴ In substance, though perhaps not in detail, the magistrates were not far astray in their belief, for among the documents carried by Vassall and Fowle to England in the Supply for use in their campaign in

¹ Winthrop, ii. 367 (302), justifies such an inference.

² From the official Relation (New-Englands Jonas, p. 4); Winthrop, ii. 271-288, 312-313 (221-236, 255-256). Cf. New-Englands Salamander, pp. 4-6, 28.

³ Cf. New-Englands Salamander, p. 5.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 340 (278-279).

Parliament were copies of the Hingham petition of 1645, of the complaint against Mr. Hobart for his acts and speeches on March 18, 1646, of the verdict against him returned on June 2, 1646, and of his sentence to pay a fine of £20.¹ Nothing was more natural, then, than for Burton's name to appear among the signatures of the Remonstrants. In fact, he showed much energy in their cause, and was particularly zealous in collecting a number of special providences to show that God was against the government, until his efforts were checked by a providence on the other side, as all may read in Winthrop's narrative.² What became of Burton after the final sentence was passed on the Remonstrants in November, 1647, we have no means of knowing, for there is no mention of him between that date and May 13, 1649, when his daughter Sarah was baptized at Hingham, and with that he disappears from the records.³ I suppose he died soon after. His health had suffered a severe shock in 1646.⁴

David Yale, the father of the founder of Yale College, came to this country in Davenport's company with his stepfather, Theophilus Eaton, it appears, in 1637, and was one of the first settlers of New Haven. He was perhaps an inhabitant there in March, 1641, but on June 21 in the same year is described as "now resident in Boston."⁵ Children were born to him and his wife Ursula in Boston, according to the town records, in 1644, 1645, and on January 14, 1651[-2]. Elihu, his second son, was born in New England (probably in Boston) in 1648 or 1649.⁶ On August 23, 1645, David Yale bought of Ed-

¹ New-Englands Jonas, pp. 3-5.

² Winthrop, ii. 367-368 (302).

³ History of Hingham, ii. 112.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 367 (302). John Otis, Burton's father-in-law, died on May 31, 1657, and in his will, dated May 30, left "to my daughter Margaret Burton and her three children twenty shillings amongst them, a small brasse pot, and a canvass skillet" (History of Hingham, iii. 102).

⁵ New Haven Colony Records, i. 27, 50, 91; F. B. Dexter, Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, iii. 227; Lechford's Note Book, p. 224 (cf. p. 232), in American Antiquarian Society Transactions and Collections, vii. 414 (cf. p. 426); Winthrop, i. 272 (228).

⁶ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 17, 20, 33; Du Gard's MS., excerpted in 2 Notes and Queries, ix. 101, and New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 201; Dexter, as above, iii. 228-232. Cf. Waters, Gleanings, i. 65. On July 17, 1644, Israel Stoughton in his will, drawn up in

ward Bendall a fine estate on Cotton Hill in Boston,¹ but in 1651 he seems to have returned to London,² where he spent the rest of his life, though he visited Boston for a short time in 1659.³ His Boston estate was sold by his attorneys in 1653.⁴ His will is dated July, 1665 (the great Plague Year), but was not proved (by his son Elihu) for thirty-four years.⁵

Nothing in this biography suggests Presbyterianism, and the only visible reason that emerges for Yale's joining the Remonstrants is the fact that, not being a church-member, he was a non-freeman and could not have his children baptized. Perhaps that was reason enough, but I wonder whether Yale's signing was induced by the trial of his mother, the wife of Governor Theophilus Eaton, by the New Haven Church in 1644 for "divers scandalous offences." By toying with Anabaptist doctrines she had come to entertain scruples which interfered with conformity in church practices. Besides, she had struck her mother-in-law, and slandered her stepdaughter, and declared that "Anthony the neager" had bewitched the beer. In short, she was a little insane⁶ and had made her house an uncomfortable place for the family. She received a public admonition, and in 1645 she was excommunicated for contumacy and falsehood.⁷ Her treatment by the church cannot have been pleasing to her son, and he may well have thought some change in the New England system desirable. True, the Presbyterian model, for which Child was so eager, would have handled the case with quite as much severity, but Yale was young, and — so the fathers thought — was as ignorant of what he was about as Absalom's recruits who went to Hebron "in their simplicity."

England, made David Yale one of his overseers (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 52).

¹ Suffolk Deeds, ii. 47. Cf. our Publications, xx. 264.

² Suffolk Deeds, i. 192.

³ Winthrop Papers, ii. 501.

⁴ Suffolk Deeds, ii. 48.

⁵ Dexter, as above, iii. 231-232.

⁶ Her daughter, the wife of Governor Edward Hopkins, was insane for many years (Waters, Gleanings, p. 64; Winthrop, ii. 265-266 [216-217]).

⁷ The report of the trial, from the Church Records, is in the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, v. 133-148; cf. Leonard Bacon, Thirteen Historical Discourses, 1839, pp. 296-306; F. B. Dexter, Historical Catalogue of the Members of the First Church in New Haven, 1914, pp. 2-3.

I have dwelt at some length on the extreme diversity of views among the seven Remonstrants, because this has been thought to explode the theory that we are dealing with a Presbyterian movement. The diversity is, at first sight, a little disconcerting to that theory; but a moment's reflection shows that it is equally disconcerting to *any* theory that would strive to explain the united action of this ill-assorted group. Two separate questions are really involved: (1) What did the Remonstrants try to do? and (2) Why did they try to do it?'

The first question admits of an immediate and strictly definite reply:— They tried to subvert the Massachusetts government, to bring the Colony under the thumb of a Presbyterian Parliament, to impose the Solemn League and Covenant upon all the inhabitants, and to procure the establishment of the (Presbyterian) Church of England as a state church.

Why did they try to do this? That is not so easily answered. There were seven Remonstrants, and only two of them were Presbyterians, Child and Burton. These two we can understand without difficulty, for they strove to accomplish exactly what they believed in — the extension to Massachusetts of all the blessings of a Presbyterian national church established in a Presbyterian state. They signed the Remonstrance with full comprehension of what it meant and in hearty agreement with all its principles. The other five were united only in desiring to see the autonomy of the Bay overthrown; and to bring this about they consented to sacrifice — Maverick his Episcopal tenets, Dand and Fowle and Smith their Congregationalism, Fowle and Smith their principle of toleration or of liberty of conscience. Maverick, perhaps, knew what he was about, for he was certainly a thorough Royalist at heart, and he may have realized that the King's sole hope lay in the triumph of the Presbyterian party over the Independents. If so, his action is quite intelligible. He was willing to embark with the Presbyterians in order to save the Church and the King, for he could not doubt that the King would throw them overboard, if God gave him strength, as soon as they had served his turn.¹ Thus Maverick, a Presbyterian

¹ Maverick, whatever his wrongs and his virtues, was not always law-abiding. Witness his punishment for "confederacy" with Thomas Owen in the latter's escape from prison in 1641 (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 335; Winthrop,

for the nonce, ranges with Child and Burton, and three out of our seven are accounted for. The others, Dand and Fowle and Yale and Smith, belonged in the group only by virtue of their discontent with the administration, which was the sole binding element common to all the Remonstrants.¹ The guiding spirit was undoubtedly

ii. 61-62 [51-52]). In that same year he was also thought to be "privey to the flight of one Bell," who had jumped his bail (Maverick to Winthrop, March 1, 1640[-1], Winthrop Papers, ii. 308-309); nor was this the first time that he had been suspected of harboring shady characters (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 140, cf. i. 159). The administration had another ground of offence against him of very recent date. In 1644 Madame la Tour had got judgment in £2000 damages in a Massachusetts court against Alderman Barclay of London; and in the next year Barclay had attached Thomas Fowle's ship and had brought suit against Stephen Winthrop, Recorder of the court that found for Madame la Tour, and Captain John Weld, one of the jurymen (Winthrop, ii. 244-248 [198-202]; letters of Stephen Winthrop, March 1, 1644[-5], and March 27, 1646, Winthrop Papers, iv. 200, 205). A mainstay of his case was "a certificate of the proceedings of the [Massachusetts] court under the hands of divers persons of good credit here, who although they reported truth for the most part, yet not the whole truth, being somewhat prejudiced in the case." "These persons," adds Winthrop, "were called in question about it after, for the offence was great, and they had been censured for it, if proof could have been had for a legal conviction." Who they were, he does not inform us, but we learn from another source that one of them was Maverick, for Stephen Winthrop writes to his brother John from London, March 1, 1644[-5]: "Major Sedgwick, M^r Rusell, M^r Maverick & Trerise were they y^t did informe ag^t y^e country vnder their hands" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 200). Barclay's efforts were in vain, but he put Fowle, Weld, and Stephen Winthrop to considerable expense, and their petitions to the General Court in 1645 for reimbursement were unavailing (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 135, iii. 49-50). The original petitions are in the Massachusetts Archives, ii. 489 (Winthrop and Weld), ix. 142 (Fowle). See also Lords' Journals, vii. 352, 366, 400; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Sixth Report, Appendix, pp. 58, 59, 61, 63; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 98-99, 105-106.

¹ Fowle and Yale (and apparently Dand) were merchants and as such were doubtless influenced by the feeling that the severity of the colonial government discouraged immigration and was damaging to trade. Thus their wish for greater freedom in religious matters may have rested in part (by no means discredibly) on a sound commercial basis. If so, they were under a singular misapprehension in supposing that the establishment of a Presbyterian régime would foster liberty. There is plenty of evidence that friends of New England felt that the harshness toward the Anabaptists and other sectaries was bad for the Colony. On March 1, 1644[-5], Stephen Winthrop wrote from London to his brother John: "Heere is great complaint ag^t vs for o^r severetye ag^t Anabaptist. It doth discourag any people from coming to vs for fear they should be banished if they dissent from vs in opinion" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 200). On September 4, [1646,] Hugh Peter wrote to the younger Winthrop: "None will come to you because you persecute" (Winthrop Papers, i. 109), and Coddington

Child, who was the only man of first-rate intellectual qualities in the coterie. The diversity of views, then, by no means disproves the Presbyterian character of the movement.¹ It proves only that, as in all such movements, some are leaders and some are led.

Anyhow, the private reasonings of the "eminent person" with the Remonstrants were of no effect, and the business was taken up again when the General Court assembled on October 7, 1646. A committee was appointed to draw up an answer to Child and his associates, and Edward Winslow was selected to go to England as the agent of the Colony in the Gorton business, as well as in any troubles that might grow out of the Remonstrance. The committee consisted of Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Richard Bellingham, and Nathaniel Duncan,² the first three of whom had become personal friends of Child when he visited the Colony for the first time.³

In November, 1646, at an adjourned session, which began on the 4th, at 1 P. M.,⁴ the Court tackled *l'affaire Child* in earnest. The Elders were consulted, and gave their opinion of the Remonstrance,

refers to this remark in a letter of November 11, 1646, to the elder Winthrop: "M^r Petters writes in y^t yo^w, sent to yo^r sonn, y^t yo^w psecute" (Charles Deane, *Some Notices of Samuel Gorton*, Boston, 1850, p. 41). Again, on May 5, 1647, Peter writes to John Winthrop, Senior: "Ah sweet New England! & yet sweeter if diuisions bee not among you, if you will giue any incouragement to those that are godly and shall differ etc. I pray doe what you can herin, & know that your example swayse here" (Winthrop Papers, i. 111; cf. 1 *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, x. 19). Giles Firmin writes to the elder Winthrop on July 1, 1646, with regard to Hugh Peter: "I could wish hee did not too much countenance the Opinionists, which wee did so cast out in N. England. I know he abhors them in his heart, but hee hath many hang vpon him, being a man of such vse. I hope God will preserue him spottlesse, notwithstanding vile aspersions cast vpon him, but I perceiue it is by the Presbyterians, against whom sometime hee lets dropp a sharp word" (Winthrop Papers, ii. 277). Cotton, in *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared* (London, 1648), pt. i. p. 22, remarks: "Surely the way which is practised in *New-England* cannot justly be taxed for too much connivence to all kinde of Sects: wee here doe rather heare ill for too much rigour."

¹ Dr. H. M. Dexter describes the Remonstrants accurately enough as "a little cabal of Presbyterians and others in Massachusetts — undertaking to work with the aid of the very large number who by this time were in the country resident, who were not members of the churches, and so were debarred from the privileges of freemen" (*Congregationalism*, New York, 1880, p. 435).

² *Massachusetts Colony Records*, ii. 162; Winthrop, ii. 346 (283).

³ See p. 8, above.

⁴ *Massachusetts Colony Records*, iii. 79.

but offered no advice as to what judgment should be passed on the petitioners, leaving that question to the Court.¹ Yet it is still the vogue to call the Colony a theocracy! The Answer had been prepared in the interim.² It is an elaborate document, and skilfully drawn, but is too well known to invite comment.³ This was adopted by the Court, not, as Winthrop explains, "by way of answer" to the Remonstrance, because that "was adjudged a contempt," but "in way of declaration of the Court's apprehension thereof," and was afterwards made public⁴ and somewhat widely circulated.

A ship, the Supply,⁵ was about to sail for England, on which Fowle had engaged passage, and Smith, who lived in Providence, was likely soon to return to his home. They were therefore — so the Records inform us — summoned to Court and asked if they "saw any evill" in the Remonstrance "which they would retract." When they replied that, on the contrary, "they stood to justify y^e same," they were required to give securities in £100 each "to be responsall to y^e judgm^t of y^e Courte," since they might be out of the jurisdiction when the matter came up. Both of them refused and appealed to the Commissioners for Plantations, declaring that they would "engage" themselves to prosecute the appeal. They were taken out of the courtroom, but were called in again after a brief interval and were once more required to give security "to answer y^t matte^r of y^e peti^{ti}ōn," but they "refused to answer," and Fowle argued that the Court was not competent to judge them for any alleged offence against itself, as being a party interested;⁶ "the'fore they stood to their appeale for competent justice." Accordingly they were committed to the Marshal until they should furnish the security required.⁷ Winthrop affords further details, from which we

¹ Winthrop, ii. 347 (284).

² Winthrop, ii. 346 (284).

³ Hutchinson Papers, i. 223-247. The manuscript is in the Massachusetts Archives, x. 321-337.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 346 (284).

⁵ New-Englands Jonas, p. 2; Winslow, New-Englands Salamander, p. 3.

⁶ Cf. the language of Henry Gardener, *New-Englands Vindication*, 1660: "What Law can we have or expect that be of the Church of England, they Independents, so our Antagonists, incompetent Judges, being parties in action, and opposite in Religion [?]" (pp. 6-7; p. 36, ed. Banks, Gorges Society).

⁷ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 88-89 (session of November 4, 1646).

learn that Fowle and Smith complained that the other Remonstrants had not also been sent for. Thereupon these were summoned, and all, except Maverick, appeared. Probably the Marshal had failed to find him, since there is no evidence that he attempted to escape, and since his absence was not counted against him later.¹ Child, "being the chief speaker," demanded to know what they were accused of, and was informed that "their charge" was not yet ready, but should be forthcoming in due season, and that the present business had to do only with the question of securities for Fowle and Smith. The Doctor again asked "what offence they had committed, for which they should find sureties," and he was accommodated by the reading of one particularly offensive clause in the Remonstrance. He took a high tone — being young and ardent, and manifestly feeling some scorn for this picayune Parliament — and replied that he and his associates had acted beneath their dignity in petitioning the Court in the first place, whereupon he appealed to the Commissioners. The Governor refused to admit any appeal, as being contrary to the Charter, and "the Court let them know that they did take notice of their contemptuous speeches and behavior, as should further appear in due time." All were then dismissed, with an injunction to appear when summoned, except Smith and Fowle, who had been "committed to the Marshal," as we have already seen, but they soon found sureties, and were released before nightfall.² Though Child's appearance on this occasion is not mentioned in the record, we may be confident that Winthrop is accurate,³ for the *appeal before sentence* was later in this same session made an especial ground of accusation against him and all the other Remonstrants except Maverick.

There is an important remark of Winthrop in a letter to his eldest son (November 16, 1646), which seems to have been overlooked by investigators of these events. He writes: "I had thought we should

The exact date cannot be determined, but it was between November 4, when the Court came in, and November 9, when the Supply sailed.

¹ See p. 38, below.

² Winthrop, ii. 347-348 (284-285); cf. *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 12.

³ It will be noted that the Record testifies that there was an intermission in the hearing or examination of Smith and Fowle. Doubtless it was caused by the time it took to summon Child and the others.

only haue declared o^r apprehensions concerning the Petition,¹ wthout questioning the Petitioners but, the Deptyes called vpon it, whereupon m^r Fowle was forced to putt in bond to ans^r, &c, & the rest being called, did p[']sently appeale to the Parl^t, etc.: so as we are like to proceed to some Censure for their appeal, if not for the Petition."² This shows that the magistrates had not planned to bring the Remonstrants to the bar, but that the Deputies were determined to have them appear. Their bearing when summoned, and the momentous questions raised by their appeal, made "censure" (that is, the passing of some judgment) inevitable.

Soon after this hearing, Fowle went to England in the Supply, as he had intended, and he seems never to have returned to America. The ship sailed on November 9, 1646.³ The passenger list⁴ included Richard Sadler, Captain Thomas Harding, John Leverett, Herbert Pelham, — who, at his own request, was relieved of the duty of serving as agent of the Colony in association with Winslow,⁵ — William Vassall, — whom Winslow regards as the chief fomenter of the whole trouble and the constant adviser of the Remonstrants, — Captain William Sayles (late Governor of Bermuda) and William Golding (a minister in that colony), who were charged with the mission of pleading the cause of the Independent churches of the islands with the Bermuda Company, and, if necessary, with Parliament.⁶ The voyage was tempestuous and full of peril; but, after an almost

¹ The allusion is to the Declaration of the General Court, session of November 4, 1646 (see p. 31, above).

² John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., November 16, 1646, printed in the Appendix to Savage's Winthrop, ii. 430.

³ John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., May 14, 1647: "Captain Harding arrived at Bristol 19 (10). They went from here 9 (9), and had a very tempestuous voyage, and were carried among the rocks at Scilly, where never ship came" (Savage's Winthrop, ii. 432). Cf. Winslow, *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 4, 19.

⁴ Winslow is our authority for the names that follow (*New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 17, 18, 20).

⁵ Winthrop Papers, ii. 138-139. The petition of Herbert Pelham and Richard Saltonstall (who also wished to be relieved of this duty) is dated November 17, 1646, and must have been presented to the court by the latter, since Pelham sailed on the 9th. Yet it is all in Pelham's hand (date included) except Saltonstall's signature. For Saltonstall's appointment (1645), see *Massachusetts Colony Records*, iii. 48.

⁶ See the Rev. Patrick Copland's letter to John Winthrop, September 30, 1647 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 351).

miraculous escape from shipwreck on the Scilly rocks, the Supply reached Bristol on December 19, 1646.¹

A number of documents that concern us went over on the Supply, and their presence occasioned a characteristic incident on the voyage. A few days before the ship set sail, Mr. Cotton of Boston, in his Thursday lecture (November 5, 1646) had mentioned the imminent departure of the Supply and of another vessel that was soon to follow. "If there bee any amongst you my brethren," he had said, "as 't is reported there are, that have a Petition to prefer to the High Court of Parliament . . . that may conduce to the distraction, annoyance and disturbance of the peace of our Churches and weakning the Government of the land where wee live, let such know, the Lord will never suffer them to prosper in their subtile, malicious and desperate undertakings against his people." He declined to advise the passengers, "when the terrors of the Almighty shall beset the Vessell wherein they are, the Heavens shall frowne upon them, the billowes of the Sea shall swell above them, and dangers shall threaten them, (as I perswade my selfe they will)," to "take such a person," as the sailors in the Bible took Jonah, "and cast him into the Sea; God forbid: but," he continued, "I would advise such to come to a resolution in themselves to desist from such enterprises, never further to ingage in them, and to cast such a Petition into the Sea that may occasion so much trouble and disturbance."² The Rev. Thomas Peters (Hugh's brother) was so much stirred by this appeal, that, "having shipped his goods and bedding to have gone in the Ship with them, amongst other arguments this was the maine, that he feared to goe in their company that had such designes, and therefore tooke passage to goe rather by way of *Spaine*."³

¹ Winthrop's letter (p. 33 note 3 above); *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 4, 18-20 (cf. *New-Englands Jonas*, pp. [18-19]). Cf. Copland to Winthrop, September 30, 1647: "Our friends [Sayles and Golding] write they had a miserable voyage from you to old England, but at last they safely arrived at their native Country;" he is giving news contained in their letters of March 15, 1647 (*Winthrop Papers*, iii. 351-352).

² *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 14-17. The petition was Vassall's.

³ So he told Winslow in London, with permission to print the fact in his *New-Englands Salamander* (p. 18). John Winthrop, in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., November 16, 1646, says that "M^r Peters is resolved to goe by Malago, wth Cap^t Hawkins" (*Savage's Winthrop*, 2d ed., Appendix, ii. 430). This ship "loosed frō Nantasket" on December 19, 1646, and arrived at Malaga on January 19,

Storms did, indeed, descend upon the ship; the passengers remembered Mr. Cotton's warning, and Fowle, in the midst of the tempest, when two hundred leagues short of Land's End, in compliance with the request of "a godly & discreet woman," took a copy of the Remonstrance out of his trunk and gave it to her, and "referred it to the discretion of others to doe withall as they should see good." This was after midnight, when all were "wearied out and tired in their spirits." The woman showed the paper to Richard Sadler and others. They saw at once that "it was not the right Petition," that is, not Vassall's petition to Parliament, but "because they judged it also to bee very bad, having often seene it in New England, but never liked the same, cut it in peeces as they thought it deserved, and gave the said peeces to a seaman who cast them into the sea." Next day the wind abated, but they had divers storms afterward. In short, Winslow tells us, it was "the terriblest passage that ever I heard on for extremitie of weather, the mariners not able to take an observation of sunne or star in seven hundred leagues sailing or thereabouts."¹ This incident suggested the title for Major John Child's *New-Englands Jonas Cast up at London*, to which we shall recur. Though one copy of the Remonstrance had thus gone overboard, there was another in the ship, and Vassall had with him his own petitions to Parliament.² These, however, must be sharply distinguished from Child's appeal. It does not appear that this appeal was carried to England on the Supply, though that is possible. It was Child's intention, as we shall see in a moment, to go to England in a few days, and to bring the matter to the attention of Parliament himself. Fowle's copy of the Remonstrance, as well as certain other pertinent documents, — such as transcripts of the Hingham petition and the proceedings against the Rev. Peter Hobart, the Capital Laws of Massachusetts, and the Freeman's Oath, all of

1647 (Thomas Peters to Governor Winthrop, from Malaga Road, February 17, 1646[-7], Winthrop Papers, ii. 428). Peters was in London as early as April 27, 1647 (ii. 431).

¹ I have followed Winslow's account of this Jonah incident, which is based on inquiries made among the passengers — particularly on information furnished by Captains Sayles, Leverett, and Harding, and Mr. Richard Sadler. The account in *New-Englands Jonas* does not differ in any essential respect, but is less careful and less circumstantial.

² See Winthrop, ii. 340, 391 (279, 321).

which (and other papers unspecified) were taken over in the Supply,¹ — was obviously intended to be used either in support of Vassall's petitions, or in influencing public opinion in preparation for Child's arrival, or in both ways. Nothing of any consequence, however, was done by Fowle or Vassall in England until after the arrival of Winslow, which took place in January, 1647.

But we must return to the proceedings of the November Court of 1646. At that session, the 24th of December was set apart for a day of humiliation "wth respect to y^e hazordous estate of our native country, y^e trowbles thereof, y^e sad condicōn of y^e church at Bermuda,² & y^e weighty cases in respect of our churches & cōmonwealth, wth reference to any that seeke to vnde^rmyne ye libe^rtyes of Gods people here in either or both."³ This was particularly directed against the Remonstrants, and was so understood; and therefore Mr. Peter Hobart, "the pastor at Hingham, and others of his church (being of their party) made light of it, and some said they would not fast against Dr. Child and against themselves."⁴ Hobart, Winthrop asserts, was "of a Presbyterial spirit," that is, he was disposed to "manage all affairs without the church's advice," contrary to the Congregational principle.⁵

¹ New-Englands Jonas, p. [19].

² See Lefroy, Bermudas, i. 569-587, 594-595, 600-633, 711-713; Winthrop, ii. 408-409 (334-336); Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 137-140; Winthrop Papers, iii. 340-342, 350-354; unpublished letter of the Rev. Patrick Copland to Winthrop, August 25, 1646, Davis Papers, fol. 7 (Massachusetts Historical Society, O. 12, 3); Colonial Society Publications, xiii. 53-55; A declaration of the Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Warwick, . . . Governour of the Company of London for the Plantation of the Summer Islands; And of the said Company: To the Colony and Plantation there. October 23, 1644 (Harvard College Library). What might have happened in Massachusetts, had Child's conspiracy not been frustrated, Winthrop was able to read in the Bermuda case in a letter from William Rener (March 31, 1647) which he may have received before Child was sentenced: "The Hon^rl^l Companye in London for o^r Ilands, hathe sent a newe Governour. At his Arriual called an Assemplye, and by multiplicitye of vote chose suche Burgesses as serued for the ende p^rtended, the greatest p^rte of the Counsell were independants (as they call them) but by this Assemplye to be caste of, *ipso facto*; haueinge not else against them; Our Elders not suffered to teache the worde, nor anye of that (soe called) independant waye to beare anye office in Co^monwealth" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 340).

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 86.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 372 (305).

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 288 (235). Cf. Hypocrisie Unmasked, p. 99.

About the middle of November, or a little later — near the end of the session, at all events, — all the Remonstrants (except Fowle¹) were summoned and “in the open court, before a great assembly” they heard their petition read and listened to the charge against them, which a committee had prepared in the interval. They were accused, (1) on the basis of various expressions in the Remonstrance, of defaming the government and slandering the churches, with attempting to weaken the authority of the laws and fomenting sedition, and (2) on the basis of their behavior when previously summoned, with “publicly declaring their disaffection” to the government in that they refused to answer, and “disclaiming its jurisdiction” by appealing “before they knew whether the Court would give any sentence against them or not.” The charges were distributed under twelve heads.² The defendants asked time to compose an answer, which they presented in writing later in the same day, probably in the afternoon, the Court reassembling and the attendance of the people still being large. This, as was to be expected, was part defence, part excuse, and part denial, and “the court replied” to it clause by clause “extempore,” as it was read.³ The appeal, which, as we have seen, was brought to their charge as an offence quite distinct from their contempt and the seditious character of the Remonstrance, they justified⁴ as their right; but they did not answer the important point raised in the Charge — namely, that they had appealed before sentence, and in such terms as to deny the jurisdiction of the Court. This point the presiding officer did not neglect to emphasize in replying to the defendants’ answer.⁵ Whatever may be thought of the case of the Remonstrants, nobody who has read the documents can hold that they improved it materially by their rejoinder. They were found guilty and sentenced — Child to a fine of £50, Smith to £40, Maverick to £10, and the rest to £30 each; but were informed that “an ingenuous & publicke

¹ The Record says expressly that Fowle was “at sea” when judgment was passed (iii. 94).

² Winthrop, ii. 348-350 (285-287); Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 90-91.

³ Winthrop, ii. 350-355 (287-291).

⁴ Winthrop’s words (ii. 354 [290]), “they make an apology for their appeal,” must not be misconstrued: *apology* is used in its original meaning, “defence.”

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 354 (290).

acknowledgmen^t of their misdemean^{ors}" would be "accepted as satisfaccōn for their offences, & their fines not taken." They rejected this offer, and the Court declared their sentence.¹ "Three of the magistrates, viz., Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Bradstreet, dissented, and desired to be entered contradicentes in all the proceedings (only Mr. Bradstreet went home before the sentence),"² and five of the Deputies were also recorded as *contradicentes*, two of whom had been leaders in the Hingham disturbances.³ The smallness of Maverick's fine was due to his not having appealed in November.⁴ Child's sentence runs as follows: "Docto^r Childe, as being guilty not only of his offence in the matter of appeale & remonstrance, but also in chardging y^e Cou^rte wth breaches of p^riviledges of Parliament, & contemptuous speeches & behaviou^r towards them, is fined ffifty pounds."⁵ This refers to his demeanor at the November hearing, for there is no indication that he misbehaved at the actual trial. After sentence they all appealed again.²

The trial seems to have occupied one day, and the sentence was almost the closing act of the session.⁶ The exact date cannot be determined, since all the proceedings of the session that began on November 4, 1646, are recorded under that single date, but it was certainly later than the 16th,⁷ and probably several days later.

The sentence, we observe, says nothing about imprisonment or about security for payment.⁸ This silence is significant. The culprits were set at liberty, as the course of events proves, but they were liable to arrest at any time for their unpaid fines.⁹ The object

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 94; Winthrop, ii. 355-356 (291-292).

² Winthrop, ii. 356 (292).

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 94 (Richard Russell, Henry Bartholmew, Bozon Allen, Joshua Hubbard, Edward Carleton). Allen and Hubbard (Hobart) were the Hingham men, and the latter was the minister's brother.

⁴ *Ibid.*; Winthrop, ii. 355 (291).

⁵ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 94.

⁶ This may be inferred not only from its place in the record, but also from the words of Winthrop, ii. 356 (292): "So the court was dissolved."

⁷ On November 16, 1646, John Winthrop wrote to his son John, respecting the Remonstrants: "We are like to proceed to some Censure [i. e., judgment] for their appeal, if not for the Petition" (letter in Savage's Winthrop, ii. 430).

⁸ Contrast the language of the sentence imposed in May, 1647, when it was expressly provided that the defendants should be imprisoned until their fines were paid or security given (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 113).

⁹ Winslow says: "Though they were fined, yet the fines were not levied"

of this apparent leniency seems obvious, — to give the offenders plenty of rope. The magistrates suspected a Presbyterian conspiracy against the Charter and the Independent churches, and they kept a sharp eye on Child and his associates.

Child, even before the trial, seems to have had the intention of paying a visit to England in the autumn,¹ and this purpose must have been well-known to the leading men in the Colony, with whom he had until recently been on friendly terms. After the trial, he made haste to get ready to go in a ship which was to sail in about a week,² and he seems to have talked incautiously about what he expected to accomplish by prosecuting his appeal. The evening before his departure, the Council (Bellingham dissenting) decided "to stay the Doctor for his fine, and to search his trunk and Mr. Dand's study," whereupon, as Winthrop tells us, "we sent the officers presently to fetch the Doctor, and to search his study and Dand's both at one instant." The officers brought Child, and his trunk, which contained nothing contraband, "but at Dand's they found Mr. Smith" and also certain papers — some of them in Child's handwriting³ — which deserved all the attention that the fathers of the Colony gave them.

The fact is, Winthrop and his associates had been too clever for Dr. Child. They had given him every opportunity, since his trial, to prepare such documents as he thought would be most effective in England, knowing full well that he would (if liberty of action were allowed him) get these ready before he sailed, in order to fortify them

(*New-Englands Salamander*, p. 2). Child's letter to John Winthrop, Jr., May 14, 1647, shows that none of the fines had been paid at that date: "I am in some measure streightned for things necessary, esp. if o^r fines be demaunded" (*Winthrop Papers*, iii. 158).

¹ He writes to John Winthrop, Jr., May 14, 1647: "I neglected to write to my freinds for a supply [of money] this yeare, because my Intentions were for England" (*Winthrop Papers*, iii. 157-158).

² Winthrop, ii. 356 (292). I suppose this was Major Nehemiah Bourne's ship, which, on November 16, 1646, was expected to be ready to sail within "this 14 dayes" (John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., in the Appendix to Savage's *Winthrop*, 2d ed., ii. 430). Marvin says inadvertently that Child "was hastily preparing to return to England with Vassal and Fowle" (*New-Englands Jonas*, Introduction, p. xxxix).

³ Winthrop, ii. 356-357 (292-293). Winthrop, ii. 358 (294), says that "the writings" were in Child's hand. Winslow says that one of the "Coppies" was in Child's hand, another in Dand's (*New-Englands Salamander*, p. 13). A

with signatures. This was manifestly their object in postponing his arrest to the eve of sailing. Indeed, their original purpose had been to wait until he had actually embarked: why, Winthrop does not tell us, because he supposes we shall be shrewd enough to infer that any documents seized on shipboard would be not only the last results of the Doctor's activities but would also, from the circumstances of their seizure, require no proof that they were intended for use in the mother country. I should be ashamed to make so obvious a suggestion, were it not that an eminent New Englander has interpreted the action of the vigilant guardians of our independence in quite another fashion. "One striking characteristic of the theocracy," writes Mr. Brooks Adams, "was its love for inflicting mental suffering upon its victims. The same malicious vindictiveness which sent Morton to sea in sight of his blazing home, and which imprisoned Anne Hutchinson in the house of her bitterest enemy, now suggested a scheme for making Childe endure the pangs of disappointment, by allowing him to embark, and then seizing him as the ship was setting sail."¹

The papers thus impounded were three in number. There was a petition to the Commissioners for Plantations from some twenty-five "non-freemen" calling for liberty of conscience and for a general governor. This was of no great consequence. Far more significant was another petition, signed by the original Remonstrants, in which, after reciting the harsh treatment they had received, they ask not only for "settled churches according to the reformation of England," — that is, the Presbyterian reformation, — and for the appointment of a "general governor" or commissioners to regulate the Colony, but for the imposition of "the oath of allegiance and such other covenants" as the Parliament may decide on to test the sentiments of the colonists "to the state of England and true restored Protestant religion," i. e., of course, the Presbyterian system. This clause, we note, calls for the imposition of the Covenant on the whole Colony! The petition also asked for judgment on the Remonstrance and for answers to certain queries. These, which made up the third document, were openly revolutionary. They concerned,

document in the Massachusetts Archives, cvi. 6 a (printed below, p. 55), says that "the foule draughts both of Petition & Queris are like his [Child's] hand."

¹ Emancipation of Massachusetts, Boston, 1887 [really 1886], p. 92.

amongst other things, the validity of the charter, inquiring "how it might be forfeited, and whether such and such acts or speeches in the pulpits or in the courts were not high treason."¹ The revolutionary nature of the seized documents admits of no question. William Pynchon, on March 9, 1646[-7], wrote from Springfield to Winthrop, on the receipt of certain "extracts," which he sent on (as requested) to Edward Hopkins: "I cannot but be much affected with that malignant spirit that breathes out in their endeours, be[cause] by their manner of proceedinge (though they pretend honest reformation, yet) it seemes to me they would destroy both Church & Co[m]monwealth: in laboring for a generall Governour, & in charging treason by Conniue[n]ce vpon y^e Court."²

Child, on being brought before the Governor and Council, "fell into a great passion, and gave big words, but being told, that they considered he was a person of quality, and therefore he should be used with such respect as was meet to be showed to a gentleman and a scholar, but if he would behave himself no better, he should be committed to the common prison and clapped in irons, — upon this he grew more calm; so he was committed to the marshal, with Smith and Dand, for two or three days, till the ships were gone." He was "very much troubled to be hindered from his voyage, and offered to pay his fine," but the authorities refused to accept this as sufficient to discharge him, since they "now had new matter and worse against him."³ He was bound over to the next Court of Assistants. He was not imprisoned, however, but was allowed to lodge at the house of his friend Richard Leader, manager of the iron works, on giving bond in £800 (with three sureties) not to leave the town limits.⁴

¹ Winthrop, ii. 357-358 (293). Hutchinson (2d ed., 1765, i. 147-149), gives the fullest account of the contents of the seized documents, but he speaks of only one petition, a portion of which was the request for the answers to certain queries. Winthrop, ii. 359 (295), says that the "petitions and queries intended for England" are in the records of "that court," but they are not now to be found there nor have the originals been discovered.

² Winthrop Papers, i. 381. Pynchon goes on to suggest certain measures which the Colony may well take to obviate criticisms made by the Remonstrants.

³ Winthrop, ii. 358 (294).

⁴ So I understand the combined testimony of Child's letter to the younger Winthrop, March 15, 1646[-7] (Winthrop Papers, iii. 156), and of New-Englands Jonas, p. [22]. Winthrop, ii. 358 (294), says merely: "Yet, upon tender of sufficient bail, he was set at liberty, but confined to his house, and to appear at the next court of assistants."

Smith and Dand, refusing to be examined, were not bailed, but committed to prison, "yet lodged in the keeper's house," with liberty to receive visits from their friends.¹

At the Court of Assistants, in March, 1647, the whole matter was referred to the next General Court, partly because that Court had dealt with the former case (that of the Remonstrance itself), and partly because the new grounds of complaint against the defendants were so momentous, concerning "the very life and foundation of our government." Smith and Dand were released on bail, after giving security to pay within two months the fine imposed on each of them in the preceding November. Maverick, who had been fined only £10 on that occasion, had exerted himself in the interim to get signatures to the petition to the Commissioners — the same of which a copy was found in Dand's study. He was therefore summoned to the Court of Assistants, charged with this offence (which, in the view of the Court, involved a breach of his Freeman's Oath), and likewise bound over to the General Court. "Mr. Clerk," of Salem, a freeman and a church member, was also summoned and bound over for the same reason: — he had not signed the original Remonstrance, but "had been very active about the petition to the commissioners in procuring hands to it." Dr. Child, regarded as the chief offender, "was offered his liberty, upon bail to the general court, and to be confined to Boston; but he chose rather to go to prison, and so he was committed."²

We are now in a position to understand Child's letter of March 15, 1646[-7], written from Boston to John Winthrop, Jr., "at Pequat River," immediately after this action of the Assistants:

I should willingly haue come along wth yo^r man, but yo^r father (I thanke him) hath bin y^e especiall occasion of my stoppage here and imprisonm^t, for now I am at Mallins house, chusing rather to abide there, than to Accept of his p^tended Courtesy of Confinem^t to Boston necke, vnder 3 suretys & 800^t bond, w^{ch} Confinem^t I haue patiently endured this 3 months. Imprisonm^t I must expect as long³ viz to y^e General Court, or till y^e Parliam^t releive me: y^e busines you know, namely y^e petition & remonstrance, for y^e w^{ch} I was fined 50^t, Mr. Smith, 40^t, Mr. Yale 30^t.

¹ Winthrop, ii. 358-359 (294-295); cf. *New Englands Salamander*, p. 13.

² Winthrop, ii. 367 (301).

³ I. e., three months more (in reality, about two months).

He asks payment of £40 which he had lent Winthrop, for "this fine & other businesses may cause me to want moneys."¹ "Mallins," I suppose, was George Munnings, keeper of the Boston prison.² Child, like Smith and Dand, was obviously lodged in the keeper's house,³ not in the prison itself.

Here we must pause to draw an obvious distinction, which has sometimes been overlooked or ignored. The authorities had two separate cases against Child: (1) that which grew directly out of the Remonstrance itself and his conduct when summoned to answer to it, and (2) that concerning the papers found in Dand's study. The first was finished at the November Court in 1646 by the imposition of a fine of £50, which still hung over his head, being unpaid; the second, which involved a conspiracy to subvert the government, was now pending and was to be tried at the spring session of the General Court in 1647. It was the fact that the fine of £50 had not been paid which gave the Council a valid ground for arresting Child in November, 1646, when he was about to sail for England, and doubtless (as already suggested) the neglect to exact payment and the liberty of a week or more accorded to the Doctor before the date of his intended sailing (in November, 1646) had been a piece of policy on the part of the magistrates, who, suspecting a conspiracy against the government, wished to give the plotters every opportunity to take such measures and prepare such documents as should make their ultimate purposes clear.

The Court of Elections was held on May 26, 1647. Winthrop was chosen Governor by a plurality of two or three hundred, and the only new magistrate elected was Captain Robert Bridges. Yet there had been "great laboring" by "the friends of the petitioners to have one chosen governor who favored their cause, and some new magistrates to have been chosen of their side."⁴ Only a few days before, Child was still looking for good news from England. "I hope," he

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 156. I infer from this letter that Child had for three months been under bonds not to leave the town limits, and that he refused to renew his bond and went to prison.

² See Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 148.

³ Our associate Mr. Samuel C. Clough states that this house was on the westerly side of the prison land, fronting Court Street, now covered in part by the annex to the City Hall.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 374-375 (307).

wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., on May 14, "when we heare from England to be comāunded from hence, to prosecute o^r Appeale before y^e Parliam^t & y^t o^r Cause may be heard before indifferent Arbiters, till w^{ch} time I suppose I shall remayne in my ould Lodging in y^e prison."¹ But no such summons arrived, for Winslow had been busy in the interim.

Before Winslow sailed for England, Gorton with his two associates, John Greene and Randall Holden, had accomplished much. They had left Rhode Island about the middle of August, 1645, had arrived in England (it seems) toward the end of the year,² had presented their case to the Commissioners for Plantations, and on May 15, 1646, had procured two orders for reinstatement in their Narragansett lands.³ Holden, arriving at Boston on September 13, had presented the first of these orders, which served him as a passport through the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and the other had been sent over by the Commissioners and had reached the hands of the magistrates.⁴ Winslow's mission in England was to reopen the Gorton case, as the agent of the Bay, and incidentally to bring the Child affair to the attention of the Commissioners, or to oppose the efforts of the Remonstrants if they had got the start of him. Gorton had not returned to America with Holden. He doubtless expected some further move on the part of the Massachusetts Court, and he remained in England to fortify his case. His famous book, *Sim-*

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 157.

² Gorton and his comrades left Rhode Island for "the Dutch plantation" about the middle of August, 1645; there they "lay long," waiting for a ship, then sailed to Holland, where they "lay long" again before they could get passage for England. These details (but not the date) come from the letter of August 22, 1661, from the inhabitants of Warwick to the General Court of Massachusetts (Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, ii. 228). The best criterion for the date of Gorton's departure from Rhode Island is the letter of J[ohn]. W[arner]., November 20, 1645, printed in *Simplicities Defence*, pp. 93-94. In telling Gorton the news from America, Warner begins by informing him that the Bay authorities had provided an army against the Narragansetts, but that, upon Captain Harding's warning them of the difficulty of the enterprise, they had sent Harding and Wylbour to deal with the savages, associating with them Benedict Arnold as interpreter. Now these events took place in August, 1645 (Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 32 ff, ii. 90), and the commission of Harding, "Welborne," and Arnold is dated August 18 (ix. 41-42).

³ Winthrop gives both orders in full, ii. 333, 342-344 (272-273, 280-282); see also Rhode Island Colonial Records, i. 367-369.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 333-334, 342 (273, 280).

plicities Defence against Seven-headed Policy, addressed to the Commissioners, was licensed on August 3, 1646, and published as early as November 7th.¹

Winslow sailed from Boston about the middle of December,² and "had a comfortable passage and landfall," so that he must have reached London in January, 1647. He did not get a hearing before the Commissioners until sometime between May 5 and July 22.³ Meanwhile, his facile pen was kept busy. Gorton's *Simplicities Defence* was waiting for him on the bookstalls, and he dashed off a reply, *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, also addressed to the Commissioners, which was issued between February 22 and March 25.⁴ This was answered in its turn by Major John Child, in his *New-Englands Jonas*, which was also written (at least in part) before the latter date,⁵ though not published until after the legal new-year, as its

¹ "Imprimatur August 3, 1646." Thomason bought his copy on November 7 (Thomason Catalogue, i. 473).

² *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 20; Winthrop, ii. 387 (317). Seecombe (Dictionary of National Biography, lxii. 202) says that "Winslow sailed from Boston in October 1646," apparently following Jacob B. Moore's statement ("about the middle of October") in his *Memoirs of American Governors*, i. 123. Moore was no doubt misled by Winthrop's "10ber", thinking that he should count January as the first month instead of March. The error would not deserve a word if it had not passed from Seecombe into a note in the fine edition of Bradford published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 394 note 1.

³ On May 5, 1647, Herbert Pelham wrote from London to Winthrop: "For the Busines of the Countre yow will be more fully informed by my Cosen Winslow, who takes great payns, but as yet can not come to a hearing" (Winthrop Papers, ii. 140). On the same day Hugh Peter wrote to Winthrop: "Appeales will hardly bee ouerthrowne nor doe I mynd it much as a thing you should bee troubled about" (Winthrop Papers, i. 111). Cf. p. 64, below.

⁴ The date in the title-page, 1646, proves that the book was printed before March 25, 1647, and it was certainly written after Winslow's arrival, which must have taken place in January. It was entered in the Stationers' Register on February 22, 1646[-7] (Stationers' Register, 1640-1708, Roxburghe Club, i. 263). Winslow himself dates it (p. 77) "not much above two moneths" after his departure from New England. Thomason dated it October 2 (Thomason Catalogue, i. 467), which is manifestly wrong, for Winslow did not leave New England until about the middle of December, and he states expressly that he first saw Gorton's book in England: "When I came over, I found that Gorton had enlarged his complaint by publishing a booke called *Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy*" (*New-Englands Salamander*, p. 22; cf. *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 63).

⁵ Major Child speaks of 1646 as "this year" (p. [18]). This is in the body of his tract. His reply to *Hypocrisie Unmasked* is in the form of a "Post-Script,"

imprint (1647) shows. Thomason bought it on April 15,¹ which was perhaps the very day of publication. Winslow instantly retorted with *New-Englands Salamander*, which was also issued in 1647 — as early as May 29.²

Major Child, being a high Presbyterian,³ had no sympathy for Gorton, whom he describes as “a man notorious for heresie,”⁴ but, in advocating the cause of his brother, he felt bound to oppose Winslow’s doctrine of No Appeal.⁵ Besides, there were some passages in *Hypocrisy Unmasked* that alluded to the Remonstrants. In particular, Winslow had contended that Presbyterians, as such, were under no disabilities in Massachusetts,⁶ and this point the Major thought it desirable to controvert in the interest of his brother and the other petitioners.⁷

which may have been written after the rest of the book was in type. *New-Englands Jonas* is reprinted in part in 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 107-120, and in its entirety by W. T. R. Marvin (Boston, 1869) with a good introduction. It may also be found in Force’s Tracts, iv, no. 3. I have used a copy of the original in the Boston Athenæum.

¹ Thomason Catalogue, i. 504.

² This is Thomason’s date (Catalogue, i. 513) and must be close to the day of publication. When Winslow wrote, he had not yet been heard by the Commissioners, for he says that he has been sent over by “the government of the *Massachusetts*” to “render a reason” to the Commissioners with reference to the Gorton business, “which I still attend till their more weighty occasions will permit them to heare” (*Salamander*, p. 22). This passage, then, was certainly written before May 25, the date of their preliminary answer, which was so favorable that Winslow could hardly have refrained from alluding to it if it had already been given when he wrote. The tract is reprinted in 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 110-145. I have used the copy of the original in the Harvard College Library.

³ See p. 87, below.

⁴ *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 13 [i. e., 21].

⁵ See Winslow’s Epistle Dedicatory to *Hypocrisy Unmasked*.

⁶ *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, pp. 99-100.

⁷ In the title-page of *New-Englands Salamander*, Winslow describes *New-Englands Jonas* as “an irreligious and scornfull Pamphlet, . . . Owned by Major *John Child*, but not probable to be written by him.” He ascribes the book to “*New-Englands Salamander*,” that is, as we learn from Winthrop (ii. 391 [321]), to William Vassall. At all events, he is convinced that Vassall was Major Child’s “chief animator to this undertaking” (p. 1), and the Post-Script he “verily beleeves” the *Salamander* “penned every word” (p. 13). In fact, Child’s tract (except for this Post-Script) is mostly occupied by copies of documents (the Hingham Petition, with the record of subsequent proceedings in that affair; the Remonstrance; the Capital Laws of Massachusetts; the Oath

Just what was being done by Thomas Fowle (the only Remonstrant then in England), by William Vassall (also there), and by English friends of the cause, to get the business before the Parliament or the Commissioners, we cannot make out with certainty.¹ Fowle and Vassall had been in England ever since December 19, 1646, and something had doubtless been attempted in the way of bringing influence to bear on individual Commissioners or Members of Parliament. Vassall, who believed in universal toleration,² probably joined forces with Gorton, but Major Child and his circle would have gone to the stake before they would have coöperated with a Familist. We know that Vassall took over with him in the Supply one or more petitions to Parliament which called for certain reforms that were also demanded by the Remonstrants, but these were drawn up, it seems, before the Remonstrance was prepared, and were certainly neither in the name nor in the behalf of Child and his associates.³ Vassall's petition, a copy of the Remonstrance, and other pertinent documents, as Major Child informs the world in his *New-Englands Jonas*, arrived safely on the Supply, "and are here in London to be seen and made use of in convenient time."⁴ The Major's present tense applies, of course, to the moment of writing, that is, to some time between February 1 and March 25, 1647 — certainly before the latter date. His language indicates, I think, that the friends of the Remonstrance had not yet submitted their case to the Commissioners.

Before this time, however, Winslow, though he had not yet got a

of a Freeman) and by the story of throwing the petition overboard, which he says (p. 2) is given "verbatim, as it was delivered to me in writing by a Gentleman that was then a passenger in the Ship." Vassall was a passenger.

¹ See pp. 42-44, above.

² See Winslow's letter to Winthrop, November 24, 1645 (*Hutchinson Papers*, i. 172-175). This letter is generally, and doubtless rightly, thought to refer to Vassall (*Palfrey, History of New England*, ii. 167 note 4). The proposition which Winslow says was brought before the Plymouth Court was "to allow and maintaine full and free tollerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civill peace and submit unto government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turke, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicholaytan, Familist, or any other." Cf. *1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, vi. 476-479.

³ No copy of Vassall's petition or petitions is known. See Winthrop, ii. 319-320, 340, 391 (260-261, 278-279, 321); *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 12 [error for 18]; *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 16, 18, 23.

⁴ *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 13 [error for 19].

formal hearing, must have filed his documents. These included copies not only of various Gorton papers, but also of Child's Remonstrance and the General Court's Declaration in reply; and with them went the protest of December, 1646, addressed to the Commissioners by the Governor and Company in answer to their order of May 15, 1646. This protest covered both cases, Gorton's and Child's. It asserted, with a masterly union of deference and frank courage, the doctrine of No Appeal under the Charter, and called upon the Commissioners to recognize that doctrine, not, to be sure, by affirming it in set terms but "by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people . . . upon pretence of injustice."¹ Vassall's petitions may or may not have been before the Commissioners when Winslow submitted his papers, but, if so, they were a thing apart, and not a branch or member of the Child agitation, nor did they involve the question of appeal. We know nothing of their history before the Parliament or the Commissioners, except that they were rejected.²

Meanwhile, as we have seen, Robert Child was in confinement at Boston, awaiting the May session of the General Court and looking anxiously for a summons from Parliament that should call him to England to "prosecute his appeal."³ By an odd coincidence, on May 25, 1647, the very day before the Court of Elections was held in Massachusetts, the English Commissioners, who must have given Winslow at least a preliminary hearing, indited a letter to the Governor and Company which sounded the death knell to all Child's hopes.

In this letter the Commissioners acknowledge the receipt from Winslow of the Petition and Remonstrance of the Governor and Company in the Gorton case, and continue in these highly significant terms:

Though we have not yet entered into a particular consideration of the matter, yet we do, in the general, take notice of your respect, as well

¹ Winthrop, ii. 360-364 (295-298).

² As Winthrop, ii. 391 (321), puts it, "Mr. Vassall, finding no entertainment for his petitions, went to Barbados." This news seems to have reached Boston in May, 1648.

³ See p. 44, above.

to the parliament's authority, as your own just privileges, and find cause to be further confirmed in our former opinion and knowledge of your prudence and faithfulness to God and his cause. *And perceiving by your petition, that some persons do take advantage, from our said letter,¹ to decline and question your jurisdiction, and to pretend a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you for matters proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary (for preventing of further inconveniences in this kind) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor to restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your letters patent, but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you; knowing that the limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial (if not destructive) to the government and public peace of the colony.²*

The passage here italicized refers in the plainest way to the appeal of Child and his associates, and is a direct and favorable reply to certain dignified and outspoken sentences in the petition of the Governor and Company which Winslow had delivered to the Commissioners. This declares that if Gorton be upheld by the Commissioners, it will endanger the peace of the Colony.

For some amongst ourselves, men of vnquiett spiritts, affecting rule & innovacōn, haue taken bouldnes to pferr scandalous & seditious petitions for such libertyes as neither our charter, nor reason, nor religion will allowe; & being called before vs in open Courte to give accomp^t of their miscarriage therein, they have threatned vs wth yo^r honno^r's authority, & before they knew whether wee would pceede to any sentence ag^{nt} them or not, have refused to answer, but appealed to yo^r honno^r's. Y^e cobby of their petition, & our declaration therevpon, our comission^r hath ready to p^sent to yow. . . . Their appeals wee have not admitted, being assured y^t they cannot stand wth y^e liberty & power graunted vs by our charter, nor willbe allowed by yo^r honno^r's, who well know it would be destructive to all goūment, both in y^e honnor & also in y^e power of it, if it should be in y^e liberty of delinquents to evade y^e sentence of justice, & force vs, by appeales, to ffollow them into England, where the evidences & circumstances of facts cannot be so cleerely held

¹ I. e., the Commissioners' order of May 15, 1646, printed in Winthrop, ii. 342-344 (280-282).

² Winthrop, ii. 389-390 (319-320).

forth as in their pper place. Besids the insupportable chardges wee must be at in y^e psecution thereof.¹

The action of the English Commissioners, however, — as it could not be known to the Magistrates and Deputies at the May session of the General Court, so it was not needed to spur them to decisive action in the case of Child and his associates, for they were confident that they were acting legally and they never lacked courage. Undoubtedly they expected a favorable reply from England, but their action on subsequent occasions — for example, in their treatment of the Commissioners of Charles II in 1665 — shows that they were quite ready to defy the Parliamentary Commissioners now, should these claim any power which the Charter, as our forefathers interpreted it, had lodged in the hands of the Massachusetts authorities.

And so the May court of 1647 began its session on the 26th, and the trial of the Remonstrants was reached in due course. It is important, in view of the prevalent confusion on this subject, to define the issue. The first case, that of the Remonstrance itself, was over and done with, and the penalties had been imposed. The present case, though it had grown out of the former, was quite distinct, and depended on acts discovered and in part committed subsequently to the former trial. These acts, in the opinion of the magistrates, amounted to a conspiracy against the government on the part of Robert Child, John Smith, Samuel Maverick, John Dand, and Thomas Burton. Two of the original Remonstrants were not involved in this second proceeding — Thomas Fowle and David Yale. Fowle had gone to England before the former trial, and had consequently had no part in the subsequent activities that led to the present prosecution. His sureties (whoever they were) were, of course, bound to produce him or settle up, if the Court should call him to bar on the former offence, for which he had never been tried; but it seems clear that the matter was never pressed. How, when, and why Yale dropped out of the case is a mystery. I should be inclined to think he had not signed the petition seized in Dand's study but for the fact that Winthrop says expressly that it was "from Dr.

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 97 (session of November 4, 1646); Winthrop, ii. 362-363 (297).

Child and the other six petitioners."¹ Perhaps this is a slip of the pen. At all events the list of culprits given in a contemporary memorial omits his name,² and he is not mentioned in the record of the sentence.³

One new culprit was expected to stand trial with the rest, having been bound over at the Court of Assistants in March, 1647. This was "Mr. Clerk of Salem the keeper of the ordinary there and a church member." His offence is equated with Maverick's by Winthrop, for both were freemen: "These having taken an oath of fidelity to the government, and enjoying all liberties of freemen, their offence was far the greater." They "had been very active about the petition to the commissioners" (that revolutionary document found in Dand's study) "in procuring hands to it."⁴ In the opinion of the magistrates, then, they had been guilty of perjury as well as of conspiracy. William Clark had been chosen by the inhabitants of Salem to keep the town ordinary on April 7, 1645,⁵ and in the following October the General Court appointed him Lieutenant of the Military Company of Salem and Lynn.⁶ But alas! at the Quarter Court held at Salem on February 18, 1646, he was "advised to forbear being offensive in suffering a shuffling board in his house, occasioning misspending of time."⁷ We are not obliged to infer that this incident threw him into the arms of the malcontents, but thought is free.⁸ He died before May 26, 1647, thus escaping trial

¹ Winthrop, ii. 357 (293).

² See pp. 53-55, 56, below.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 113.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 367 (301).

⁵ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 1827, p. 166. The General Court of November, 1646, granted him a license at the rate of £15 a year (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 173).

⁶ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 133 (cf. ii. 110).

⁷ Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, i. 91. He was not, as Felt (p. 172) asserts, fined, for the law against playing "shovelboard" in public houses was not passed until the May 26 session of the General Court, 1647 (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 195).

⁸ He had other troubles, for on August 4, 1646, he was "discharged of his presentment for affronting the constable, having confessed publicly." It appears that he had twice affronted this officer, once when the latter had visited his house on an errand about a "hew and crye," and again when he demanded Clark's "measure" to compare it with the town standard, thinking the landlord's measure too small (Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex

for conspiracy, and his widow was allowed to continue the ordinary at Salem.¹

The exact date of the trial of the conspirators is not determinable. The Court assembled on May 26, 1647, but the trial certainly took place in June,² and sentence was not pronounced until after the 9th.³ There was more or less public sentiment in favor of the defendants, and an escape or rescue was feared, as is shown by the following entry in the records of this session:

In regard of y^e weaknes of y^e prison, & y^t to have iustice now deduced by any escape, would reflect much dishon^r upon y^e Co^rte, & minist^r matt^r of insulting to y^e adverse p^{ty}, it is ord^ed, by authority of this Co^rte, y^t y^e keeper shall huire 2 able men, such as may be trusted wth a matter of so great moment, & if he cannot huire any such, then upon sight hereof y^e cunstables of Boston, or any of them, shall from time to time impresse 2 such men, who shall assist y^e keeper in guarding y^e prisoners day & night, & when they go to y^e publike meetings, & they shalbe alowed 3 sh^s p day & night, each of them, out of y^e fines of y^e prisoners.

It is furth^r ordained, y^t if all y^e prison^rs of D^r Childs conspiracy shalbe once discharged out of prison, except one or 2, y^e keeper shall keepe such one of two of them in irons, except they wilbe at charge of such garde as y^e ma^{istrates} of Boston shall appoint ov^r them.⁴

A very interesting memorial, hitherto unprinted, was submitted to the Court shortly (as it would seem) before a decision was reached. It is docketed, in a hand contemporary with the text: "Deputy^s: motions, 1647,"⁵ and is signed by fourteen members of the House

County, i. 101). He had lawsuits in 1640, 1642, and 1643 (i. 20, 22, 49, 55), but anyhow our forefathers were a litigious lot.

¹ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, p. 175; *Massachusetts Colony Records*, ii. 193. The inventory of his estate (sworn to by his widow, Katherine Clark) is dated June 25, 1647 (Records and Files, as above, i. 119).

² Winthrop, ii. 359 (295) says that the trial was in June — "(4) 47." See p. 58, below.

³ On June 9, 1647, Mr. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley preached at the Cambridge Synod, the Magistrates and Deputies being present, and he "took occasion to speak of the petitioners, (then in question before the court,) and exhorted the court to do justice upon them, yet with desire of favor to such as had been drawn in, etc., and should submit" (Winthrop, ii. 376 [308]).

⁴ *Massachusetts Colony Records*, ii. 195-196.

⁵ The second word is very indistinct, but seems to be meant for "motions" or "Notions."

of Deputies. The document proves that there was considerable difference of opinion in the Court itself, and contains so many curious details that I reproduce it in full from the original in the Archives:¹

Concerning the matter about the Petitioners, we finde that this may be legally Charged on them.

For M^r Dan

1 That the Petitioners² & Queres were found in his Custody & soe must be Charged wth them till he p^roduce an other Author

2: y^t: he purposly raised slanders on the Country & this Appears by his owne letters

3. he went about to nurrish & Cherrish: discontented psons, amongst vs to the disturbinge of y^e Libertiees amongst vs. both in Church & Commonwelth, & this appeares, in the two Petitions he gauē to Foy & Barlo the Coppis of w^{ch} were found wth him³

For M^r: Mauerick.

1: He Countenaunced this Petition that was witnessed to in such a dangero^s & disturbinge way & that appeares by his owninge of it from

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cvi. 6 a.

² Error for *Petitions*.

³ Foy and Barlow were apparently sea-captains engaged in the carrying trade between England and the Colony, who testified that Dand had given them copies of both of the seized petitions to take to England. When this delivery was made—whether before or after the raid on Dand's study—does not appear, nor is it clear whether the petitions were actually taken to England by Foy and Barlow. The Foy mentioned can hardly have been the Captain John Foy(e) so well-known in Boston from 1672 (Suffolk Deeds, vii. 317) till his death in 1715 (Sewall's Diary, iii. 68), but may have been an older relative. Captain John Foy bought a house here in 1673 (Suffolk Deeds, viii. 133), took the oath of allegiance in 1678 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxix. 165), and had by his wife Dorothy (died 1724: Sewall's Diary, iii. 328) nine children born in Boston 1672–1689 (Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 123, 132, 145, 151, 157, 165, 174, 184). He is often mentioned in Sewall's Diary and Letter-Book and elsewhere (Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 267, 382, 391, 497; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1693, p. 428; Hinckley Papers, p. 206; Lawrence Hammond's Diary, 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, vii. 157, 159, 168; our Publications, x. 112, xiv. 143; indexes to Toppan's Edward Randolph, iii, iv, vi; Suffolk Deeds, x–xiv; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, i; Mather Papers; Winthrop Papers, iv, vi); but is easily confused with his son, the younger Captain John Foy (1674–1730), who was of Charlestown (Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 372–373; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, iii. 210, 211, ix. 250; Sewall's Diary, i. 480, 493, ii. 279, 327; Sewall's Letter-Book, i. 193, 203; Winthrop Papers, iv. 527, 545, v. 515; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 7, 131, 132).

Bushnel & sendinge it for England¹ Conterrary to his Ingagen^t to this Commōwealth.²

For M^r Smith

1: He Countenaunced M^r Dan & Resisted Authority & that Appears in his endeuero^g to keepe these papers: from Authority that had sent for them to M^r Dans studdy. & in sayinge he hoped to haue Commission to Ranssick the Gouverno^rs Studdy eare Longe³

For M^r Burtton:

It is Cleare that he knew of the former petition sent for England: first Foy sayes hee was prsent & cons[ent]^ded to the deliuey of it to him⁵

2: by M^r Parker & his wiues Testimony which sayes he hope to haue the best at last which must be by this Petition or a worse way Alsoe he spake slightly of Authority & Contemnd it in oppen Courte by his words & Carriages

For the Doctor

It may be feared & is somethinge pro^ble that he was acquainted with both Petitions & Queres, & therefor Authority did well to sease on him to secure themselues & to keepe him in Costody for future Euidence

¹ This was the petition "from some non-freeman," in getting signatures to which Maverick had been, "very active." See Winthrop, ii. 358, 367 (293-294, 301). This memorandum is the only evidence we have that it was actually "sent for England." One copy was seized in Dand's study — perhaps the "foule draught" mentioned below. It appears, however, that the authorities had a copy with twenty-five signatures that was seized in the raid on Dand (Winthrop, as above), and this can hardly have been the foul draught. What "owninge of it from Bushnel" means is a puzzle. The word *owninge* is very clear in the MS. It was first written *owinge* and the *n* is above the line with a caret. Perhaps "from Bushnel" belongs in sense with "appears," — i. e. that Maverick countenanced the petition appears *from Bushnel's testimony* that he acknowledged it (as a document that he approved).

² I. e., contrary to his oath as a freeman.

³ This outburst on Smith's part gave particular offence in those days as being gross disrespect to authority. Times have changed. See Winthrop, ii. 357 (293): "But at Dand's study they [the officers] found Mr. Smith, who catched up some papers, and when the officer took them from him, he brake out into these speeches, viz. we hope shortly we shall have commission to search the governour's closet."

⁴ Hole in the paper.

⁵ This seems to mean the Remonstrance. It cannot refer to Vassall's petition, for Vassall took that over with him on the Supply (see p. 34, above), nor does Burton seem to have had anything to do with it. As to the Remonstrance, it is clear that two copies were on board the Supply. One of them was thrown overboard, the other was used for the text printed in *New-Englands Jonas* (see pp. 35, 45, above).

w^{ch} might appeare in y^e examinatiō of the Cause; & this feare is grounded, first the foule draughts both of Petition & Queris are like his hand

2: he had mentioned his discontente & said some Queris would Quiett.¹

3: He adioyntly Joyned in all former greuances & Complaints to this Courte wth the rest

Therefore we humbly Craue that these o^r earnest breathings for peace both in Courte & Conscience may be taken as fauo^rably: as the rule of loue will giue leaue w^{ch} we haue no Cause to doubt of, & therefore we p^{re}ss we doe not this to direct the Courte but throughinge o^r might² to Cleare o^r selues from some Jelosyes that may seeme to arise from o^r Conterary desent pdone o^r boldnes. we hope not tedio^s: for we are yo^{rs}: as God Inable vs.

Ric Dumer

Edward Gibons

Robert Payne

Brian Pendleton

Edward: Carlton

[On the back
of the sheet]

Robert Clements

William Barthollmew

Jacob Barney

Steuens Kinsley

Obadiah Bruen

William Pelham

Tho: Lowthroppe

William English

William Fiske³

¹ I. e., apparently "would quiet it." The passage seems to mean that Child, in conversation, had been heard to say that certain queries that were to be sent to England would put an end to his grievances. This remark was thought to refer to the queries afterwards seized in Dand's study.

² If the text is right, the phrase must mean "exerting all our abilities." In that case, we have an example of the verb to *through* (to "carry through," "carry out"), hitherto known only as a Scottish word. Perhaps, however, *throughing* is a scribe's error for *through* and the phrase means "to the best of our ability."

³ Dumer was deputy from Salisbury; Gibbons from Boston; Pendleton from Watertown; Payne from Ipswich; Carlton from Rowley; Clements from Haverhill; Bartholomew from Ipswich; Barney from Salem; Kinsley from Braintree; Bruen (or Brewen) from Gloucester; Pelham from Sudbury; Lothrop from Salem; English from Hampton; Fiske from Wenham (see Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 42, 62, 121-122, 147, 202, 297). Their names all appear in the list of Deputies for 1647 (Records, ii. 186, iii. 105). Four of the persons who were contradicentes in the previous sentence, 1646 — Richard Russell, now Treasurer, Bozon Allen, Joshua Hobart (Hubbard), and Edward Carlton (see p. 38, above) — were members of the 1647 Court, but only one of them (Carlton) now appeared as an objector.

Of the fourteen signers, one alone — Jacob Barney of Salem — appears as flatly “contradicens” to the final sentence of the Court; Dummer, Pendleton, Payne, Carlton, Clements, Pelham, and Lothrop are recorded as “somewhat differing from y^e sentence of y^e Courte, in degree only,” and as “desiring their contradicentes might stand on record only as they differed.” They were in favor of lighter fines, and their several opinions are entered.¹ Pendleton, Payne, and Carlton thought Child had been already punished enough by his imprisonment.² The sentence (which was probably followed by an appeal³) runs as follows:

The Courte having taken into serious considera^on the crimes chardged on Doc^t Rob^t Child, M^r John Smith, M^r Thomas Burton, M^r John Dand, & M^r Samu^ell Mauericke, & whereof they have binn found guilty vpon full evidence by the former judgment of this Courte,⁴ have agreed upon y^e sentence here ensewing respectively decreed to each of them.

Doctor Child, tuo hundred pounds, & imprisonment vntill it be payd or security given for it . . .	200 ^{li}	00 ^s	00 ^d
M ^r John Smith, one hundred pounds, & imprisonment as before	100	00	00
M ^r John Dand, tuo hundred pounds, & imprisonment as before	200	00	00
M ^r Tho: Burton, one hundred pounds, & imprisonment as before	100	00	00
M ^r Sam: Mauericke, ffor his offence in being pty to y ^e conspiracy, one hundred pounds, & imprisonment as before	100	00	00
M ^r Sam: Mauericke, ffor his offence in breaking his oath, & in appealing ag ^{nst} y ^e intent of his oath of a freeman, fifty pounds, & imprisonment as before	050	00	00
Jacob Barney contradicens to y ^e sentence of y ^e Courte. ⁵			

John Dand, being unable to pay his fine and unwilling to apologize, was put in prison.⁶ He petitioned the November Court (1647)

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 114. Lothrop, however, agreed with the Court as to Child and Dand.

² The formula, in each case, is: “Doctor Child he could not pceed to sentence besids his imprisonment.”

³ See pp. 67, 81-82, below.

⁴ That is, earlier in this same session. The judgment is not recorded.

⁵ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 113.

⁶ Winthrop, ii. 359 (295).

to remit the penalty, and it was voted that if, before or at the next Quarter Court, he shall tender "such acknowledgement" as shall be approved by that court and by all or a majority of a committee of seven Deputies [named], and shall also give security to the Auditor General for £50 "to be paid into y^e Treasurer wthin 6 months now next coming, he shall yⁿ be discharged."¹ Dand, however, still refused to offer a satisfactory apology and remained in jail until May, 1648, when, having made the requisite *amende*, he was "freed from his imprisonm^t, & his fine readily remitted him."²

Maverick was allowed his liberty for about a month after sentence, but then, not having paid his £150, he was imprisoned.³ From a curious petition presented by his daughter to Andros in 1688, it appears that he was resolved not to pay at all, and that; fearing that the authorities would seize his estate of Noddle's Island, "he made a deede of Gift of the s^d Island to his Eldest sonne," Nathaniel, "not wth any designe to deliver the s^d Deede to him but only to p^rvent the seizure of itt."⁴ After twelve days' confinement, however, he paid his fine and was discharged.³

At the November session of the General Court in this same year (1647) Maverick petitioned for "a review of his Tryall, the reparacōn of his Creditt, and remittm^t of fines⁵ imposed on him," but got no answer.⁶ He repeated his application in October, 1648, whereupon

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 205.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 241, iii. 125-126; cf. Winthrop, ii. 359 (295).

³ Samuel Maverick's petition, May 8, 1649 (Massachusetts Archives, B xxxviii. 228, printed by Sumner, *History of East Boston*, p. 110).

⁴ Petition of Mary, the wife of Francis Hooke, of Kittery, Maine, "Daughter and Heiress of Samuel Mavericke, deceased" (Massachusetts Archives, cxviii. 45; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, viii. 334; Sumner, *History of East Boston*, p. 107). Mary Maverick married (1) John Palsgrave, February 8, 1655-6, and (2) Francis Hooke, September 20, 1660 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 53, 76). There are several errors in the petition, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the execution of the deed of gift, which is consistent with the fact that, in 1650, Samuel Maverick and his wife, conjointly with their son Nathaniel, conveyed the island to Captain George Briggs of Barbados for 40,000 lbs. of good white sugar (Suffolk Deeds, i. 122-123; Sumner, *History of East Boston*, p. 178).

⁵ The plural is used because two fines were imposed in June, 1647, £100 for conspiracy and £50 for perjury (see p. 56, above).

⁶ So Maverick recites in a petition submitted in October, 1648 (Massachusetts Archives, B xxxviii. 227). No copy of the 1647 petition has been found, nor is it mentioned in the Court records.

the Deputies voted that he ought to be heard and the Magistrates (October 25) consented.¹ The result was a vote of the Deputies "that on M^r Samuell Mauericke's acknowledgment of his error his fine shalbe Remitted," but apparently the Magistrates refused to concur.² The matter came up again at the May Court in 1649, and on the 4th, in response to Maverick's "request" for "a review of his cawse, whereby he might either cleere himself or be satisfied in the evidence forⁿly p^rduced against him," the General Court appointed May 9 "for hearing him."³ There is no record concerning the business on the 9th, but Maverick's petition of May 8, 1649, is in the Archives. It alleges that he was charged with "conspiracy and periury" at a court held in May and June, 1647, protests his innocence, and asks that his fine of £150 may be repaid.⁴ In another document of May 8, 1649, Maverick specifies what he conceives to be a number of errors in a record of the trial of 1647 which had been furnished him by the Secretary.⁵ Again there was no result, and ap-

¹ The original of this 1648 petition is in the Massachusetts Archives, B xxxviii. 227; and the approval of a rehearing (signed by William Torrey) and the consent of the Magistrates (in Governor Winthrop's hand, signed) are appended on the same sheet. The only date given is that noted by Winthrop after his signature: "25 (8) 48".

² This note of the Deputies (in William Torrey's hand, signed) is preserved on a scrap of paper in the Archives (B xxxviii. 227 a) which is docketed "M^r S: Maverick's Petition 1648." The same scrap shows a memorandum in Winthrop's hand: "An Answr to this Petⁿ will appear in the Record of the Court holden Nov: 19;" but nothing is to be found in the Court Records.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 153.

⁴ Massachusetts Archives, B xxxviii. 228 (Sumner, History of East Boston, p. 110).

⁵ Massachusetts Archives, B xxxviii. 228 a. I append this memorial (hitherto unprinted) since it furnishes some curious details of the prosecution:

Errors (as I conceiue, in the Coppie of those reco^rds I receiued from m^r Secretarie) First yo^r whole p^rceeding agst vs seemes to depend on o^r refusall to answer Intergato^ries vpon oath, whereas the Comittie of mag^{rs} and deputies, had sate di^fuse dayes & made returne to the Co^rte before eⁿ wee were called as appears by the reco^rds.

Further whereas it is declared in the recco^rds that at o^r appearance when wee were sentenced wee had nothing further to aleage to hinder the Co^rts p^rceedings against vs vnder fauo^r wee all then desired to see those testimonies vpon w^{ch} o^r sentence was grounded And I in my p^rticuler answer to the charge against mee desired to haue libertie to make additionall answers for the further Clearing vp of my innocencie w^{ch} I could not obtaine

Further where as it is affir^med in the recco^rds that wee brought in to the

parently the Court was displeased with the high tone of the petitioner, for a "second petition," much humbler in style, came before it on May 16th. Maverick now throws himself upon the Court's mercy: "Being confident and experimentally assured of yo^r clemency to others in the like kind, I am bold rather to crave yo^r mercy in the favorable remittance of my fines then to stand either to justify myself or proceedings, w^{ch}, as they have (contrary to my intencōns) prouved pjudicyall and very offensive, so it hath binn, is, & willbe, my greife and trouble." The Deputies voted to abate £100, but the Magistrates did not concur, for they "cannot finde that the petitioner hath so farr acknowledged himself guilty of his offence . . . as doth give them such satisfacōn as might moove them to take of any parte of his fine."¹ In the June court of 1650 Maverick petitioned again "for the remittinge or mitigation" of his fine of £150, and this time the Court voted to abate it £75.²

As to Smith and Burton, we have no record that proves the payment of their fines, but Maverick asserts, in his Briefe Description of New England,³ that the Remonstrants "were fined 1000^l, a[nd] Notwstanding they Appealed to England, they were forced to pay the same."⁴ One notes, by the way, that, in his venomous arraignment of the Colony in this paper, he suppresses the fact that Dand's £100 was remitted and that £75 of his own £150 was finally returned

Co^{te} o^r sefall answers to o^r seuerall Charges (vnder fauo^r). It was not soe neither was it in the publike meeting howse, but o^r ans^w's were sent for to vs by the marshall, by whom after oure deniall the second time wee sent them

Further the last clawse now on recco^d of o^r sentence Concerning the keeping of one o^r twee in Irons was noe pte of o^r publike sentence as will appeare by a Coppie of the sentence vnder the Secretaries hand w^{ch} I had six dayes after the Co^{te} was ended and affirmed vnder his hand to bee a true Coppie fwee weekes after

Diffuse other both materiall & Circumstantiall erro^rs I conceiue there are w^{ch} for want of time I omitt

Samuell Mauerrick

The 8. of the 3d m^o 1649

The "last clawse" to which Maverick refers seems to have embodied the substance of the order printed on p. 52, above.

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 166-167.

² iii. 200; iv. i. 18.

³ Egerton MS. 2395, fols. 397-411 (British Museum).

⁴ 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 240; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxix. 41.

to him. Still, his statement that the fines were exacted is certainly true (though not the whole truth) in his own case, and probably also with respect to Child's £200. This inference is confirmed by Child's expressed wish, soon after his return to England, that his *fines* might be "restored" or "returned."¹ He even commissioned Richard Leader, agent and manager of the Lynn and Braintree iron works — a venture in which Child was one of the original partners² — to approach the authorities on the subject.³ And he returns to the matter in his last extant letter to the younger Winthrop, August 26, 1650.⁴ We may be sure, then, that Child was not allowed to leave Massachusetts until he had paid his £200. His former fine of £50, however, was still unpaid when he departed. It has been thought that John Winthrop, Jr., stood security for this sum. The facts, however, are rather more complicated, and illustrate, in an amusing fashion, how scarce cash was in old New England. Winthrop had borrowed forty pounds of Child in London. On March 15, 1647, Child asked for the money, explaining why he needed it; he repeated his request on May 14, offering to accept whatever Winthrop could send in lieu of coin, "as peage, if it be good, & other kinds of provisions at price currant." Finally, writing from Gravesend, on May 13, 1648, he approves of Winthrop's act in having "paid in ye 40^l to M^r Leader" and adds, "We are now totally euen."⁵

Meanwhile, in October or November, 1647, the Court had passed the following vote:

Whereas Docto^r Rob^t Child oweth for a fine due to the country the sume of 50^l of lawfull mony charged upon him by the Gen^rall Co^rte in the 9th m^o, 1646, w^{ch} is unpaid, & himselfe gone out of this iurisdiction into Europe, & whereas he hath a stock going in the iron workes, under the managment of M^r Leader, to the value of 450^l, it is therefore ordered by this Co^rte, that the audito^r gen^rall hath hereby pow^r & authority given unto him to make sale of so much of the said stock of 450^l as will p^{re}sently yeild y^e 50^l due to y^e country.⁶

¹ Child to John Winthrop, Jr., from Gravesend, May 13, 1648 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 159).

² See pp. 10-14, above.

³ See p. 92 note 2, below.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iii. 162.

⁵ iii. 156, 157, 159.

⁶ Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 199.

The iron works were far from profitable, and such a sale would undoubtedly have been at a great loss. To prevent this, I conjecture, and to square his debt to Child, Winthrop guaranteed to the Colony £40 of Child's first fine, and had Leader, as Child's agent, credit him with that amount.¹ The Bay was an indulgent creditor — and very properly so — to the younger Winthrop, who also claimed a set-off on account of a payment he had made in England for the Colony;² and it appears by the records that he was still indebted for that portion of Child's fine in October, 1650,³ and also in October, 1651, when the debt was forgiven him as a recompense for his services in England.⁴ Whether the odd £10 was ever collected from Child we have no means of knowing.

Mr. Brooks Adams remarks with a certain vagueness, that "though the elders accused Childe of being a Jesuit, there is some ground to suppose that he inclined toward Geneva."⁵ I have too much respect for our forefathers' common sense and knowledge of the world to believe that they seriously took Child — who they knew was a high Presbyterian — for an emissary from the Jesuits. But they may have been willing to dally with this surmise, and perhaps even to repeat it as a ground for odium. That there was suspicion in some minds is indubitable from what Winslow told Major Child *viva voce* and afterwards printed in New-Englands Salamander,⁶ and from the

¹ Leader's receipt is preserved among the Winthrop MSS., xiv. 104:

Rec of John Winthrop Jn^r Esq^r the sume of forty pounds by the order & for the vse of doc Robt Childs witnes my hand the 12th day of September 1647

P Richard Leader.

An order to Winthrop from Leader in favor of Goodman Arnold for any sum not exceeding £6, dated Boston, July 16, 1646, is also preserved among these manuscripts (xiv. 124). On the back Winthrop has written: "M^r leaders note for G Arnold 6^{li}—w^{ch} accordingly M^r Leader paid D^r Child in full of all y^e mony I re[re]ived of him in England &c."

² Petition printed by Waters, *A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger*, pp. 31-32.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 219.

⁴ iii. 256, iv. i. 65.

⁵ *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, p. 95.

⁶ "I freely imparted to you the Countries colorable grounds of suspecting his agency for the great Incendiaries of Europe, . . . yea that the very yeare hee came over, a gentleman in the country (Mr. *Peters* by name) was advised by letters from a forraign part that the Jesuits had an agent that Sommer in *New-England*. And that the Countrey comparing his practise with the intelligence

Apostle Eliot's entry (1646) in the records of the First Church in Roxbury: "This yeare arose a great disturbance in the country by such as are called the Petitioners a trouble raised by Jesuited agents to molest the peace of the churches & Com.w."¹ To be sure, the same session of the General Court that sentenced Child in June, 1647, passed a law excluding Jesuits from the Colony;² but this action may well have been due to general fears of the Pope and of "Papists," sharpened by reports which had often come from Portugal and the Azores. Cotton, writing in 1647, informs his English readers that "some of the Jesuites at *Lisborn*, and others in the Western Islands have professed to some of our Merchants and Mariners, they look at our Plantations, (and at some of us by name) as dangerous supplanters of the Catholick cause."³ One of the merchants in question, as we learn from Winthrop, was a Mr. Parish, who arrived at Boston from the Madeiras in 1642. He had lived in those islands "many years among the priests and Jesuits, who told him, when he was to come hither, that those of New England were the worst of all heretics, and that they were the cause of the troubles in England."⁴ Into the criss-cross intrigues in which the King and his supporters entangled themselves in 1645 and 1646 — with the Presbyterians of Scotland, with the English Presbyterians (both orthodox and Erastian), with the Roman Catholics of Ireland and

were more jealous of him then any; (though to mee he was a meere stranger)" (New-Englands Salamander, p. 2). Cf. p. 7: "Hee is a Gentleman that hath travelled other parts before hee came to us, namely *Italy*; confesseth hee was twice at *Rome*, speaketh sometimes highly as I have heard reported in favour of the Jesuites." In his first extant letter to the younger Winthrop, 1641, Child reveals his reading of the Jesuit Relations, but he certainly does not express approval: "From myne owne library I likewise send you to pvse till I come to New England, D^r Dauisons workes; y^e French Jesuits voyages in Canada in 3 Volues, that you may see how they proceede in the c̄version of those Heathen, and how little the Lord hath blessed them in there proceeding" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 150). Cf. p. 102 note 1, below.

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 65.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 193, iii. 112. Felt thinks that "one inducement for the passage of such an act was probably the strong suspicion that Dr. Child . . . was on his second tour in this country as a spy from the Jesuits of Europe" (Ecclesiastical History of New England, i. 597).

³ The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, London, 1648 (imprimatur, January 1, 1647-[8]), part i. pp. 21-22.

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 111 (92).

France, and even with the Pope, — we need not enter;¹ but the effect of those intrigues on the public mind was unsettling. So ramified and intertwined were they that, as some of them came to light from time to time and others were imagined or guessed at, either of the two great Protestant parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents, might naturally suspect the other of negotiating with Rome. It is just possible, then, that our fathers imagined Child an intermediary between the Presbyterians and the Jesuits, but they can hardly have fancied in their wildest moments that he was actually a member of that society.

Exactly when Child left New England we do not know. On July 14, 1647, he was still in this country, for on that date he gave to Richard Bonighton a deed for one hundred acres of his Saco purchase from Vines in exchange for a like quantity in another patent,² but by *ca.* October 27 he had departed "into Europe," as the Court order proves.³ I think he sailed before September 12th.⁴ An odd detail of his passage to England may be mentioned, because it has escaped the curiosity of previous students. In his Large Letter on Husbandry, 1651, Child remarked: "I should thank any Merchant that could inform me in some trivial and ordinary things done beyond Sea, (*viz.*) how they make *Caviare* out of Sturgeons Rowes? in *Muscovia*, how they boil and pickle their Sturgeon, (which we English in *New-England* cannot as yet do handsomely?)"⁵ In his comments on this Letter, Dr. Arnold Boot declared that the receipt for caviare may be found in Purchas his Pilgrims, "*second Tome, page 1420.*"⁶ Replying, Child says:

¹ See, for example, Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, ed. 1893, ii. 170-176, 258-260, 285-286; iii. 1-57, 62-63, 70-76.

² York Deeds, i. i. 40; Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford*, p. 74. Folsom quotes an undated letter from Vines to Child concerning a hundred-acre lot purchased by Joseph Bowles.

³ P. 60, above. William White, an expert miner, seems to have been left stranded by Child's withdrawal: see White's confused letter to Governor Winthrop, July 24, 1648 (2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 199): "I was promised 5s a day by Doctor Child for my selfe and my sonn."

⁴ See Leader's receipt of that date (p. 61 note 1, above). John Winthrop, Jr., wrote to Child, apparently to England, on October 25, 1647 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 158).

⁵ Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie of Husbandry*, 2d ed., 1652, p. 62 (3d ed., 1655, p. 71). On Child's authorship of a large portion of this volume, see p. 107, below.

⁶ *Legacie*, p. 112 (3d ed., 1655, p. 127). See p. 108, below.

I am certain that *Purchase* himself, never saw the making of *Caveare*, nor the Merchant perhaps that wrote it, and therefore I must question the Process, and know that in *New-England* where there are abundance of Sturgeon, whose rows are ordinarily accounted the Material of it, yet never any ever so much as attempted to make it, though divers Fishmongers were there, and attempted to pickle Sturgeon, though with ill success; for in the ship in which I returned from *New-England*, many Scores of Cags of Sturgeon were sent to *London*, which were all naught, and cried about the Stree[t]s, under the notion of Holy Sturgeon.¹

When Child reached home, if not before, he must have learned of the action of the Commissioners in the Gorton case. Their two letters to the Colony, dated May 25 and July 22, 1647, had virtually settled the fate of the Remonstrance. In the first, they advert plainly enough to Child and his associates, declaring that they have no wish to encourage appeals or to limit the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and admitting that the contentions of the Bay have been in defence of legal privileges under the Charter. The second and final letter reaffirms these expressions: "We did by our said letter declare our tenderness of your just privileges, and of preserving entire the authority and jurisdiction of the several governments in New England, whereof we shall still express our continued care."²

After this, it might well have seemed hopeless for Child to prosecute his appeal. But he was an ardent soul, and no doubt received help from his family and friends, especially his brother the Major. At all events, by March or April, 1648, Child had given up the fight, for in May three ships arrived from England in one day, bringing word by the passengers, and also by letters from Winslow, that the struggle was over. Child had "preferred a petition to the committee [i. e., the Commissioners for Plantations] against us, and put in Mr. Thomas Fowle his name among others; but he, hearing of it, protested against it, (for God had brought him very low, both in his estate and his reputation, since he joined in the first petition)." This application to the Commissioners had come to nothing. News also came of an encounter on the Exchange, in which Child had told Francis Willoughby that the people of New England "were a company of rogues and knaves."

¹ Legacie, 3d ed., 1655, p. 168. See p. 109, below.

² Winthrop, ii. 387-390 (318-320).

Mr. Willoughby answered, that he who spake so, etc., was a knave, whereupon the Doctor gave him a box on the ear. Mr. Willoughby was ready to have closed with him, etc., but being upon the exchange, he was stayed, but presently arrested him. And when the Doctor saw the danger he was in, he employed some friends to make his peace, who ordered him to give five pounds to the poor of New England, (for Mr. Willoughby would have nothing of him,) and to give Mr. Willoughby open satisfaction in the full exchange, and to give it under his hand, never to speak evil of New England men after, nor to occasion any trouble to the country, or to any of the people, all which he gladly performed; and besides God had so blasted his estate, as he was quite broken.¹

In consequence, perhaps, of his reverses of fortune, Child seems to have sold Vines's Saco patent, about this time, to John Beex and associates, the proprietors of the iron works,² in which he still retained an interest.³

It was, of course, largely the efforts of Winslow in gaining the support of men of influence, as well as in presenting the Gorton case, along with Child's, to the Commissioners before the Doctor's arrival, that had doomed Child's final attempt. Four pieces of contemporary testimony may close this episode in our hero's career. The Apostle Eliot wrote in the Records of his church at Roxbury under 1647: "God so graciously prospered m^r Winslows indeavours in England, against Gorton & his complices, y^t all their great hopes were dashed; and they among vs, a little pulled in their heads, and held their peace."⁴ Bradford, under 1647, thus records the facts as he saw them:

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went into England, upon this occasion: some discontented persons under the govermente of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace, and disturbe, if not innovate,

¹ Winthrop, ii. 391-392 (321-322).

² In 1659 the lands included in this patent were conveyed to Lt. William Phillips of Boston, vintner, by William Hathorne of Salem as attorney for John Jeffard (Gifford) in behalf of Mr. Beex and Company (York Deeds, i. i. 82; Folsom, History of Saco and Biddeford, p. 103). Child had purchased the patent in 1645 (see p. 16, above). James Graham, who reported on the title in 1688, could find no record of any conveyance from Child or "from any under him" (p. 16 note 4, above).

³ Child as one of the proprietors of the iron works joins with Beex and others in an agreement with John Gifford, August 23, 1650 (Suffolk Deeds, i. 216).

⁴ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 238.

their govermente, by laying many scandals upon them; and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the Parlemeute. Allso Samuell Gorton and his company made complaints against them; so as they made choyse of Mr. Winslow to be their agente, to make their defence, and gave him comission and instructions for that end; in which he so carried him selfe as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame or dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries.¹

On July 14, 1648, Herbert Pelham wrote from England to Winthrop:

I doubt but you are fully informed, by my Cosen Winslow in those things that concerne the affayrs of the Collonies, the care of w^{ch} busines you have comitted to him; who as he was fitly chosen by your selfe & the rest, soe he hath as faythfully discharged that trust you have reposed in him. I could from my owne observation say much concerning his care & dilligence in improveing every opportunitie and his many wearisome journeys and attendancys for the dispatch of the Busines he came about . . . but I shall leave it to the relation of some now returning to you.²

Maverick, about 1661, in a paper drawn up to serve as ammunition in his campaign against the liberties of New England, shall be the last witness, for the proverb says that losers must have leave to talk:³

7 persons of Quality about 12 years since for petitioning for themselves & Neighbo^{rs} that they might have votes in Elections as freeholders or be freed from publick Charge, and be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper and their Children to Baptisme as Members of the Church of England, and have liberty to have Ministers among themselves learned pious and Orthodox, no way dissonant from ye best Reformation in England, and desireing alsoe to have a body of Lawes to be Established and published to prevent Arbitrary Tiranny, For thus desireing these three reasonable requests besids imprissonement and other indignitys, they were fined 1000^{li}, a[nd] Notwstanding they

¹ History of Plimmoth Plantation, 1912, ii. 391-393.

² Winthrop Papers, ii. 144-145.

³ The proverb was familiar to our forefathers. It is used with dignified indulgence in the Court's letter to the adventurers for the iron works, 1646: "Wee find yo^r stile more sharpe & your conclusions more peremptory then rationally, (as wee conceive,) but wee consider yow have binn hitherto losers, & therefore may take leave to speake" (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 91).

Appealed to England,¹ they were forced to pay the same, *and now also at great Charges to send one home to prosecute their appeal* which proved to no Effect, That dismall Change falling out, Just at that time And they sending home hither one Edward Winslow a Smooth toungued Cunning fellow, who soon gott himselfe into Favo^r of those then in Supreame power, against whom it was in vaine to strive, and soe they remained sufferers to this day.²

"Now," in the passage that I have italicized, must refer to the time of writing. If so, we have merely an assertion that Maverick himself has come to England as the representative of the petitioners, whose cause has languished for all these years; but he can hardly have meant to pose as agent for the seven Remonstrants, for Child and Burton were dead, Fowle and Yale had dropped the business years before, and Maverick and John Dand seem to have been the only members of the group who were pursuing the affair. At about this same time, thirteen persons who found themselves aggrieved by the New England authorities petitioned the Council for Foreign Plantations for redress. Among them were Edward Godfrey (formerly Governor of Maine), John Gifford (agent for the iron works),³ John Baxe (one of the chief adventurers in the same speculation), and our old friend John Dand the Remonstrant.⁴ On March 4, 1661, the Council directed the attendance (on the 11th) of Godfrey and Gifford, as well as Maverick and Captain Breedon, "with such papers and writings as together with their own particular knowledge may give information of the present condition and government . . . of New England."⁵ We are at liberty to conjecture that Maverick's Briefe Description was one of the papers submitted on the 11th, when the hearing was duly held and the same four persons, with Captain [John] Leverett, Thomas Bell, and Mr. [Joshua] Wollnough were ordered to attend on the 14th.⁶ After this there

¹ This indicates that there was an appeal after the second trial.

² Egerton MS. 2395, British Museum (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 240; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxix. 41).

³ Gifford at this same time was full of projects. He was trying to convince the English authorities that copper and precious stones might be found in New England (Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1661-1668, pp. 25-26).

⁴ Pp. 16-17.

⁵ P. 15.

⁶ P. 16. On the 14th this order is repeated for the 18th as to Godfrey, Gifford, Maverick, Breedon, and Leverett, and Leverett is to bring a copy of the "patent for New England" (p. 16).

seems to have been a lull for a couple of years, but Maverick did not despair. On August 1, 1663, he petitions the King, alleging that he has lived many years in New England, "and with many others suffered great wrongs from those who have the rule," and on the 30th he renews his application, in behalf of himself and "many thousand loyal subjects there."¹ He has "for near three years been a constant solicitor for relief from his Majesty," and now "prays that some persons may be speedily sent over to regulate all things there now out of order, being assured that if relief appear not they will either rise in arms one part against the other or remove to the Dutch or other places."² We may have all the sympathy we choose for Maverick's grudge without crediting him with cautious veracity in this prognostication. Commissioners were in fact appointed in 1664, with Maverick as one of them, and they did their best to regulate New England — with what success in Boston everybody knows. Soon after his appointment, Maverick petitioned again, thanking the King for the honor, and acknowledging the receipt of £250 "towards his setting forth." He asked for somewhat more of the royal bounty, however, since he had expended at least £500.³ I mention this because it throws some light on the passage just quoted from the Briefe Description, in which Maverick appears to represent himself as one "now sent home [to England] at great Charges" by the Remonstrants to prosecute their old appeal.⁴ Clarendon's letter of March 5, 1665, warning him not to indulge his personal enmities in his official acts would be good reading at this point, but is too long to quote.⁵ On May 31, of that same year, Governor Beltingham, in the name and by the order of the General Court, wrote to Sir William Morrice complaining against Maverick "for calling them traitors again and again, and [for] threats destructive to them."⁶ I have always been unable to understand why our ancestors should be so much glorified for resisting and thwarting Maverick and his fellow-conspirators in 1664 and 1665, when they are so much blamed for resisting and thwarting Maverick and his fellow-conspirators in

¹ Calendar, as above, p. 151.

² P. 157.

³ P. 204.

⁴ P. 67, above.

⁵ New York Colonial Documents, iii. 92.

⁶ Calendar, as above, p. 302.

1646 and 1647. On both occasions they proved their quality as clever and courageous administrators at a moment of crisis. The political points at issue were precisely the same, and we ought not to judge the earlier case like sentimentalists and reserve our common sense for the later.

In estimating rights and wrongs in the controversy between the Bay and the Remonstrants, it is inevitable that historians should take sides. Maybe it is likewise inevitable that, in so doing, many of them should instinctively espouse that cause which appears, at first face, to embody resistance to a narrow and provincial tyranny and to represent civic freedom and liberty of conscience; but I am inclined to think more caution might have been used in accepting the Remonstrants as authentic champions of these noble principles. Certain it is, at all events, that we cannot pass judgment as if the antithesis were between liberality on the one hand and bigotry on the other. Our ancestors of the Bay believed — on good grounds — that they were grappling with a conspiracy to overthrow the government, both civil and ecclesiastical, under which they desired to live. This they suspected from the outset, and their initial suspicions were completely justified by the documents which, in the second stage of the affair, they seized at Dand's lodgings, for these proved beyond a peradventure that Child hoped to procure from Parliament the abrogation of the Charter (as forfeited for non-fulfilment of its conditions), the trial of the magistrates for high treason, the supersession of the Governor and Company by a General Governor under the immediate control of Parliament in all things (without chartered privileges) or by a Board of Parliamentary Commissioners, and the establishment of Presbyterianism as the state church. These objects, all of them plainly avowed in the seized documents, were for the most part expressed or implied in the original Remonstrance,¹ as the magistrates were not slow to discern, though their modern critics have been less keen of sight. In short,

¹ The Remonstrance practically accuses the colonial authorities of having violated the Charter (whence it was an unavoidable inference that they had forfeited it), and with having broken their oath of allegiance (Hutchinson Papers, i. 217, lines 27-28). The signers express in set terms their objection to that measure of independence which the Colony arrogates, maintaining that it should reduce itself to its proper position, which is not that of a "free state," but that of "a colonie or corporation of England" (i. 219, lines 13-14). They hope for

the object of the Remonstrants, from the beginning, was to abolish the independence of the Bay Colony, and the object of the General Court, from the beginning, was, in opposing them, to maintain that independence, which they regarded as vital to their happiness and prosperity.

We, their descendants, who enjoy the fruits of that independence, need not be too harsh in criticizing those who founded and transmitted it. But let us not get ahead of our reasoning. I am not maintaining that the Colony was the abode of liberty for the individual, as we understand it. That is another question, which does not logically arise at any stage of the present discussion. The issue was quite different. Child desired to bring the Colony under the Parliamentary thumb; he desired to reduce it to the position of a civic corporation in the mother country — to that of London, for example, though without the chartered privileges and immunities which that city enjoyed. To the colonists, on the other hand, it was a prime object, though remaining a part of the Empire, to achieve the position of an independent state, something like Canada now-a-days, for example, or New Zealand. On this issue there was, of course, no possibility of compromise, nor can there be any doubt which of the two objects was the more desirable in the long run. The logic of events has settled that problem, and theoretical con-

such changes as may bring the Colony under the immediate and minutely exercised control of the Parliament (i. 222, lines 19-20). And, if the colonial authorities do not voluntarily undertake such measures as shall bring about these ends, they threaten to endeavor to force the changes by an appeal to Parliament itself (i. 221, lines 28-30).

It may be held, perhaps, that the danger from Child was not so great as the colonists imagined, but that consideration, even if it is sound — as by no means appears — neither alters the fact of his revolutionary purposes nor renders the magistrates blameworthy for resisting them with all their strength. If they were nervous, they had every reason to be nervous. The autonomy of the Colony had been continually attacked, and they knew that their enemies were numerous in England and elsewhere. When we read Maverick's Briefe Description, drawn up *ca.* 1661, and note his bitter assault upon the Bay (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 239-242), we are apt to think that his enmity resulted from the treatment he had experienced in the matter of the Remonstrance. This may be true in part, but what seems to have eluded the observation of some scholars is the fact that what Maverick was alleging and what he was attempting in 1661-1665 accord perfectly with what we know of the allegations and attempts of the Remonstrants in 1646 and 1647.

siderations have no standing. We may admit that the little commonwealth that our ancestors were establishing was narrow and bigoted at the moment; and that some of the changes that Child believed in would have been salutary may also — for argument's sake — be conceded. Still, it remains true that it was better, in the long run, to keep that commonwealth independent and to let it work toward the light in its own way, however slowly, than to destroy its autonomy at one blow, even if such destruction brought about the reform of certain abuses. We honor our ancestors, I repeat, for successfully resisting the royal Commissioners of 1664, who came hither with just such powers as Child's proposed Commissioners of Parliament would have wielded if they had been appointed, and again in 1689 for ousting Andros, who realized at length the alternative desire of Child for a General Governor. How then can we condemn them for thwarting a similar attempt at subjugation in 1646 and 1647? We shall not, I trust, be deluded by the mere name of a Parliament, for the Long Parliament in 1646 was far more arbitrary in its temper than Charles II in 1664, and every bit as arbitrary as James II, who appointed Andros.

Winslow four times asserts in plain terms that permission to form Presbyterian churches was offered to the Remonstrants in open court. In *Hypocrisie Unmasked* he writes: "Not long before I came away certaine discontented persons in open Court of the *Massachusets*, demanding that liberty,¹ it was freely and as openly tendred to them; shewing their former practices by mee mentioned; but willed not to expect that wee should provide them Ministers &c. for the same, but getting such themselves they might exercise the Presbyterian Government at their libertie, walking peaceably towards us as wee trusted we should doe towards them."² Major Child did not venture to deny this allegation, but he tried to throw doubt upon it. "This," he retorted, "is strange news to us here, for we hear not one word of that offer from those Petitioners, although here are letters from some of them dated since Mr. *Winslows* coming from thence, that relates that Dr. *Child* & others of them remained still in prison, save that D. *Child* hath the liberty to be confined to M. *Leders* house upon security of 800.l. bond given for his

¹ That is, to "be suffered to exercise their Presbyteriall government amongst us."

² *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 100.

abiding there.”¹ And so, in *New-Englands Salamander*, Winslow reiterated his assertion: “I heard them demand in Court the Presbyterian government, and it was granted them.”² And again: “Let the Reader know that the Presbyterian Government was as freely tendered them by the Governour in the open Court without any contradiction of any the Assistants or other, as ever I heard any thing in my life.”³ And finally, — “For . . . the late tender of the Court of the *Massachusetts* to their Petitioners for the enjoyment of it⁴ at present, themselves providing for it, ’t is not so strange as true: But whereas they say, they hear not of the latter (being since they came away:) ’T is false; I have told them, and they may hear it by many others.”⁵

Let it not be forgotten that at this very moment the utmost that the moderate Presbyterians in England were willing to grant was that, when the Presbyterian system had been established by law, such Independents as wished might be allowed to form and support their own separate churches, whereas the thoroughgoing Presbyterians (like the Scottish Baylie, whom Major Child quotes with approval⁶) wished to withhold even that degree of toleration and, reviving the Laudian practice under another name, to force the Independents to conform or take the consequences. All this was better known to the rulers of the Bay than it seems to be to many of their critics now. They knew also (and so did Child when he presented his Remonstrance on May 19, 1646) that on the 5th of March the House of Commons had passed an ordinance establishing Presbyterianism in England,⁷ and they may well have known also that the Lords had assented on the 14th.⁸ They were well aware that bare toleration was all that Congregationalism could expect of a

¹ *New-Englands Jonas*, p. [22].

² *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 3.

³ *New-Englands Salamander*, pp. 12-13.

⁴ I. e., “their liberty in the exercise of the Presbyterian government.”

⁵ *New-Englands Salamander*, p. 28.

⁶ See p. 87, below.

⁷ *Commons’ Journals*, iv. 463-465.

⁸ *Lords’ Journals*, viii. 209. As Gardiner points out (*Great Civil War*, ed. 1893, iii. 77), the Lords had amended the ordinance, and it therefore had to go back to the Commons; but that was a mere detail: nobody doubted any longer that the Church of England was to be Presbyterian.

Presbyterian Church of England, and that it would have to fight hard to achieve even that measure of freedom. They would have been weak indeed if they had not stood to their guns in America. And why should we be offended at them for thinking that they were doing Presbyterians full justice if they allowed them precisely the same privileges in Massachusetts that the Congregationalists in England, in the most favorable prospect, might hope to receive from the Presbyterians there? It's a poor rule that won't work both ways!

Winslow did not miss this point: there is very little in this whole affair that he *did* miss. In *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, addressing an English (not a colonial) audience, after explaining how, some years before, certain Scottish Presbyterians had received permission to settle in Massachusetts and to organize their own churches in their own way, he remarks that by this it "will easily appear how we are here wronged by many; and the harder measure as we hear imposed upon our brethren for our sakes, nay pretending our example for their president [precedent]." Then, when he has told of the offer to Child and the Remonstrants, he concludes with a trenchant suggestion, though moderately and even ironically put: "So that if our brethren here [i. e., in England] shall be restrained they walking peaceably, the example must not be taken from us, but arise from some other principle."¹ From *what* other principle, he tellingly refrains from specifying.

Of course, the magistrates, with a passionate interest quite justified by the crisis, were watching the life-and-death struggle in England, both in Parliament and out, between the Presbyterians and the Independents; and they were well aware that Massachusetts was deeply and even essentially involved in the contest. New England was regarded by the Presbyterian party in the mother country as the true nidus of the Independent germ, and to New England the English Independents looked for coöperation and effective aid. Only four years before, in 1642, an appeal had come from "divers Lords of the upper house, and some thirty of the house of commons and others from the ministers there, who stood for the independency of churches," begging for the presence of Cotton, Hooker, and Davenport to advance the cause in England. And in the very year

¹ *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 100.

(1645, July 1) that preceded Child's Remonstrance, the elders of the churches throughout the United Colonies met at Cambridge to "examine the writings which some of them had prepared" in answer to many books from England, a part of which were "in maintenance of the Presbyterial government (agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines in England) against the Congregational way, which was practised here."¹ Child himself arrived in that same summer or in the autumn, and lost no time in identifying himself with the Presbyterian opposition, for his Remonstrance was presented to the General Court in the following May. At home the parties seemed almost to counterbalance, but in the Colony the Independents were at present in control. The issue was well defined in England, and our Massachusetts forefathers were better informed than some of their descendants as to what it was.² They would have been not only cowards, but traitors to their friends in England as well as to themselves, if they had not opposed all such movements as that of Child and his associates; and they would have been blind leaders indeed if they had failed to see the purpose and significance of the particular agitation in which Child was taking the lead.

So much for generalities — now for one or two concrete matters involved in the case of the Remonstrants — or rather, in their two cases, for we must never forget that there were two distinct trials for different (though connected) acts, and two distinct sentences.

It is continually asserted, or implied, that Child and his friends were punished for petitioning the General Court,³ and much rhetoric

¹ Winthrop, ii. 91-92 (76), 304 (248). Cf. Cotton, *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, 1648, pt. i. p. 68: "If none of us have been willing to reply to the Books written against us, how come it to passe that Mr. *Hooker* hath written a large answer to Mr. *Rutherford*, Mr. *Davenport* to Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Mader* to Mr. *Rathbone*, Mr. *Shepard* and Mr. *Allen* to Mr. *Ball*, Mr. *Norton* in *Latine* to Mr. *Appollonii*; my self to Mr. *Williams*, both to his examination of my Letter, and to his bloody Tenent?"

² In 1645 Stephen Winthrop wrote to his brother John: "Only the presbyterian Govern^t is resolved on & y^e other are at a Losse: & cannot tell where they shall find rest" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 202).

³ Dr. C. E. Banks, in his edition of Henry Gardener's *New Englands Vindication*, avers that the Remonstrants, whom he calls Episcopalians, "were heavily fined for presuming to petition for freedom of worship" (Gorges Society, 1884, p. 32, n. 34). Whittier remarks that the colonial authorities "imprisoned Dr. Child, an Episcopalian, for petitioning the General Court for toleration" (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xviii. 390).

has been expended (not to say wasted) in denouncing our fathers for such a violation of one of the most precious of all civic rights. Many scholars seem to forget that the right of petition, as we understand it, has got itself defined and established by dint of a long course of development. Let us give all credit to Child and the Remonstrants for doing their part — though with motives quite different from those of constitutional reformers — to advance the ideas of the world on this vital question of republicanism; but let us not be too hasty in condemning our forefathers for observing the only rules they knew or could know. Their Court was a little Parliament, and they followed Parliamentary precedents in this regard. Again and again, in the critical years between 1640 and 1646, the House of Commons had rebuked or punished petitioners for breach of privilege in cases in which to-day, with our present principles, such action would seem monstrous. To petition at all, on some subjects, was thought offensive, and no matter how proper the subject of any given petition, Parliament always showed extreme sensitiveness to anything in the manner of expression, or in the bearing of the petitioners, that might be actually or technically a contempt. It was even a contempt, and therefore punishable, to criticize the character or conduct of a member of the House. There can be no question what would have happened to any group of petitioners who had dared to present to the Commons a document embodying the assertions and conceived in the style that Child ventured upon in his Remonstrance. They would have been sent to the Tower incontinently and would hardly have got off without heavy fines. And, apart from language and matter, there was, in this case, such conduct on the part of the Remonstrants when called before the magistrates, though not when brought into Court for their judgment, as the most lenient of modern judges could hardly have refrained from treating as contempt of court. In this regard, we must not forget that the General Court was not merely a legislative body, but actually a court of judicature, civil and criminal, and that — whatever liberties are accorded to petitioners before a legislative assembly to-day — our judges are still sensitive, and have a power to punish for contempt which is quite as arbitrary as that which Parliament exercised in the seventeenth century — be it the English Parliament or our little parliament of the Massachusetts Bay.

Child's party, of course, complained that they were punished for petitioning, but our forefathers knew better. Child was himself informed by the Court, at a preliminary examination, when he contended that "it was no offence to prefer a petition," that the Remonstrants "were not questioned for petitioning, but for such miscarriages, etc., as appeared in their petition and Remonstrance."¹ Winslow, in defending the Colony, points out with perfect clearness the necessary distinction: "There were none committed for petitioning, but for their Remonstrance and the many false charges and seditious insinuations tending to faction and insurrections sleighting the government &c."² And he then particularizes, so that there can be no doubt what expressions were contemptuous and seditious. Winslow was addressing not a colonial but an English circle, and he knew well that every intelligent reader would see at a glance how such a series of expressions as he quotes or cites would have been regarded by Parliament. So much for the right of petition and the question of contempt.³

The second point is that of the appeal to Parliament, or to the Commissioners for Plantations — which amounts to the same thing. Here Child and his friends made a bad mistake in tactics, of which the magistrates took instant advantage. They put in their first appeal at the wrong moment and in a wrong way, and thus got into an altogether false position. Without waiting for the decision of the Court on the charges of contempt and sedition, or even for a formal arraignment, they "refused to answer" and appealed to the Commissioners in England, and this was of course construed as a denial of jurisdiction, as in fact it was and was meant to be. In the language of the charge brought against them in the first case, they "publicly declared their disaffection [to our government], in that, being called by the Court to render an accompt of their misapprehensions and evil expressions in the premises, they refused to answer; but, by appealing from this government, they disclaimed the juris-

¹ Winthrop, ii. 347 (284).

² New-Englands Salamander, p. 9.

³ Chief Justice Marshall, in his brief account of the affair, brings out this point, as might be expected, with proper emphasis: "Their plea that the right to petition government was sacred, was answered by saying that they were not accused for petitioning, but for using contemptuous and seditious expressions" (*History of the Colonies*, Philadelphia, 1824, pp. 119-120).

diction thereof, *before they knew whether [the court] would give any sentence against them, or no.*"¹ This point was also made with perfect distinctness in the official letter of the Governor and Company to the Commissioners.²

Whether or not an appeal would lie from the General Court to Parliament was a question on which the magistrates had made up their minds.³ They held that under the Charter the judgment of the General Court was final, and they regarded the establishment and maintenance of this principle as necessary to the safety of their plantation. Of course they knew that it was a ticklish point, but they were quite right in supposing that it was vital, and they were bold accordingly in its assertion, though they had until very recently avoided raising it directly. Almost at the beginning they had been accused of setting up a separate state and renouncing the laws of England as well as its Church,⁴ and throughout the pre-Parliamentary period they had lived in constant danger of having their power superseded or nullified by Commissioners or a commissioned Governor.

With the coming-in of Parliament the situation became peculiarly embarrassing, both with regard to sovereignty in general and with regard to the right of appeal. Fears were past from King and Council, and the Parliament was friendly. It was requisite, therefore, to keep its favor and at the same time to maintain the position that appeals could not be made.⁵ Nervousness on this point showed itself in 1640 (or 1641) when the authorities declined to accept the well-meant advice of friends in England that they should petition for

¹ The Charge, in Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 91; Winthrop, ii. 350 (287).

² In Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 97; Winthrop, ii. 362 (297).

³ There was, of course, some difference of opinion, and therefore a certain sentiment favoring a petition to Parliament for a new charter with enlarged powers; but wiser counsels prevailed, for it was feared that Parliament might reduce rather than increase the local authority (Winthrop, ii. 341-342 [280]). The elders gave their opinion that there was no appeal (ii. 345 [282-283]).

⁴ Winthrop, i. 119, 122 (100, 102-103).

⁵ One notes that Winthrop, while recording with obvious relief the action of the House of Lords in 1641 in reviving the Charter, takes care to add that the petition which resulted in this action, though presented by "some of our people being then in London," was "preferred without warrant from our court" (ii. 50 [42]).

additional privileges. "We declined the motion, for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us."¹ This passage in Winthrop led Governor Trumbull, "one of the most deliberate assertors of the American revolution," to remark, most pertinently, as it happens, to our present purpose: "Here observe, that as at this time, so it hath been ever since, that the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it in any case."² Through the help, at first, of friends in England, and later by a Fabian policy of no less courage than shrewdness, they had managed to retain their Charter, in spite of attempts to procure its recall by Order in Council in 1632³ and 1634,⁴ of its abrogation by *quo warranto* in 1635,⁵ and of continual demands to surrender it (in 1634,⁶ 1638,⁷ 1639⁸), until Parliament took up the reins of government and in effect reaffirmed it in 1641.⁹ And during all this period they had, when occasion rose, shown themselves ready to resist a Commission or a commissioned Governor by force of arms if need were.¹⁰ Thus by tract of time, improved with rare political skill at every turn, the colonists had succeeded in establishing a *de facto*

¹ Winthrop, ii. 29-30 (25).

² Savage's note, *ibid.* The passage is in Trumbull's letter to Van der Capellan, August 31, 1779 (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 156).

³ Winthrop, i. 119, 122-123 (100, 102-103); Hutchinson Papers, i. 57-59; Bradford, ii. 141-145; Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, i. 183; C. F. Adams, 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xx. 81-85.

⁴ Winthrop, i. 161, 163 (135, 137); ii. 233-234 (190-191).

⁵ Brought in Trinity Term, 11 Charles I (Hutchinson Papers, i. 114-116); decree, Michaelmas Term (i. 116-118).

⁶ Winthrop, i. 163 (137).

⁷ Hutchinson Papers, i. 118-119; Winthrop, i. 323-324 (269), 329-330 (274); Hubbard, ch. 36, ed. 1848, pp. 268-271.

⁸ Winthrop, i. 359-360 (298-299), 367 (305).

⁹ Winthrop, i. 50 (42).

¹⁰ Winthrop, i. 171, 183, 280-281 (143-144, 154, 234-235). As to the first of these occasions, see Laud's commission of 1634 in American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, xiii. 213-220. These signs of promptitude in resistance were, soon after the Restoration, made a ground of attack on the Colony by Samuel Maverick in his Briefe Description of New England preserved in Egerton MS. 2395 (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 240-241; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxix. 41-42).

rule (which they were prepared to defend *de jure*) that there was no appeal to England against sentences or judgments passed in Massachusetts; but they had so far contrived (except in the Gorton case) to prevent this question from coming to a direct issue in the mother country. That they had such points in mind at the outset is shown by Winthrop's remark that Winslow, in 1635, was ill-advised in petitioning the Council "for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and Dutch," since "such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England."¹

As the Civil War progressed, however, and as Parliament became more and more nearly absolute, — while, in the strife of parties on both sides of the water, disaffection or dissatisfaction with the colonial government increased with the growth of a mixed population, — the moment was inevitably approaching when this doctrine of No Appeal must be decided. It came up in the case of Captain Stagg when he made prize of a Bristol ship in Boston harbor, and was asserted as undoubtedly sound "in causes of judicature," but here a conflict of authority was avoided by some very close reasoning, into which we need not enter.² And then, in Child's Remonstrance, presented in May, 1646, the Court found itself confronted with a distinct threat to appeal to "the honourable houses of Parliament" if the petitioners should not receive a satisfactory response; and, before the matter had been taken up by the Court, the disquieting news came that Samuel Gorton and two of his fellows who had gone to England and appealed to the Commissioners for Plantations against their treatment by the Bay authorities, had met with a large measure of success. For there arrived by Captain Wall's ship on September 13, 1646, shortly after the presentation of the Remonstrance to the May Court, a letter from the Commissioners (dated May 15 in that year), which was instantly sent to the Governor by Randall Holden, its bearer. It was an order to allow the Gortonians to land and to proceed unmolested to their settlement on Narragansett Bay. By the same ship, or immediately after, came another order from the Commissioners, dated ten days later (May 25, 1646), to reinstate the Gortonians in their settlement.

¹ Winthrop, i. 205 (172).

² Winthrop, ii. 222-225 (180-183).

The first of these orders, after some hesitation, was quietly obeyed in so far that Holden, who seems to have come alone, was allowed to go in peace, but the second — Gorton himself being still in England — was made the special subject of Winslow's commission, as we have already seen.¹

The Gortonian petition, which the Commissioners had received and on which they had taken provisional action, was to all intents and purposes an appeal from the Bay to Parliament; and the fathers of the Colony were shrewd enough, in forwarding their own protest to the Commissioners by the hands of Winslow, in December, 1646, to bring this Gorton appeal into connection with the case of Child. For, since Child had not appealed (in November, 1646) until the Commissioners' action in the Gorton matter had become known in Boston, it was reasonable to assert that his boldness in *appealing before judgment* had been encouraged, if not suggested, by that action. And the two cases were particularly advantageous ones, from the Massachusetts point of view, on which to raise the general question. For the Gortonians were sectaries of a sort that Parliament would be unlikely to encourage when all the documents were laid before it, particularly that extraordinary manifesto of Randall Holden addressed "To the great and honoured Idol Generall, now set up in the Massachusets."² This was a paper which the Commissioners must at once recognize as the kind of thing no legislative or judicial body could be expected to accept with patience. And as to Child, the fact that in his Remonstrance he had also used offensive language (though of a different kind) and had included the threat of an appeal, as well as the error in tactics he had committed in appealing before judgment and in expressing his contempt for the jurisdiction, would go far to put him out of court with Parliament and the Commissioners. Thus this crisis, as it demanded that the Massachusetts authorities should at last make a firm stand

¹ Winthrop, ii. 332-334, 340-346, 359-367 (272-273, 278-284, 295-301).

² Hypocrisie Unmasked, pp. 28-36. Two specimens of the diction of this document will suffice: "Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kingdome of darknesse and of the devill; you have writ another Note unto us, to adde to your former pride and folly." "But we know our course, professing the kingdome of God and his righteousnesse, renouncing that of darknesse and the devill, wherein you delight to trust . . . O yee generation of vipers, who hath fore-warned you, or fore-stalled your mindes with this, but Satan himselfe."

on the invalidity of appeals, and should state their doctrine with perfect clearness, so it afforded them an uncommonly favorable opportunity to do both. As we have noted, their representations, under the skilful handling of the astute Winslow, elicited a reply from the Commissioners which practically, though not in express terms, conceded the point and established the doctrine of No Appeal, which the Colony had long cherished as one of the most valuable of its chartered rights. And this reply coincided almost to a day with Child's appeal after conviction on the second case against him, at the May Court in 1647. That appeal, therefore, was a practical nullity at the moment when it was made.

As it has sometimes been asserted — how erroneously we have seen — that the Remonstrants were fined and imprisoned for petitioning the General Court, so we hear now and again that they were punished for appealing. The late Mr. Charles Francis Adams, as I understand him, avers that an appeal to Parliament, in this and other cases, "was looked upon and treated in Massachusetts as a crime, and as such was punished." And, though he acknowledges that "the stubborn spirit of independence behind" this denial of right was "what made New England," he cannot refrain from the query: "Yet would Verres have dared to make a crime of the complaint a Roman citizen had proffered to the Senate and People of Rome?"¹ The implied comparison does not please me, nor am I altogether satisfied with the classical allusion. For I cannot forget the climax of Cicero's terrific denunciation of the wicked proconsul — the case of that Gavius of Consa who, because he threatened to take his wrongs to Rome, was scourged and tortured, though he protested his Roman citizenship, and finally was crucified. "Nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc, 'Civis Romanus sum!'" And Verres set up the cross on the Strait of Messina, that, since Gavius said he was a Roman citizen, he might see Italy and his home as he hung there dying. "Monumentum sceleris audaciaeque suae voluit esse in conspectu Italiae, vestibulo Siciliae, praetervectione omnium qui ultro citroque navigarent."²

¹ Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, pp. 349-350.

² In Verrem, Actio ii. lib. v, 61-66.

Thus I vindicate Verres from the charge that he would have respected the right of appeal to Rome. Our ancestors, in the cases of Child and Maverick, the record will also vindicate from the charge of treating an appeal to Parliament as a crime. Child appealed twice once, in his first case, *before sentence*, with contemptuous denial of the Court's jurisdiction. In this appeal Maverick was not concerned, and Child, as we have seen, was not punished for appealing, but for appealing at such a moment and in such a way as to make himself guilty of high contempt. The second appeal, in which both shared, was at the end of the first case. It was treated as an offence in Maverick's case only, because it violated his oath as a freeman.¹

Note that Samuel Maverick, who knew at least as much about these transactions as our local iconoclasts, was under no misapprehension about the charges against him. Referring, in a formal document, to the second trial (on the *first*, he had escaped with a mulct of only £10), he avers that he was convicted of "conspiracy and perjury." And he was quite correct. Child's actions — after the first case, that of the Remonstrance itself, had been disposed of — amounted to a plot against the government, and therefore the records speak, with stern but exact judgment, of "Dr. Child's conspiracy," and in this conspiracy Maverick was unquestionably implicated. As to perjury, all one has to do is to read the Freeman's Oath, which Maverick had taken, to determine that question.²

The prevalent opinion seems to be that Child presented his Remonstrance of 1646 in good faith and with a sincere desire to procure from the colonial authorities the blessings of civil liberty and freedom of worship. One plain fact has often been strangely overlooked: namely, that Robert Child, who was no fool, did not intend that his Petition and Remonstrance should be favorably considered by the General Court. Merely to read the document — a temptation which some scholars appear to have resisted — will convince anybody that he could have had no such hope or purpose.

¹ There was probably an appeal after the second trial also (see pp. 67, 81, 84). If so, Maverick's sentence (p. 54, above) may apply to this occasion; but, in any event, Child was punished for no appeal except that at the November hearing in 1646.

² It is printed in *New-Englands Jonas*, p. [17], to show that the Colony was setting up a commonwealth independent of the mother country.

For the Court to give the petition a favorable hearing would have been to admit that the colonists had violated their Charter and neglected their oath of allegiance, inasmuch as they had not yet established "a settled forme of government according to the lawes of England;" that the inhabitants, under the system that prevailed, could not have "a sure and comfortable enjoyment of [their] lives, liberties, and estates, according to [their] due and naturall rights as freeborne subjects of the English nation;" that the magistrates appeared to cherish "an overgreedy spirit of arbitrary power," such as was "detestable to our English nation and to all good men" and was "at present a chief cause of the intestine warre" in the mother country, — in short, a disposition like that of Charles I himself; that the people lived in constant fear of "illegal commitments, unjust imprisonments, taxes, rates, customes, levyes of ungrounded and undoing assessments, unjustifiable presses, undue fynes, unmeasurable expenses and charges;" that the limitations on the franchise and on eligibility to office were causing "many great inconveniences, secret discontents, murmurings, rents in the plantations," and even "fears of perpetual slavery and bondage;" that the church polity of Massachusetts occasioned "an ocean of inconveniences, dishonor to God and to his ordinances, . . . encrease of anabaptisme and of those that totally contemn all ordinances as vaine, fading of christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, heresies, [and] schismes;"¹ that "all things in the Colony" were "growing worse and worse, even to the threatning . . . of no less than final ruin" — "the Gospel much darkened," "Christian charity and brotherly love almost frozen," "secret discontents fretting like cankers," "merchandizing and shipping by speciall providence wasted," "husbandry now withering," "villages and plantations much deserted," credit "almost lost," "strife and contention now rife," and our brethren in England in "just indignation" and "flying from us as a pest."² Furthermore, for the Court to grant the specific requests

¹ It passes my comprehension how anybody who had read this passage could straightway characterize Child as a champion of religious liberty or freedom of conscience. Perhaps nobody who has read the passage has ever so characterized him.

² This particular passage was read to the Remonstrants by the Court at the first hearing as a specimen of the offensiveness of the document (Winthrop, ii. 347 [284]).

or demands embodied in the Remonstrance would have meant that the whole body of English laws should be substituted for the colonial code; that the Colony should cease to regard itself as a free state, and should reduce itself to the condition of "other corporations of England;" that all English denizens not now admitted to full rights should be forthwith accorded them, or released from the liability to taxation; that members of the Church of England should enjoy all the privileges of church-members in the Colony without being required to take the covenants of the colonial churches, or else should be allowed to "settle themselves" in accordance with the Presbyterian system.¹

We need not here inquire whether the allegations were true or false, and the requests reasonable or unreasonable, for that is not the point. The point is rather that Child, who was on his second visit to the Colony and was intimately acquainted with its leading men,² must have known perfectly well that his petition would be refused — that the administration could not grant it without giving up principles and purposes which they held most tenaciously, and for whose sake they had emigrated in the first place. His intention clearly was, not to persuade the government to adopt certain reforms which would be equivalent to a revolution, but to furnish himself with a grievance which should enable him to appeal to Parliament with telling emphasis. This appeal he meant to urge in person, backed by the whole Presbyterian party, then in the majority in the House of Commons — a party of which his brother Major John Child was an important member.

When, at the end of the Remonstrance, he declared that, in case the petition were rejected, he and his associates should "be necessitated to apply [their] humble desires to the honourable Houses of Parliament," he was not indulging in a mere threat: he was expressing, none too guardedly, the real purpose that he had in mind in presenting his Remonstrance. And the threat itself would be a powerful argument when he went to the Commons. "You see, gentlemen," so he could argue, "how slightly these rebellious colonists hold your authority. I assured them that I should appeal to you if they were not just to me, and they threw out my petition all

¹ Hutchinson Papers, i. 214-223.

² See pp. 7-8, above.

the same!" Indeed, the whole Rémonstrance, if read with all the circumstances in mind, reveals itself at once as a paper intended, from the first, for the eyes of the Presbyterian party in England, both in the Parliament and out, who had long looked askance at New England as a stronghold of Independency. Only in form was it addressed to our General Court.¹

And the nature of the petition that was to come before Parliament, on the basis of the clearly foreseen rejection of this extraordinary Remonstrance, is not a matter of conjecture, for we know the contents of the papers seized in Dand's study on the eve of Child's intended sailing. After a recital of their bitter experiences, the Remonstrants petition the Commissioners not only for the extension to Massachusetts of the laws of England and for liberties like those of English freeholders, but "for settled churches according to the reformation of England," — that is, for the introduction of the Presbyterian system, — for the appointment of "a General Governor or some honorable Commissioners" to take charge of the Colony, and for the imposition upon all of the oath of allegiance "and other covenants which the Parliament shall think most convenient, to be as a touchstone to try our affections to the state of England and true restored Protestant religion." This last request is particularly notable. What Child had in mind was *that the colonists should be forced to take the Covenant!* After this, one thinks, we should hear no more of Child as one of the noble army of martyrs to liberty of conscience and freedom of speech.² Along with this

¹ Captain Edward Johnson, who is a good witness as to contemporary opinion in the Bay, was in no doubt on this point (Wonder-working Providence, 1654, bk. iii. chap. 3, p. 202). Bancroft states the facts in brief and trenchant terms: "An entire revolution was demanded." "The document was written in a spirit of wanton insult" and "was evidently designed for English ears." Child "desired only an excuse for appealing to England" (History of the United States, chap. x, 19th ed., 1862, i. 438, 439). Chalmers writes amusingly: "A petition, which would now appear so humble and so reasonable, we ought naturally to infer, met with the most gracious attention. But no conclusion however would be more erroneous" (Political Annals, 1780, i. 179).

² Grahame makes a pretty keen observation: "The discovery of the intolerance meditated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which they themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction" (History of the Rise and Progress of the United States, London, 1827, i. 324).

petition was to go a copy of the original Remonstrance, which was a sweeping denunciation of the Colony and its whole government, both civil and ecclesiastical. There was also a paper of queries, intended for the Commissioners, asking, among other things, "about the validity" of the Massachusetts patent, "and how it might be forfeited," and whether certain specified "acts or speeches in the pulpits or in the Court were not high treason."¹

These papers, it may be, were drawn up after the Remonstrance had been rejected and its subscribers fined, and may have been more drastic on that account, but there is every reason to suppose that, so far as the petition to the Commissioners is concerned, it represents substantially what Child had originally intended to bring before Parliament, though he had since decided to bring the matter before the Commissioners.² It is impossible not to infer that, from the beginning, Child's design was, if he could, to impose Presbyterianism on the Colony as the legally established system as well as to effect such a radical change in the colonial government as should abolish the Charter and put an end to the large degree of independence which the Bay had thus far enjoyed. The Remonstrance itself was simply a means to this end.

Nor were the fathers of our commonwealth in doubt, even before they seized Child's and Dand's papers, that the Remonstrants (or their ringleaders) intended to nullify the Charter and to reduce the Colony to a condition of absolute dependence on the will of a Presbyterian majority in Parliament. When Child told the Court, in November, 1646, "that they [the Remonstrants] did beneath themselves in petitioning to us, etc., and in conclusion appealed to the Commissioners in England," the Governor replied that "he would admit no appeal, nor was it allowed by our charter, *but by this it appeared what their aim was in their petition; they complained of fear of perpetual slavery,*³ etc., *but their intent was, to make us slaves*

¹ Winthrop, ii. 357 (293).

² Whether one petitioned the Parliament or the Commissioners was a mere detail of procedure, for any petition to the Parliament from the colonies was sure to be referred to the Commissioners for advice, if not for final action.

³ Cf. the Remonstrance: "Whence issue forth . . . also jealousies of too much unwarranted power and dominion on the one side, and of perpetual slavery and bondage on the other" (Hutchinson Papers, i. 218).

to them and such as themselves were, and that by the parliament and commissioners." ¹ There could be no clearer pronouncement. The Court understood that the Remonstrance was a move in the Presbyterian campaign, and that it was intended from the outset for presentation to the Parliamentary authorities in England. Its rejection was a foregone conclusion: it was drawn up to be rejected and thus to serve as the basis of an appeal.

That Robert Child's sentiments were violently anti-Independent comes out clearly in the papers already examined. Their testimony is corroborated by the pamphlet issued by his brother the Major. Note, for instance, the closing words: "I shall desire the Reader by all that hath been said, to observe how Independents are all of a peece, for subtilitie, designs, fallacies, both in *New-England* and in *Old*." ² Or take the following dictum, which discloses the actual personage whose tenets ruled the Major's life and opinions: "We have cause heartily to pray, That (as Mr. *Baily* sets forth in his book of *Disswasive from the Errors of the times*) as from *New-England* came Independencie of Churches hither, which hath spread over all parts here; that from thence also (in time) Arbitrary Government in the Commonwealth may not come hither." ³

Major Child's citation of Mr. Baily seems to have made slight impression upon the minds of the more recent investigators of New England history, but it deserves a moment's pause, for it shows us where he stood and thus gives the plainest indication of the real purpose of the whole agitation. A quotation or two from Baylie's famous *Dissuasive* will be more than enough:

The fruits of *Independency* may be seen in the profession and practices of the most who have been admitted, as very fit, if not the fittest members of their Churches. These have much exceeded any of the *Brownists* that yet we have heard of: first, in the vilenesse of their Errors; secondly, in the multitude of the erring persons; thirdly, in the hypocrisie joyned with their errors; fourthly, in malice against their neighbours, and contempt of their Superiours, Magistrates and Ministers for their opposition to them in their evil ways; and lastly, in their singular obstinacie, stiffly sticking unto their errors, in defiance

¹ Winthrop, ii. 347 (285).

² *New-Englands Jonas*, p. [22].

³ P. 12 [error for 20].

of all that any upon earth could do for their reclaiming, or that God from heaven, almost miraculously, had declared against them.¹

These Five last yeers, the chief of that party, both from *Arnhem*, *Roterdam* and *New-England*, have kept their residence at *London*, to advance, by common counsels and industry, their Way, in these days of their hopes . . . But three things seem to be clear, which make their way at *London* no more lovely then in the places mentioned. First, they have been here exceeding unhappie in retarding, and to their power crossing the blessed Reformation in hand.² Secondly, they have pregnantly occasioned the multiplication of Heresies and Schisms, above all that ever was heard of in any one place in any former Age. Thirdly, they have occasioned such Divisions in the State, that, had it not been for the extraordinary mercies of God, the Parliament and all that follow them, had long ago been laid under the feet of their enraged enemies, and the whole Isle, long before this, totally ruined.³

After this we are not surprised to find the excellent Baylie (whom I greatly admire for his clearness and force of style, and for the frankness with which he joins issue with everything that makes for liberty of conscience and freedom of speech) spending a whole chapter to prove that "Independencie is contrary to the Word of God."⁴ "Liberty of Conscience," he declares, "and Toleration of all or any Religion is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhorre the very naming of it."⁵ After digesting these tough morsels of Presbyterian doctrine, one can hardly read with a straight face the strictures passed upon our fathers by those scholars who maintain that Child and his fellows were contending for free speech and religious liberty.⁶ But, lest

¹ Robert Baylie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*, London, 1645, pp. 60-61.

² I. e., the establishment of the complete Presbyterian system, including the inquisitorial power over manners and morals in private life.

³ P. 90.

⁴ Chap. x. pp. 196-223.

⁵ Epistle Dedicatory, p. [iv].

⁶ Among writers who think or seem to think that Robert Child was an advocate of toleration or of liberty of conscience may be mentioned Whittier (*Preface to Snow-Bound*; 1 *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, xviii. 390); C. F. Adams, *Massachusetts its Historians and its History*, p. 60, and *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, i. 333; Brooks Adams, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, p. 95; W. T. R. Marvin, *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 1; Peter Oliver, *Puritan*

some one may think that Baylie's arguments were academic — that he was upholding a theoretical system, not aiming to establish a social and political tyranny — let me quote from a sermon which he delivered in this same year (1645) before the House of Lords, and which he published at their request.¹ First, note his opinion as to the propriety of tolerating "errors," that is, divergencies from the Presbyterian doctrine and discipline:

It is more, at least no lesse unlawfull for a Christian State to give any libertie or toleration to Errours, then to set up in every Citie and Parish of their Dominions, Bordels for Uncleanesse, Stages for Playes, and Lists for Duels. That a libertie for Errours is no lesse hatefull to God no lesse hurtfull to men, then a freedome without any punishment, without any discouragement, for all men, when and wheresoever they pleased, to kill, to steal, to rob, to commit adultery, or to do any of these mischiefs, which are most repugnant to the Civill law, and destructive of humane societie.²

But what are "Errours"? Baylie leaves us in no doubt on this point, for he enumerates several aberrant sects that appear to him equally dangerous: — the Canterburians (i. e., High Churchmen of Laud's temper), the Antinomians, the Anabaptists, the Libertines, and *the Independents*. And, as he puts the Independents at the top of the climax, so he does not hesitate to explain their bad eminence:

Commonwealth, p. 420; C. E. Banks, reprint of Henry Gardener's *New-Englands Vindication*, p. 32, n. 34; Sumner, *History of East Boston*, p. 99; Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, 1855, i. 339.

It must be admitted that one of the petitions to the Commissioners seized in Dand's study (signed by a number of non-freemen) did ask for "liberty of conscience" as well as for a General Governor (p. 40, above). How Child meant to utilize such a paper, which was glaringly inconsistent with his own request for the imposition of the Covenant and the establishment of Presbyterianism, does not appear: probably, however, merely as evidence of general discontent, for only so could it serve his turn and back up the requests that he had draughted to submit to the Commissioners. Such discontent, if proved, might encourage the Presbyterian party in England to attempt the overthrow of the Massachusetts régime, and, if that were once abolished, the Presbyterian régime would of course be decreed as its successor, no matter what wishes these non-freemen might cherish for universal toleration.

¹ *Errours and Induration, are the Great Sins and the Great Judgements of the Time. Preached in a Sermon Before the . . . House of Peers, . . . July 30. 1645 (London, 1645).*

² Preface.

“That so much-extolled Independency,” he calls it, “wherein many Religious souls for the time do wander, which is the chief hand that opened at first, and keepeth open to this day the door to all the other Errours that plague us.” Still, he has hope: Independency is likely to be suppressed by the strong hand of the law, and Presbyterianism, which alone is of God, will soon be established by God’s mighty arm throughout the land. “Yet here is our Comfort, That, in answer to our Supplications, the Lord hath stirred up the hearts of those who have power effectually to minde that which we are confident will prove the Remedy of these and many more of our present Evils: I mean, The setting up, without further Delay, of the Lords Government in his own House, over all the Land.”

All this, to be sure, is in the Preface to the printed sermon, but the actual discourse addressed to the Lords breathes the same sentiments:

Understand the Language of them who plead for liberty of errors; If you beleeve Christ, or the Doctrine of *Paul* attested by *Peter*, and the rest both Prophets and Apostles . . .; they invite you to permit ravening Woolfs freely to enter your streets, and tear in peeces all they meet with; to come into your Houses and Chambers, to devour the souls of your best beloved Wives, Sons, Daughters, Servants, and Friends; to lead them all out to a ditch, and drown them; yea, which is infinitely worse, to cast them all in the pit of damnation. . . .

Would you count him a gracious parent, who should wink at any who brought into his house Vipers and Serpents, Woolfs and Tigers, to destroy his Children? who brought in Boxes of Pestiferous Cloaths, and boldly spread them on the Beds, and about the Table where he himself and family were to sit and lie? This is the office and onely exercise of all our Hereticks and Patrons of error.¹

Among these heretics and patrons of error, be it understood, the Independents have a chief place in Baylie’s mind — “the Independents,” he says, “the Brownists, or the Anabaptists, or any of the Heterodox Societies.”² One more quotation may suffice; it gives the practical application of all that precedes: “All Christians are obliged to the uttermost of their power to quench the fire of Heresie and Schism; but above all other, we have a speciall obliga-

¹ P. 26.

² Pp. 22-23.

tion for this duty."¹ What he particularly wishes to quench — if we had any doubt about it — we could learn from a clause in the Dissuasive: "that lamentable *Independency* which in *Old and New-England* hath been the fountain of many evils already, though no more should ensue."² Away with *Independency*, and the other heresies and schisms will be easily crushed!

Baylie's Dissuasive appeared the year before the Remonstrance was presented. All such books came to New England without delay and the task of answering them devolved in large measure upon the Massachusetts divines. Indeed, John Cotton was penning his reply to Baylie and Rutherford³ at the very time that the troubles with the Remonstrants were in full swing.⁴ Our ancestors knew what high Presbyterianism meant and they recognized it when they saw it. Some of their descendants and critics are not so well-informed or not so vigilant. Otherwise, Child would never have been glorified as a champion of religious liberty. Why, Major Child rejects this imputation as a "false report" invented by Winslow and the New Englanders to injure the repute of the Remonstrants in the mother country! "They give out of my Brother and others," he exclaims with indignation, "that they desire a Toleration of all Religioun."⁵ Nothing could have seemed a worse slander to a conscientious Presbyterian of Baylie's school.⁶

The friendship between Child and the younger John Winthrop was not disturbed even by the outcome of the trial of June, 1647.⁷

¹ P. 26.

² P. 17.

³ *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*. London, 1648 (Imprimatur, January 1, 1647[-8]).

⁴ Winthrop, ii. 304-305 (248-249); Palfrey, *History of New England*, 1860, ii. 84-92, 173, n. 1.

⁵ *New-Englands Jonas*, p. 1.

⁶ The Remonstrance itself ascribes to New England Congregationalism "an ocean of inconveniences, dishonor to God and to his ordinances, little profit by the ministry, *encrease of anabaptisme*, and of those that totally contemn all ordinances as vaine, fading of christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, *heresies, schismes, &c.*" (Hutchinson Papers, i. 221).

⁷ Winthrop is mentioned in the list of those present at the opening of the spring session of the General Court on May 6, 1646 (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 146). It was at this session (on May 19) that the Remonstrance was presented, but it was not taken up until November (see p. 30, above), when he was in Connecticut (John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., October 26,

Soon after Child left America, Winthrop sent him a letter (dated October 25, 1647) informing him that he had paid Leader the borrowed £40. Child replied, but, fearing his letter might miscarry, he wrote again on May 13, 1648, lest "intelligence betwixt us" might be broken. "If I had not quarrelld in y^e country," he writes, "I should have bin willing to haue ventured an 100^l or two vpon yo^r mine of $\frac{1}{2}$,¹ but shall not haue any thing to doe with y^t country hereafter in this kind, vnles my fines be restored, w^{ch} I had destinated to this end, & yet will adventure them wth you, if they be returned. I am not so offended wth y^e country but I may be reconciled, & passe by such iniuryes as I haue there received, knowing to doe good for evil is Xian-like." The tone of the letter is affectionate and he sends his "best respects to yo^r wife, brother, father, & all o^r freinds."² Winthrop's reply (March 23, 1648[-9]) mentions the black lead but avoids the subject of the fines: "I have not beene at Boston since last Spring:³ have done nothing yet about the $\frac{1}{2}$ mine; because of y^e difficulty in y^e beginning except a plantation were neere, or a good stocke. It can be well forborne a yeare or 2, w^{ch} because of your departure I have not minded to raise by other adventure."⁴

Child's letter of 1648 is dated at Gravesend, but he was then

November 16 and 19, 1646, in Savage's Winthrop, 2d ed., Appendix, ii. 429-431). He was also in Connecticut in May, 1647 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 157-158, iv. 222-223), and probably also in June, when the second trial of the Remonstrants took place. However, he attended meetings of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at Boston, perhaps in July and certainly in August, 1647 (Acts of the Commissioners, i. 96-97, 101), and may therefore have seen Child before the latter sailed for England (see p. 63, above). Winthrop was an uncommonly charming person and never quarrelled with anybody, even with Samuel Gorton (Winthrop Papers, ii. 627); his success in dealing with the English government after the Restoration has astonished all students of our early history.

¹ I. e., [black] lead.

² Winthrop Papers, iii. 158-161. On August 21, 1648, Richard Leader writes to Winthrop on the same subject: "I have lately received from the Doc, whoe remembers his love to you and hath ordered me to see if his fine can be remitted; which he will venture in your black lead myne, in case you approve of it" (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, iii. 192).

³ This may be a kind of excuse for having nothing to say about the fines.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iv. 41. The sheet is endorsed "Letter intended to D^r Child." We cannot be sure, therefore, whether this letter was ever sent, but Child's letter of August 26, 1650, shows that Winthrop had written.

lodging at the house of one Dr. Garbet at Hogsdon, which was close by and was also in the neighborhood of Northfleet, where he was born and where his elder brother the Major still lived, doubtless on the hereditary estate. Manifestly Garbet was an alchemist, and he was an old friend of Winthrop's.¹ Child was tranquilly working at a "few experiments," probably chemical, and when they were finished he thought he should "settle in Kent, and follow [his] calling, being almost weary of rambling." In his budget of news we find one significant item: "The army is much divided, y^e people much displeas'd wth y^e Parliam^{ts} proceedings. Essex hath lately declared so much, & other Countyes begin to speake higher language." One of these counties, though Child does not say so, was Kent itself, and his brother the Major was in the thick of the troubles. At the end of this very month the Kentishmen rose in arms against the Parliament and so bestirred themselves that their defeat was celebrated by their opponents as a great victory; as indeed it was, for they threatened London, and if London had fallen into Royalist hands, what would have become of English history?² Only one incident in the short campaign concerns us here, but that is lively enough and made some noise at the time. We have several reports about it from the field—for there were war correspondents even in those days, and news-pamphlets took the place of the modern *extra*.

The following account is from a tract printed June 2, 1648:

His Excellency³ had Intelligence, That a party of the Kentish Rebels (not *Browns* Rebels) had fortified and barricadoed a Bridge which led

¹ "He remembers his love to you, he hath not bin Idle, these many yeares, yet I cañot see he had done much in this great busines" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 160).

² On the whole matter see A Perfect Diurnall, no. 253 (May 29–June 5, 1648), pp. 2034–2040; Rushworth, Historical Collections, vii. 1133–1137, 1130 *bis*–1131 *bis*; Clarendon, bk. xi (ed. 1826, vi. 25–31, 38–41, 56–62); Heath, Brief Chronicle, 2d impression, 1663, pp. 314–317; C. R. Markham, Life of Fairfax, pp. 305–309; Archæologia Cantiana, ix. 31–49; Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, chap. lxii (ed. 1893, iv. 132–142). The Rev. Thomas Peters (Hugh's younger brother), writing from Falmouth, England, on June 26, 1648, gives his friend John Winthrop, Jr., a brief account of the revolt (Winthrop Papers, ii. 432). Nehemiah Bourne mentions "the rebellion of Kent, Essex, and other parts" in a letter to Governor Winthrop, August 12, 1648 (Winthrop Papers, ii. 303). Winthrop mentions the affair in a letter to his son John, September 30, 1648 (Savage's Winthrop, 2d ed., Appendix, ii. 434).

³ Fairfax.

towards Gravesend; a commanded party was sent forth under the conduct of Major *Husbands*,¹ and Capt. *Evansons Troop*, in all about 300 horse, who mounted about an hundred foot behinde them: when they drew towards the Bridge, the enemy fired thicke upon them; our men notwithstanding fell on, and the horse swam through the water, and so got over; by this time the enemy perceiving in what danger they were, fled: Major *Childe* who commanded them and was very active, hardly escaped, having his Horse shot, whereupon he forsook it; his Son was shot in the back, and taken. There were about twenty slain in the place, divers wounded, and thirty Prisoners taken, many escaped, by hiding themselves in the Corn fields and houses. The enemies party consisted of the Countrey-men thereabouts, the Seamen, and some London Apprentices.²

A letter of June 2, 1648, runs as follows: "On Thursday the first of June, our Army marched towards Rochester, whereby the way we found a passage over a Bridge neare Norfleel maintaind by about 600. foot, whereof Major Child had command, his Excellency commanded out a party of 200 horse, 100. foot mounted behind them; Major Husbands having the command of them, and after some dispute, we gained the passe, and the enemy fled, about 20. killed, and 30. prisoners taken."³ A report dated Rochester, June 5, 1648, states succinctly: "On June 1 Major *Husbands* with 300 tooke *Norfleete* bridge, from Major *Child*, killed 20 and took 30 prisoners."⁴

What became of Major Child after this defeat we do not know, but he escaped on foot, unwounded — as we have seen — and probably managed to make his peace with the authorities. Anyhow, we hear no more of him for a couple of years.⁵ Meanwhile we must

¹ Azariah Husbands, a well-known officer in the Parliamentary army (see Clarke Papers, ed. by C. H. Firth, Camden Society, i. 57, ii. 274).

² The Lord Generals Letter In Answer to the Message of the Kentish-men, May 31, 1648. Imprimatur June 1, 1648. London, Printed June 2, 1648 (Harvard College Library), pp. 6-7. The extract is not from Fairfax's letter, but from another letter dated Mapham, 1 June, 1648, and printed in the tract. The same letter, with slight variations, is included in A Perfect Diurnall for May 29-June 5, 1648, no. 253, pp. 2037-2038 (Harvard College Library).

³ Letter dated Maidstone, June 2, 1648, in A Perfect Diurnall, as above, p. 2039; also in Rushworth, vii. 1137.

⁴ A Narrative of the Great Victory obtained by the Lord Generall in Kent (London, 1648), p. 6 (Harvard College Library).

⁵ The Christian name of Major Child is not mentioned in any of the contem-

turn a leaf backward. In 1645 one "Major Childe," obviously the same man that we have just seen fighting hard amongst the Royalists, had been a trusted officer on the Parliamentary side, and his soldiering had not been confined to his own county. On April 14 of that year the Committee of Both Kingdoms sent him orders: "Upon information just received of commotions in Kent, . . . to march back with the trained bands of Kent under your command, and there obey such further directions as you shall receive from this Committee or that of Kent."¹ We ought never to wonder that anybody — *anybody!* — should have changed sides in England between 1645 and 1648. But Major Child had not changed sides. He was a high Presbyterian in 1645, when he fought under Parliamentary orders; he was a high Presbyterian in 1647, when, in New-Englands Jonas, he quoted Robert Baylie, the most thoroughgoing of Scottish doctrinaires, against the Independents, and wound up his tract with the pregnant sentence, "I shall desire the Reader . . . to observe how Independents are all of a peece, for subtilitie, designs, fallacies, both in New-England and in Old;" and he was a high Presbyterian when, in 1648, he led his troop against the Parliamentary forces in the Royalist uprising. Times had changed, but the Major was still the same. His party, in its hatred of Independency and its fear of the growing power of the army, which was Independency's stronghold, was ready to throw itself into the arms of the King, but its representatives in Parliament still hesitated, and the Major, like many other gentlemen in his county and elsewhere, thought that the time for debate was past and the moment for action had come. Technically, then, he was fighting against the Parliament; in reality, however, he was supporting, wisely or unwisely, the reaction which his own party in Parliament longed for, but which it was too weak, too timid, or too politic to bring to the arbitrament of the sword. A

porary accounts of the skirmish, but it is given, with his place of residence, in the "information" brought by John Bulfinch against "Major John Childe, or Chiles, Northfleet, Kent," on November 2, 1650, which declares that "he was a commissioned officer in arms against Parliament in the Kentish insurrection of 1648" (Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money, iii. 1274). The Doctor's brother, the Major John Child of New-Englands Jonas, was (as Winthrop tells us) "a Major of a regiment in Kent" (ii. 391 [321]), and Northfleet was undoubtedly his home.

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1644-1645, p. 407 (cf. p. 406).

contemporary tract entitled *A Letter from a Gentlemen in Kent*,¹ written to exculpate the insurgents and to claim indulgence for them on the part of the authorities, describes the revolt as directed, not against Parliament but against the Independent faction.² Major Child's share in the Kentish insurrection, then, is most instructive. It dispels any doubts that may linger in our minds as to the real politics of his brother Robert's conspiracy against the civil and ecclesiastical government of Massachusetts. We do not need this evidence, but it comes to hand unsought, in welcome confirmation of the inferences that the documents in the case have already forced us to draw.

Before we return to the Doctor, we may as well follow his brother's fortunes so far as they appear in the records. If the Major's offence was overlooked for a time, he was at all events not relieved from suspicion. On November 20, 1650, a certain John Bulfinch laid an information against him, alleging that he had been "a commissioned officer" in the Kentish revolt and had aided the Royalists on other occasions. Accordingly an order was issued (January 1, 1651) that his estate should be "seized and secured" and that the rents should remain in the tenants' hands. But the Major clearly had powerful friends and, though his activity in the uprising was notorious, he was able to put up a good fight *pro domo*. On the 7th of January he got permission to "hold his estate on security," to have a copy of the charge, and to examine witnesses before the County Committee.³ The law, we should remember, obliged the informer to

¹ London, 1648 (Harvard College Library).

² According to this writer the county was loyal to Parliament but had been driven to revolt by the oppressive acts of the Committee for Kent. It was, he alleges, "a plaine *Committee-war*, without the least premeditate designe or plot against the *Parliament*, or their present peace and security" (p. 8). "On the one side you have a whole County, represented by all the *Knights, Gentlemen, and Yeomen* thereof, by many of the *Deputy Lieutenants* themselves, the *Captaines* and other *Officers of Horse and Foot* ever wel-affected to the *Parliament* . . . On the other side, you have about six or seven, or few more busie *pragmaticall Committee-men*, having neither *honour* nor *honesty*, patronizing the *Separatists* and *Sectaries* of the *Country*, by them alone had in veneration, as favourers of conscientious Professours; and elsewhere by persons of greater power and place held to be zealous members of the *Independant Churches* . . . six or seven *Committee-men* with so many hundred perhaps of their schismaticall Adherents" (pp. 12-13).

³ Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money, iii. 1274.

prosecute the case himself. Soon after, it seems, fresh charges of "delinquency" were "instigated" by a neighbor, one Henry Payne of Milton-juxta-Gravesend,¹ and the Major was imprisoned. We have the order for his release passed by the Council of State on May 20, 1651. Colonel Twisleton and Mr. Parker of Gravesend are instructed as follows: "Upon some information received, we thought fit to restrain the liberty of Major John Child of Northfleet, but upon considering his petition, we are inclined to discharge him on security; you are to take his recognizance in 1,000*l.*, with two sureties in 500*l.* each, to appear before the Council when commanded, and to be of good behaviour."² On the 28th Child petitioned that two witnesses might be summoned to invalidate Payne's testimony: his own "fidelity," he declares, "is known by his constant employment for the State, as commander of towns, etc." On June 11th he once more asked "to be made responsible on good security for his estate, it being seized, and his rents in the tenants' hands, whereby he and his family are in some want." The request was granted. On October 8, Bulfinch the informer, begged for a hearing in the case, and this was ordered.³ Here the record ends, but it is clear that Child managed to keep his estate until the Act of Oblivion came to his relief in 1652. This appears from the lament of Colonel Nicholas Devereux of Westminster, March 24, 1652. This gallant warrior "complains that though he has entered 27 cases in the book of information, yet the Act of Oblivion has cut him off from the benefit of his discoveries, though many cases had been entered two years, and were ready for judgment; *that of Major John Child, of Kent, was 1,000*l.* to his prejudice.*"⁴ In 1654 Child was again in confinement, for in that year the petition of "Mary, wife of Major John Child, prisoner in Upnor Castle, Kent, for her husband's release," was referred to the appropriate committee⁵ — result unknown. Five years later, on the eve of the Restoration, he appears in the Government service. On August 2, 1659, the Council of State issued a warrant for the payment of £20 to "Major Child" (doubtless the same man) "for

¹ Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money, iii. 1274. Perhaps these charges were part of the same Bulfinch case.

² Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1651, p. 211 (cf. p. 208).

³ Calendar, Committee for Advance of Money, iii. 1274.

⁴ Id., ii. 870.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655-1656, p. 94.

intelligence" and the Committee for Examinations was to confer with him;¹ on August 5th the Council voted that he should "secure suspected persons."² This is the last we hear of our Major, but we may hope that King Charles forgave these lapses, in view of what had gone before.

We must now return to Dr. Robert Child, whom we left in May, 1648, at Dr. Garbet's house in Hogsdon, Kent, busy with chemical experiments and contemplating the life of a general practitioner in his native county. He was on friendly terms with the scientific circle to which Boyle and Hartlib belonged, and was deeply engaged, as we shall see presently, in alchemical speculations, as well as in the more practical study of agriculture, then attracting much attention in England. In this same letter to Winthrop he mentions "an Ingenuous young man of my acquaintance" who "hath newly invented double writing, so y^t a man can write 2 or 3 Copyes or more as soone & as fairely as one, he hath a pattent graunted in y^e Parliam^t for 14 yeares, by y^e next y^e invention will be comon."³ This was Dr. (later Sir) William Petty, destined to be one of the founders of the science of political economy, whose "pentograph" was then a new thing. Petty speaks of the contrivance in a little tract entitled *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for The Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning*, published early in 1648.⁴ Child's letter also contains some thrilling alchemical news, to which we shall later return.⁵

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1659-1660, pp. 67, 580.

² Id., 1659-1660, p. 75.

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 159.

⁴ The Epistle Dedicatory, signed "W. P.," is dated "*London* the 8. January. 1647." The title-page bears the date 1647, obviously Old Style. There is a copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society which may have been a present from Hartlib to the younger Winthrop. Some copies appear to be dated 1648 (see Dirks, *Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib*, p. 60). The tract is reprinted in Oldys, *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 1-13 (1745), ed. Park, 4to, vi. 1-14 (1810), with the later date. On the pentograph, which proved a disappointment, see Hartlib to Boyle, May 8, 1654 (*Boyle's Works*, v. 264); Fitzmaurice, *Life of Sir William Petty*, 1895, pp. 10-11, 13. Hartlib, writing to Boyle, November 16, 1647, speaks of "one *Petty*, of twenty four years of age, not altogether a very dear *Worsley*, but a perfect *Frenchman*," etc. (*Boyle's Works*, ed. Birch, 1744, v. 256). Benjamin Worsley and Robert Boyle were doubtless friends of Child's at this time, as we know they were a little later.

⁵ P. 129, below.

On August 26, 1650, Child wrote again from Gravesend. The letter is long and interesting. It expresses an eager hope that their correspondence may continue and deploras the fact that they can "sildome write." Heretofore Child's extant letters have begun with the formal "Sir" or "Worthy Sir," but this time he addresses Winthrop as "Loving freind." He has not yet quite abandoned his wish to return to New England:

I am sorry you haue not as yet attempted your blacke ½ mine, y^t we might know certaynely what it conteyneth; I, for my part, am more than halfe weaned from New-England, by their discourtesye, yet if they would returne me my fine, I would adventure it with you & phaps might see you. Otherwise either I shalbe for Ireland where at Kilkenny a new Acadamy is to be erected or I shall retreat to a more solitary life, as I can comāund myselfe, with 6 or 7 gentlemen & scollars, who haue resolved to live retyredly & follow their studyes & experiences, if these troublesome times molest not, these gentlemen for Curiositye & Learning scarcely haue their equals in England, next weeke we are to meete & conclude by my next you may heare more: I suppose you are to yo^r Plantacōn, out of the way, yet I hope some times to heare from you, & if you haue any thing that is rare, pray let vs receive part. Commaund me S^r, if I can serve you, for truly I am Your loving frend

Robt Child

A postscript gives a large budget of European news and closes with a notable passage:

S^r I desire to heare from you sometimes, & if you meete with any rare thing, vegetable minerall &c. or any strange newes communicate it to your freind: & further if you see a booke called Anthroposophia, tell me, if you can, what the metaphysicall subiect is, which is the great question now amongst vs which is the perfection of all things. — S^r, I send not further at p^rsent but to commit you to the Almighty Resting Yours, R C¹

No further letters on either side are known to be in existence, but I am glad to be able to prove (as I shall do shortly) that these two choice and congenial spirits were never estranged.

The scheme for a society of scholars came to nothing, nor, so far as I can discover, did the Kilkenny project ever take shape. At all events, Child did not go to Ireland immediately. William Coddington

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 161-164.

ton, after his return from England with his commission as "Governor of Acquedneck, alias Rhode Island, and Quinnungate Island," wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., on February 19, 1651[-2], that he had met Child several times in England, doubtless in London and probably in 1650 or 1651:¹ "I sawe Do^r Child who did inquire diuers tymes very affeeshonately how the Pequite Sachem did, & would haue had me for to haue taken yo^r plantation in to my Co^mistion w^{ch} I would not doe w^hout order."² Coddington had a short and inglorious career in his ill-gotten governorship, and I should be sorry to think that Child seriously advised him to take Winthrop's Connecticut colony under his ægis. The Doctor was certainly in a jesting vein when he dubbed Winthrop "the Pequit sachem,"³ and the advice he gave to Coddington must have been part of the jest. Whether the budding Governor was humorist enough to understand, is a problem that I must leave to the Rhode Island pundits, for his words may be taken either way.

We have still further traces of Child in 1651. On March 7, Elias Ashmole makes the following entry in his Diary: "I went to Maidstone with Dr. Child the physician. And 3 *Hor. post merid.* I first became acquainted with Dr. Flood."⁴ Ashmole was one of the most enthusiastic students of alchemy in that age, and a general virtuoso, so that he and Child had much in common. Another alchemist in Child's circle was young George Stirk (or Starkey) of the Harvard Class of 1646. Stirk was the son of the Rev. George Stirk of Bermuda,⁵ who died in 1637, and he had been especially recommended

¹ Coddington went to England in January, 1648-9 (Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., January 29, 1648[-9], in 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 280, and Letters of Roger Williams, ed. by J. R. Bartlett, p. 169, 1 Narragansett Club Publications, vi). His commission was on the stocks from March 6, 1650, — when the Council of State referred his petition to the Committee of the Admiralty for report, — until April 3, 1651, when it was granted (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, pp. 335-338, 354; Edward Winslow's letter of April 17, 1651, in Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 197, and Hutchinson Papers, i. 258). Coddington seems to have reached his home at Newport in August, 1651 (see William Arnold's letter of September 1, 1651, in Hutchinson Papers, i. 267; cf. Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., October 6, 1651, in 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 294, and Letters of Roger Williams, p. 228).

² Winthrop Papers, ii. 282. ³ Cf. p. 166 note 5, below.

⁴ Lives of Ashmole and Lilly, ed. by Charles Burman, 1774, p. 313.

⁵ See our Publications, xiii. 16-59.

to the care of the elder Winthrop by the Rev. Patrick Copland, at whose instance, it seems, he had come to Harvard for his education instead of going to England.¹ He began to study chemistry, in his spare hours, in 1644, while still an undergraduate,² and was encouraged by the younger Winthrop, who lent him books from his well-furnished library.³ In 1647, the year of Child's second trial, we find Stirk practising medicine,⁴ presumably in Cambridge or Boston, and he was certainly established in Boston in 1648-1650.⁵ Child probably knew him in this country, and when (in 1650 or 1651) Stirk went to England to follow his profession there, it was Child who introduced him to Robert Boyle. This appears from Stirk's own words in dedicating his *Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated* (London, 1658) "To the Honourable, Virtuous, and most accomplished Gentleman, Robert Boyl, Esq; My very good Friend." The address begins: "Since it was my good fortune first by the occasion of our mutual Friend, Dr. *Robert Child*, (whose memory being a man most learned and ingenuous, I honour,) to kiss your Honours hand, your love to me hath ever continued so real and constant, that if I should not take such notice of it, as to my power to acknowledge it, I should worthily deserve the black note of infamy." The introduction apparently took place in 1651.⁶ In this

¹ Copland to Winthrop, December 4, 1639 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 279).

² "In the Year of Our Lord 1644. I first began the studie of *Chemical Philosophie*" (Stirk, *Pyrotechny Asserted*, London, 1658, p. 76).

³ Stirk to John Winthrop, Jr., [from Boston], August 2, 1648 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 359-360).

⁴ Copland to Winthrop, September 30, 1647 (Winthrop Papers, iii. 353).

⁵ These dates appear from an entry in William Aspinwall's Notarial Records (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxii. 304).

⁶ The exact dates are not determinable, but we know that Stirk was in this country as late as May 31, 1650 (Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. i. 15), and there is every reason to believe that he went to England with his maternal grandfather, Stephen Painter, who arrived in Boston, *en route* for London, on August 6, 1650 (Increase Mather, in the Dunster MS., M. H. S.; our Publications, xiii. 53-55). Painter was in London before July 19, 1651 (Lefroy, Bermudas, ii. 24), and that Stirk was there in 1652 is proved by an entry in his own hand in Sloane MS. 3708, fol. 78 a. Boyle went to Ireland in 1652 (Life, by Birch, in Boyle's Works, i. 30), and in January, 1653, his letter to John Mallet shows that he had already been there for some time (Works, i. 31). In either 1651 or 1652 Stirk collaborated with Boyle in an experiment in medical chemistry: by a misprint the date is given both ways in his tract entitled *George Starkey's Pill Vindicated*, and Boyle does not give it at all (Works, i. 510-511, 563-565). Child may have

same year (or more probably in 1650) Dr. John French dedicated to Child his English translation of Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*,¹ one of the most famous of all works on natural magic.

gone to Ireland in the latter part of 1651, and he certainly was there in 1652 (see p. 119 note 5, below). On the whole, it is safe to infer that Stirk went to England in the latter part of 1650, and that in 1651 he was introduced to Boyle.

¹ *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa . . . Translated out of the Latin into the English Tongue, By *J. F.* London, 1651. As to the identity of the translator, see Ferguson (*Bibliotheca Chemica* i. 293); the question is settled definitely by two entries (unknown to Ferguson) in the Stationers' Register (Roxburghe Club, i. 341, 342). The same *J. F.* translated Sendivogius (London, 1650). Child speaks of both translations in a letter to Winthrop (p. 125, below), but says nothing about *J. F.* and does not mention the dedication. Some account of Dr. French (1616?–1657) may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, xx. 251–252.

Dr. French's dedication of his translation of Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy* has just been transcribed for me from a copy in the British Museum. It is so interesting that I append it entire. The volume is dated 1651 in the imprint, but Thomason bought it on November 24, 1650 (*Thomason's Catalogue*, i. 818). The book was entered in the Stationers' Register on April 23, 1650 (Roxburghe Club, i. 342), and Child mentions it in a letter of August 26, 1650, as "coming out" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 162).

To my most honorable, and no less learned Friend, *Robert Childe*, Doctor of Physick.

Sir! Great men decline, mighty men may fall, but an honest Philosopher keeps his Station for ever. To your self therefore I crave leave to present, what I know you are able to protect; not with sword, but by reason; & not that only, but what by your acceptance you are able to give a lustre to. I see it is not in vain that you have compassed Sea and Land, for thereby you have made a Proselyte, not of another, but of your self, by being converted from vulgar, and irrational incredulities to the rational embracing of the Sublime, Hermetically, and Theomagical truths. You are skilled in the one as if *Hermes* had been your Tutor; have insight in the other, as if *Agrippa* your Master. Many transmarine Philosophers, which we only read, you have conversed with: many Countries, rarities, and antiquities, which we have only heard of, and admire, you have seen. Nay you have not only heard of, but seen, not in Maps, but in *Rome* it self the manners of *Rome*. There you have seen much Ceremony, and little Religion; and in the wilderness of New *England*, you have seen amongst some, much Religion, and little Ceremony; and amongst others, I mean the Natives thereof, neither Ceremony, nor Religion, but what nature dictates to them. In this there is no small variety, and your observation not little. In your passage thither by Sea, you have seen the wonders of God in the Deep; and by Land, you have seen the astonishing works of God in the inaccessible Mountains. You have left no stone unturned, that the turning thereof might conduce to the discovery of what was Occult, and worthy to be known. It is part of my ambition to let the world know that I honor such as your self, & my learned friend, & your experienced fellow-traveller, Doctor *Charlet*, who have, like true Philosophers neglected your worldly

In 1651, at the request of Milton's friend Samuel Hartlib, who had a passion for issuing little books and was particularly interested in projects for the improvement of English agriculture and industry, Robert Child composed an essay entitled "A Large Letter concerning the Defects and Remedies of English Husbandry written to Mr. Samuel Hartlib," which forms the bulk of a volume published in that same year under the title, *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie*.¹

advantages to become masters of that which hath now rendered you both truly honorable. If I had as many languages as your selves, the rhetoricall and pathetical expressions thereof would fail to signifie my estimation of, and affections towards you both. Now *Sir!* as in reference to this my translation, if your judgement shall finde a deficiency therein, let your candor make a supply thereof. Let this Treatise of Oecult Philosophy, coming as a stranger amongst the English, be patronized by you, remembering that your self was once a stranger in the Country of its Nativity. This stranger I have dressed in an English garb; but if it be not according to the fashion, and therefore ungrateful to any, let your approbation make it the mode; you know strangers most commonly induce a fashion, especially if any once begin to approve of their habit. Your approbation is that which it will stand in need of, and which will render me,

S I R,

Most obligedly yours,

J. F.

¹ *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie: or An Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry used in Brabant & Flaunders*, London, 1651. In my references I have used the second and third editions, 1652, 1655 (which are in the Harvard College Library), but I have examined the New York Public Library's copy of the first edition (1651). Except for the Appendix (added in the second edition), the contents of the first and the second edition are identical, and there is only one trifling difference in arrangement: the errata and the brief advertisement about clover, which in the first edition come at the end of the front matter, are in the second edition transferred to the penultimate page of the volume. As to the Appendix in the second edition, see p. 108, below. The Large Letter is on pp. 1-108 in the first edition, pp. 1-81 in the second, pp. 1-96 in the third. The subtitle (*An Enlargement, etc.*), dropped in the third edition, is a little misleading. It means that this book was issued as *an addition to* the material on this practical art contained in a tract already published by Hartlib in 1650 — *A Discours of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders* (of which a second edition appeared in 1652 and a third in 1654). Of this earlier tract the author was Sir Richard Weston, as Hartlib informs us in the preface to the *Legacie*, as well as in the second and third editions of the *Discours* itself. When he first published the *Discours*, he was ignorant of the author's name.

The Large Letter in the third edition of the *Legacy* shows a few additions. I have noted the following: P. 38 of ed. 3 (a philosophical discussion of "the true causes of Fertility") is not in ed. 2; "Instructions for the increase and planting of Mulberry-trees," pp. 63-68, ed. 3, is not in ed. 2 (this is reprinted from a tract "printed by *Eliasz. Edgar*, in the year 1609:" see p. 55); there is a slight addition

This essay gives one a highly favorable impression of Child's powers as an observer and a practical man of science. Interpreting the word "husbandry" in a large sense, he treats not only of every department of farming and gardening — implements, fertilizers, the chemistry of soils, rotation of crops, methods of sowing and planting, diseases of wheat with their cause and cure — but of stock-raising, vine-growing, wine-making, orchards, forestry, fishponds, mines, clay for pottery, building stone, mineral springs, bee-keeping, and silkworms. He deploras the neglect of meadows, the existence of so much waste land which might be brought under cultivation, the remissness of farmers in acquainting themselves with foreign methods, their ignorance of many useful plants that are native to the country, their reluctance to try experiments and compare notes. Many plants and some animals might be introduced into England with profit. Black foxes, musk-cats, sables, minks, martens, and the "musk-squash" might be raised for their fur. Even elephants might be useful as traction-engines. He dilates particularly on the silkworm, which, as he thinks, experience has shown will thrive in England. "Divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, Scholars, Citizens, &c. have nursed up divers wormes to perfection, though they have had little skil in the managing of them; and likewise not such accommodations as are necessary for them; and more would they have done, if they could have had *Mulberry-leaves*. I am informed that one near *Charing-Crosse* maketh a good living by them: as also another by *Ratliffe-Crosse*; and therefore if we can bring up an 100, why not a 1000, yea 100000, if we had food for them?"¹ The silkworm, by the way, was a timely topic. It was in the very next year that Hartlib put forth that fascinating little volume in which, on the strength of Virginia Ferrar's experiment, an attempt was made to convince the planters of Virginia that silkworms would pay better than tobacco.² Elephants and silkworms may not be suited to the

in ed. 3, p. 82, as against ed. 2, p. 72; most of pp. 91-92 in ed. 3 is new; the passage beginning "Lastly, for a Corollary," on p. 93 of ed. 3, and ending "I leave to them at the Helme of the State," p. 95, is not in ed. 2. The total increase amounts to about eleven pages, six of which (63-68) are reprinted from the Edgar tract.

¹ Samuel Hartlib his Legacie, 2d ed., 1652, p. 54. The 3d ed. (1655) adds (after "Ratliffe-Crosse") "yea, even in *Cheshire* at *Duckenfield* they thrive & prosper" (p. 55).

² A Rare and New Discovery of A speedy way, and easie means, found out

British climate, but very few of Child's suggestions are vagaries. His essay is full of good things, and was highly commended by no less an authority than the Rev. Walter Harte, the author of the celebrated *Essays on Husbandry* (1764)¹ which Thomas Hollis characterizes in a manuscript note² as "Written like a Good man, a Scholar, and a Gentleman."

Child's treatise is a kind of index to his European travels, and we have already resorted to it for information on that score.³ He often refers to New England. "*Bees* thrive very much" there, he tells us.⁴ There is a kind of oats "which in *New England* serveth well for Oatmeal without grinding, being beaten as they come out of the barn."⁵ Summer wheat "is sown abundantly" there "in *April* and *May*, and reaped ordinarily in 3 moneths."⁶ He had observed the "*Palmer-worms*, which is a kind of great black *Cater-piller*, (which I have seen destroying much in *New-England*);"⁷ this was in July, 1646.⁸ "In *New-England*, where there is no Chalk nor Limestone, they are compelled to burn *Oyster-shells*, *Cockles*, to make *Lime*; or else they could hardly build any houses."⁹ This reminds us of the ordinance passed in 1705 by Dangerfield, now Truro, that "inasmuch as great damage is done by persons digging shells out of the proprietors' lands, to sell and transport, which shells might

by a young Lady in England, she having made full proof thereof in May, Anno 1652. For the feeding of Silk-Worms in the woods, on the Mulberry-Tree-leaves in Virginia (London, 1652: Boston Public Library). Child refers to this tract in his answer to Boot (Samuel Hartlib his Legacy, 3d ed., 1655, pp. 151-152): "Moreover, a Lady (*Virginia F.*) as I have lately seen in print, hath hatched worms in *England*, and then turned them forth to the *Mulberry-trees*, exposed to the cold and moisture of the Air, and yet they have done well, yea better then those within doors."

¹ Essay i, p. 129 (also in the ed. of 1770).

² In the copy of the 1764 edition which he gave to the library of Harvard College.

³ P. 5, above.

⁴ 2d ed., p. 49; 3d ed., p. 50.

⁵ 2d ed., pp. 68-69; 3d ed., p. 78.

⁶ 2d ed., p. 68; 3d ed., pp. 77-78.

⁷ 2d ed., p. 10; 3d ed., p. 10. The parenthetical clause about New England is added in the third edition.

⁸ Winthrop, ii. 327 (267-268); William Pynchon to Winthrop, July 7, 1646 (Winthrop Papers, i. 378); John Eliot, Records of First Church in Roxbury (New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 65).

⁹ 2d ed., p. 67; 3d ed., p. 76.

otherwise be of use to the inhabitants to make lime, a fine be imposed of 6d. pr. bushel." ¹ Among the animals that Child wishes to have introduced for their fur, we recognize the American muskrat, under its Indian name — so he spells it — of *Musk-Squash*,² and may recall, if we like, the strange story of the musquash and the cat which Cotton Mather sent to the Royal Society in 1716.³ Two longer extracts may serve as their own apology:

In *New-England* they *fish* their ground, which is done thus: In the *spring* about *April*, there cometh up a *fish* to the fresh *Rivers*, called an *Alewife*; because of it's great belly: and is a kind of *shade*, full of bones; these are caught in wiers, and sold very cheap to the planters, who usually put one or two cut in pieces into the hill where their *Corne* is planted, called *Virginia-Wheate*, for they plant it in hills, 5 grains in an hill, almost as we plant *Hops* (in *May*, or *June*; for it wil not endure frosts) and at that distance; it causeth fertility extraordinary for two years, especially the first: for they have had 50 or 60 bushels on an Acre, and yet plough not their land, and in the same hills do plant the same *Corne* for many years together, and have good crops: besides abundance of *Pompions*, and *French* or *Kidney beanes*. In the *North* parts of *New England*, where the fisher-men live, they usually *fish* their ground with *Cods-heads*; which if they were in *England* would be better employed. I suppose that when *sprats* be cheap, men might mend their *Hop-grounds* with them, and it would quit cost: but the *dogs* will be apt to *scrape* them up, as they do in *New-England*, unlesse one of their legs be tyed up.⁴

We will onely fall ⁵ upon our Northern Plantations,⁶ *Verginia*, *New-England*, and instance in a few things. Why may not the Silk-grasse of *Verginia*, the *Salsaperilla*, *Sassarfes*, *Rattlesnake-weed* (which is an excellent cordial)⁷ be beneficial to us, as also their Cedars, Pines, Plum-trees, Cherries great Strawberries and their *Locusts* (which is a prickly plant, a swift grower, and therefore excellent for hedges) be usefull to us? So for *New England*, why should we think that the *Indian corn*, the

¹ Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 545.

² 2d ed., p. 72; 3d ed., p. 82.

³ American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, xxvi. 37.

⁴ 2d ed., pp. 35-36; 3d ed., pp. 35-36.

⁵ Misprinted "sail" in ed. 2.

⁶ In distinction from "the Southern Plantations, as *Barbadoes*, *Antego*, *Saint Croix*[,] *Christopher*, *Mevis*, *Monferate*" (ed. 2, p. 60; ed. 3, p. 69).

⁷ See our Publications, xiv. 151, 183-184; American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, xxv. 359, xxvi. 23-24, 42.

*Marsh*¹ wheat, that excellent *Rie*, the *Pease* (which never are eaten with magots,) the *French*, or *Kidney Beans*, the *Pumpions*, *Squashes*, *Water mellons*, *Musk-mellons*, *Hurtleberries*, *wild Hemp*, *Fir*, &c. of those parts are altogether uselesse for us? as also the *Cramberries*, (which are so called by the *Indians*, but by the *English*, *Bear-berries*, because it is thought the Bears eat them in Winter; or *Barberries*, by reason of their fine acid tast like *Barberries*,) which is a fruit as big and as red as a Cherry, ripe onely in the winter, and growing close to the ground in bogs, where nothing else will grow? They are accounted very good against the Scurvie, and very pleasant in Tarts. I know not a more excellent and healthfuller fruit.²

This essay of Child's — the Large Letter — is dated at the end "Anno 1651" in the first edition³ and signed in blank:

Your,

Nor is the author's name mentioned anywhere in the volume. The same is true of the second edition (1652),⁴ but in the third (1655) the signature is —

Your faithful Friend,
and Servant

ROB. CHILD.⁵

Even without this, however, we should be able to identify the author, for Hartlib himself ascribes the essay to Dr. Child in a letter to Boyle, May 8, 1654.⁶ The connection of this interesting treatise

¹ The 3d ed. reads (correctly) *March*.

² 2d ed., pp. 60-61; 3d ed., pp. 69-70.

³ P. 108.

⁴ P. 81.

⁵ P. 96.

⁶ Boyle's Works, v. 262. Harte, *Essays on Husbandry*, 1764 (also in the edition of 1770), speaks of "*Robert Child*, the true author of the *famous Treatise on Husbandry*, commonly called HARTLIB'S LEGACY" (Essay, i. p. 129; cf. Essay i., p. 23; Essay ii., p. 54), and Sir Egerton Brydges (*Censura Literaria*, 2d ed., v. 117) quotes Harte. Dircks (*Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib*, p. 69) is disposed to credit the Large Letter to Cressy Dymock, though he was aware of its ascription to Child by Harte and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii. 12; but Dircks had overlooked both Hartlib's letter to Boyle and the plain signature in the third edition of the *Legacy*. The paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (signed "Ferd. Stanley") is by Brydges (see *Censura Literaria*, ed. 2, vii. 201).

with Robert Child the Remonstrant seems to have escaped the notice of most New England historians and antiquaries; but I am sure it was known to our lamented associate Frederick Lewis Gay, for the Harvard College copy of the third edition of the *Legacie*, which prints the signature, came from his library.

Child wrote the Large Letter before he went to Ireland.¹ The volume that contains it (Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie*) was published in 1651, and came out before July 1, for on that date Dr. Arnold Boot, a distinguished Dutch physician and Hebraist, then living in Paris, wrote to Hartlib, thanking him for a copy and highly commending the tract, which he had "perused instantly *à capite ad calcem*." Boot followed up this letter with nine others, dated from July $\frac{1}{2}$ ², 1651, to January $\frac{1}{8}$ ², 1652, and the series formed a running commentary on Child's essay. His notes, in the main, touched points in which he disagreed with some matter of detail, but he praised the whole book as "a most excellent piece; and from the beginning to the end fraught with most excellent observations and experiments."

Hartlib instantly published a second edition (1652), in which he reprinted Child's Large Letter and the other contents of the first edition, with an Appendix containing (1) Boot's ten letters (or extracts from them) under the title of Annotations upon the *Legacie* of Husbandry and (2) An Interrogatory Relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Naturall History of Ireland.² To the Annotations he prefixed a signed epistle "To his worthy and very much Honoured Friend, the Author of the large letter of Husbandry," from which it appears plainly that Child was now in Ireland. He calls Boot's letters (which follow) to Child's notice, and continues:

And least you should imagine, that you are at this distance forgotten by us, give me leave to present you with another taske proper for your

¹ This is proved by what Hartlib says in a letter "To his worthy and very much Honoured Friend, the Author of the large Letter of Husbandry," prefixed to the Appendix that appears in the second edition of the *Legacie*, 1652.

² Besides the general title-page (Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie* . . . The second Edition augmented with an Appendix) there is a title-page for the Appendix (An Appendix To The *Legacie* of Husbandry: or, A Seed-plot of Annotations upon the *Legacie* aforesaid. With an Interrogatorie, Relating more particularly to the Husbandry, and Naturall History of Ireland) and another for the Interrogatory. Each of the three title-pages bears the date 1652.

thoughts in the place where now you are, that the advantages of Nature, which God hath bestowed upon *Ireland*, may not lie undiscovered, and without improvement, at this season wherein the Replanting of the wast and desolate places of that Countrey, is seriously laid to heart by many: I shall therefore desire you to look upon this Alphabet of Interrogatories, and consider what Answers your Observations [*sic*] will afford unto them; or what you can learne from the Observations of others to clear them.¹

Child responded by composing a series of observations on Boot's critique, which were printed by Hartlib in the third edition of the *Legacy* (1655) under the title "An Answer to the Animadversor on the Letter to Mr. Samuel Hartlib of Husbandry."² This Answer comes immediately after Boot's letters, which are headed "Dr. *Arnold Beati's*, Annotations upon the Legacy of Husbandry."³ *Beati* is a mere misprint for *Boate*, the English method of spelling the Doctor's surname.⁴ There is no possible doubt about the writer. In the Table of Contents he is called Dr. Arnold Boat, and in a letter to Boyle (May 8, 1654), Hartlib thus announces this third edition:

I could give you likewise several accounts concerning la Lucerne, and St. Foyne;⁵ but my legacy of husbandry being to be printed the third time, you shall find them all in that edition with the Answer of the late Dr. *Child* to the animadverter, Dr. *Boate*, upon his large letter of husbandry, wherein there are divers excellent observations and experiments, which, by God's blessing, are like to enrich these nations, if their industry be not wanting.⁶

¹ P. [102].

² *Legacy*, 3d ed., pp. 132-172. This Answer is neither signed nor dated, but no signature is needed to assure us that it is the work of the writer of the Large Letter. The author uses the first personal pronoun continually in referring to statements made in that essay.

³ They are on pp. 118-132. In the second edition (1652), when Boot's annotations first saw the light (pp. 103-118), their author's name is not given.

⁴ Both Dr. Arnold Boot and his brother Dr. Gerard (see p. 116, below) used this spelling of their name (*Boate*) when writing English, to preclude the otherwise inevitable mispronunciation. See, for example, Arnold Boot's letters to Ussher in Ussher's *Whole Works*, ed. Elrington and Todd, vol. xvi.

⁵ These two kinds of forage, then much in favor in France, were just beginning to interest agriculturalists in England and Ireland. See Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie*, 2d ed., 1652, pp. 1-4, 84-89; 3d ed., 1655, pp. 1-4, 98-104, 250-255.

⁶ Boyle's *Works*, v. 262.

In this Answer to Boot Child has a good deal to say about New England products. A few extracts are worth making.¹ We may begin with a curious medical note:

As for the Pox, . . . I will not long discourse, whether it proceeded from eating mans flesh at *Naples*, (as Lord *Bacon*² and others seem to affirm) or from the *Indyes*, which is most likely; but how it first came amongst them, is very difficult to know, its most probable from their base corrupt dyet, eating mans flesh, not using salt, or any thing of high tast, as I have observed amōgst the *Indiās* of *New England*, where [it] abounds,³ or perhaps from *Bestiality*s.⁴

There was an outbreak of this disease in Boston in 1646⁵ while Child was here, and he alludes to the cases in the Remonstrance as a sign that God is displeased with the administration.⁶

Here is a remark which points a moral for the dry days that are coming. Child is speaking of making beer without malt:

Yea I know that Potatoes maketh excellent drink in *Barbadoes*; also in *New-England* the stalks of *Virginian* wheat, as it is usually called. Squashes or Gourds, Pumpions boyled make considerable drink; Parsnips make that which is accounted rare; therefore much more the Grains above mentioned [namely, wheat, barley, peas, etc.].⁷

Henry Stubbe, however, the Warwick physician, gives a rather alarming account of this potato tipple:

When I was at *Barbadoes* we carried off several poor *English* thence to *Jamaica*, where many of them falling *sick*, and some being *well*, were let *blood*: I observed that in those *poor people*, which live upon nothing almost but *Roots*, and drink *Mobby* (a liquor made of *Potatoes* boyl'd and steep'd in water, and so fermented) that *their blood* did stream out *yellow*, and in the *Porringer* did scarce retain any show of *red* in the *coagulated*

¹ See also *Legacy*, 3d ed. (1655), pp. 140, 154, 157, 163, 168. Child also mentions things he has seen in Ireland (pp. 163, 164, 166, 169; cf. p. 152). In the Large Letter in this 3d ed. are two mentions of Ireland (pp. 82, 91) not found in the 2d ed.

² I have not found this in Bacon.

³ Cf. our Publications, xiv. 151, 185-186; American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, xxvi, 42.

⁴ P. 138.

⁵ Winthrop, ii. 315-316 (258).

⁶ Hutchinson Papers, i. 215.

⁷ P. 142.

mass: yet are they *well* and *strong*, but look *pale* and *freckled*: such persons (which are frequent in *Barbadoes*) are called *Mobby-faces*.¹

The following notes confirm what Winslow says about Child's peregrination of New England, though we cannot be sure to which of his two visits they apply. They derive additional interest from the fact that in 1645 Child purchased Vines's Saco patent.²

I am sure that *Sassafras* groweth in the Northern Plantations of *New-England*, even as far North as *Sacho*, where the Snow usually lyeth five moneths, and the Winter extream bitter in respect of *England*: and further this *Sassafras* is not a small plant or shrub easily nipt with the frost, but a great Tree, so that boards of ten inches Diameter have been made thereof; and further, where it once groweth, hardly to be destroyed: so that it much annoyeth the Corn by its young shoots, and the Mower in Harvest more then any other Tree that I heard of in that Country. I was informed that the Native *Indians* of the place, when they lose themselves in the Woods, presently run to these small shoots, and thereby know which is North and South. Indeed I have observed that one side is more speckled then another, and perhaps other small shoots of plants are so, but not as yet observed (for ought I know) of any.

And he goes on to show how *sassafras* is not sufficiently described by any botanist, so far as he knows.³

I know that in *New-England* the wild-Bays (which is like our common bays in smell and leaves) casteth its leaf in Winter, as also a kind of Fir about *Casho-bay*, (out of which is extracted a very odoriferous gum) and others in like manner, &c. In *New-England* divers in the beginning of their plantations, used this Plant⁴ in their Beer, hoping that it would have served both for mault and spice, but it deceived their expectations. For in my apprehension it giveth a taste not pleasant, and also they that accustomed themselves to this drink, especially in the Summer found themselves faint and weak, not able to endure labour.⁵

¹ The Lord Bacons Relation of the Sweating-Sickness Examined, in a Reply to George Thomson, Pretender to Physicke and Chymistry (London, 1671), p. 117 (Harvard College Library).

² P. 16, above.

³ Legacy, 3d ed., 1655, p. 153.

⁴ Sassafras.

⁵ Pp. 153-154.

In *New-England* I have seen Pines above four foot Diameter, and the length accordingly, even in the most Northern places . . . : so concerning Cedars, they grow of a very great height and bignesse in the Northern parts of *New-England*, where snow lyeth five or six months.¹

Snakeweed, supposed to be a cure for the venom of the rattlesnake, attracted much attention from naturalists and physicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as one may see, for instance, in the Philosophical Transactions and in the writings of Cotton Mather.² Child regarded this plant as likely to flourish in England:

When I was in *New-England* I was acquainted with an ancient Gentleman, who also was a Scholer, and had lived ten years in *Virginia*, who certified me that there were two sorts of *Rattle-snake-weeds*, the greater, and the less. That which he called the greater I casually had in my hand, . . . I . . . have far greater hopes of the flourishing of this wild plant, that [read *than*] of Tobacco, (either of that which in *New-England* is called *Poak*, much differing from the *Virginian*, or of that other commonly used and sown in *Virginia*).³

The following extract concerning black lead is of quite peculiar interest — personal as well as historical:

I think it likewise not amiss to certifie that in *New-England* this Material is found in divers places; as at *Nashaway* about forty miles from *Boston*, as also on *Pequat* River about eighty miles from *Boston*: this last was given from the Court of *Boston* to a friend of yours and mine, viz. Mr. *John Winthrop*, this Gentleman sent divers pieces thereof to me, that I might enquire of some *Dutch* Merchants what price it bare in *Holland*, and how much might be vendible, which accordingly I did, and also shewed it to the two Gentlemen above named,⁴ who were very inquisitive where I had it, and how much might be procured thereof, and desired that I would leave one of the greater pieces with them, that they might try it which I did; and the next morning enquiring again what they said to my black lead; they told me it was nothing worth, because it would not endure the Saw, they hoping, as I after found to

¹ P. 156.

² See p. 106, above.

³ P. 155.

⁴ Namely, "Master *Bolton* and Master *Bret*, who live in *Cornhil* nigh the Exchange, and sell Colours" (p. 132).

have had enough for to have furnished *Europe* with black Combs, which are very rare and dear, a small one usually sold at twenty or thirty shillings: My friend Mr. *W.* hoped that this material had been *Plumbago Cisalpini*, which he also calleth *Mater Argenti*.¹ But I suppose in this particular he was mistaken, yet upon Examination we found pure silver amongst it, which by calculation might amount to 15*l.* per tun, though the black lead sent me, was found onely on the surface of the earth: I am the longer on this discourse, because this material hath been little considered as yet by learned men that I can find, and also because my friend would be glad to have some ingenious men to joyn with him in a Work, which hath very great probabilities of very great profit to the undertakers.

The common uses of black-lead, are first to make black-lead pens for *Mathematicians*, &c. 2. For Painters and Limners. 3. For those that work in Copper to make their hammer go glib. And lastly, if any great pieces be found, which is rare in *Cumberland Mine*, to make Combes of them, because they discolour gray hairs, and make black hair of a Raven-like, or glittering blacknesse, much desired in *Italy*, *Spain*, &c.²

In tracing Child's career we have several times encountered references to the younger Winthrop's black lead.³ Winthrop, when in England in 1641-1643, had roused his interest in the mine.⁴ It was at Tantousq or Tantiusques, in the southern part of the present town of Sturbridge in Worcester County, and, as Child remarks in the passage just quoted, was given to Winthrop by the General Court of Massachusetts. There is a record of this action at the session of November 13, 1644: "Mr Iohn Winthrope, Iunior, is granted y^e hill at Tantousq, about 60 miles westward, in which the black leade is, and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians."⁵ In the next year, just before he visited the Bay for the

¹ Child is referring to the treatise *De Metallicis* by Andreas Cæsalpinus (Cesalpino). *Plumbago* is treated in book iii, chap. 22 (Nürnberg edition, 1602 pp. 211-212), where much is said about silver, though I do not find the phrase "*mater argenti*." In his letter of March 1, 1644[-5], in a little excursus on this same subject (see p. 14, above), Child also refers to Cæsalpinus, having his eye apparently on book i, chap. 9, pp. 28-29, and book iii, chap. 8, pp. 186-187, as well as on the passage just cited.

² Samuel Hartlib his *Legacy*, 3d ed., 1655, pp. 133-134.

³ See pp. 10, 11, 14-15, 92, 99, above.

⁴ See Child's letter of June 27, 1643 (*Winthrop Papers*, iii. 152).

⁵ *Massachusetts Colony Records*, ii. 82. This action was in general though not exact accord with a policy adopted at the session of June 2, 1641: "For in-

second time, Child was eager to invest money in the project. He wrote to Winthrop on March 1, 1645, after talking with Emanuel Downing and Stephen Winthrop, and warned him not to expect too much from the enterprise, but he expressed his readiness to stand a quarter of the expenses. He adds a learned discourse on the subject, quoting "Cesalpine," as in the extract just given from the reply to Boot.¹ Downing and Winthrop's brother Stephen were at this time acting as promoters in the mother country.² On June 16 of the same year, Richard Hill writes to Winthrop from London on the subject. He has heard from Winthrop by letter, and has also been talking with Downing and Stephen Winthrop: "I . . . am glad to heare you haue soe well spent your time as I vnderstand you haue, in ffinding out that mine of black Lead." Specimens had been sent to England and Hill had tested them. The substance yielded about a shilling a ton in silver. "If itt yealded any Lead mettle itt would bee somthing like, but as itt is, it is only to bee gathered by Quicksiluer as I conceaue." A larger quantity, some four or five hundredweight, is needed for a definitive test.³ Later, during his troubles in New England and thereafter, Child returns more than once to the subject of the Tantousq mine. He was still eager to invest in it in 1650, if the authorities of the Bay would apply his fines to that object, and his letter of August 26, 1650, proves that Winthrop had so far done nothing to develop the property.⁴ Winthrop's letter of 1649 shows no great alacrity in proceeding,⁵ but later, in 1658 and 1659, there was a vigorous though troubled attempt to get to work.⁶ The subsequent history of the mine down to the begin-

curagment of such as will adventure for the discovery of mines, it is ordered, that whosoever shalbee at the charge for discovery of any mine wthin this iurisdiction shall enioy the same, wth a fit portion of land to the same, for 21 years to their pp. use" (i. 327).

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 153-155.

² Stephen Winthrop writes to his brother John from London on March 1, 1644[-5]: "We are inquiring a chapm̄ for yo^r black lead. There is some of it sent into France for triall. We hope we shall setle al yo^r busines & o^r returne in y^e Cambridg shipp a month after this" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 200-201).

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 336.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iii. 162 (cf. pp. 156-157, 159).

⁵ See p. 92, above.

⁶ William Paine's letters to John Winthrop, Jr. (Winthrop Papers, ii. 404-410). In 1662 at a meeting of the Royal Society (December 31) "Mr. Winthrop

ning of the present century, when (in 1902) a fresh attempt was made to operate it, has been told in a very interesting paper by Professor George H. Haynes.¹ I am informed that the mine has now lain idle for several years.

We should have more of Child's observations on American natural history but for an accident in transportation: "In *New-England* I have seen a Plant with good success used for *Sarsaperilla*, . . . but concerning this plant and divers others, which grow in *New-England*, I cannot give you that account I desire, because my seeds and papers unhappily miscarried."²

The Interrogatory which Hartlib prepared for Child's use in gathering materials for a natural history of Ireland covers most things in nature and includes some matters of curious interest. Under *Maccamboy* is the inquiry "Whether there be such a thing at all, that this herb should purge the body meerly by external touch, or whether it be a fable, what particular observations have been taken for or against it, . . . and in what place it groweth?" Under *Poisons*, Hartlib asks, of course, for "particular observations of the Antipathy of the Irish earth and Aire, against all poisonous creatures." Under *Patrick's-Purgatory*, he requests a "perfect description of the Logh, Island, Caves, and the whole proceedings there, during the Justiceship of the Earle of *Corke*, and the Lord Chancellour *Loftus*." Under *Barnacles* are several questions, all directed toward an elucidation of the venerable legend of the geese that develop out of these marine crustaceans. Sir Kenelm Digby, who was probably a friend of Child, as he was of Hartlib and Boyle and the younger Winthrop, could have answered the questions authoritatively. So at least Lady Fanshawe thought in January, 1649:

When we came to Calais we met the Earl of Strafford and Sir Kenelm Digby, with some of our countrymen. We were all feasted at the Governor's of the Castle, and much excellent discourse passed; but, as was reason, most share was Sir Kenelm Digby's, who had enlarged somewhat more in extraordinary stories than might be averred, and all of

remarked that there was no right black-lead any where except in England and New England" (Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, i. 167).

¹ "The Tale of Tantiusques," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* xiv. 471-497.

² *Samuel Hartlib his Legacy*, 3d ed., 1655, p. 154.

them passed with great applause and wonder of the French then at table. But the concluding was that barnacles, a bird in Jersey, was first a shellfish to appearance, and from that, sticking upon old wood, became in time a bird. After some consideration, they all unanimously burst out into laughter, believing it altogether false; and, to say the truth, it was the only thing true he had discoursed with them. This was his infirmity, though otherwise a person of most excellent parts and a very fine-bred gentleman.¹

The learned world was particularly interested in these bernicle geese. The very learned Father Athanasius Kircher — *pace tanti viri dixerim* — communicated a high-fantastical theory on the subject to Robert Southwell in 1661.² But later in that same year Dr. Worthington was able to tell Hartlib that the great naturalist Ray and his company had recently visited “the Bass Island, and both saw and fed on the Soland geese, but they found all was not true which is usually reported of them.”³ The modern inquirer may slake his thirst with Mr. Henry Lee’s exposition in *Sea Fables Explained*.⁴ As for St. Patrick’s Purgatory, Hartlib’s appetite for facts had been whetted by Gerard Boot’s brief account of this celebrated place of pilgrimage and of its destruction in 1632 by Loftus and Cork. The documents that he desired may now be found in Canon O’Connor’s book.⁵

Gerard Boot, the elder brother of that Dr. Arnold Boot who wrote *Animadversions on Child’s Large Letter*, was a native of Gorinchem in Holland⁶ and an M.D. of Leyden.⁷ He removed to England

¹ *Memoirs of Ann Lady Fanshawe*, London, 1907, p. 50.

² Southwell to Boyle, Rome, March 30, 1661 (*Boyle’s Works*, v. 405). In the same year (April 3) Dr. William Petty was desired by the Royal Society “to inquire in Ireland concerning the petrification of wood, the bernacles,” etc. (*Birch, History of the Royal Society*, i. 20).

³ Worthington to Hartlib, October 7, 1661 (*Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, ed. Crossley, Chetham Society, ii. 51).

⁴ Pp. 98–122, *International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883, Literature*, vol. iii.

⁵ Rev. Daniel O’Connor, *St. Patrick’s Purgatory, Lough Derg* (Dublin, 1895), pp. 132–140. Cf. the Earl of Cork’s *Diary*, September 8, 1632 (*Lismore Papers*, ed. by A. B. Grosart, 1st Series, iii. 159); Dorothea Townshend, *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, 1904, pp. 192–193.

⁶ Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ii. (iii.) 892.

⁷ The *Leyden Album Studiosorum* registers his admission as a student of

ca. 1630¹ and for nearly twenty years was established as a general practitioner in London, where in 1648 he had a house in "Crooked Friars."² In 1646 he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians.³ His interest in Ireland arose partly from his having invested a large share of his estate in the Irish forfeited lands⁴ — the so-called Irish adventure in which so much money was made and lost in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁵ Arnold Boot, who was two years his junior,⁶ practised in Dublin with much success from 1636 to 1644,⁷ having Strafford and Archbishop Ussher among his patients,⁸ when he went to Paris and settled there.⁹ In 1644, on his way to France, the Dover boat in which he had embarked

medicine (aged 25) on June 21, 1628 (col. 211), describing him as "Gorckomiensis." See also note 6, below.

¹ Van der Aa, ii. (iii.) 892.

² Letter from Arnold Boot (Boate) to Ussher, March 5, 1648 (Ussher's Whole Works, ed. by Elrington and Todd, xvi. 554).

³ November 6, 1646 (Munk, Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, i. 243-244). Munk says he was "entered in the physic line at Leyden, 21st June, 1628, being then twenty-five years of age, and graduated a doctor of medicine there, the 3rd July, 1628."

⁴ Arnold Boot's prefatory letter. Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Adventurers for Land, 1642-1659, p. 129; Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660, pp. 410, 416, 535.

⁵ "And the Adventurers after 10 years being out of their Principal Mony, which now ought to be double by its Interest, they sold their Adventures for under 10 s. *per l. anno* 1652, in open and free Market" (Sir William Petty, Political Survey of Ireland, 2d ed., 1719, p. 23).

⁶ Gerard was born in 1604, Arnold in 1606 (van der Aa, ii. [iii.] 892, 893). The Leyden Album Studiosorum registers the admission of "Arnoldus Boot Gorichomiensis," aged 22, as a student of medicine on April 23, 1629 (col. 217).

⁷ Gerard Boot, Irelands Naturall History, chap. xxiii, section 4 (Collection of Tracts and Treatises, i. 143); Arnold Boot's prefatory letter. His earliest extant letter to Ussher is dated Dublin, October 30, 1638 (Ussher's Whole Works, xvi. 39-40).

⁸ The Rev. Alexander Clogie, writing of Ussher, says: "The speech of his own physitian, D. Bootius, a learned Dutchman (who was also physitian to the e. of Strafford), is very remarkable; *Si Armachanus noster esset,*" etc. (Speculum Episcoporum, § 49, printed in Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, ed. by E. E. Shuckburgh, 1902, p. 118).

⁹ Van der Aa, ii. (iii.) 893. We can locate him in Paris, on the evidence of his correspondence with Ussher and Hartlib, from April 1½, 1648, to October 18, 1653 (Ussher's Whole Works, xvi. 126-130, 581-582, and *passim*; Samuel Hartlib his Legacie, 2d ed., 1652, pp. 103-118, 3d ed., 1655, pp. 118-132; Boyle's Works, v. 258). On December 22, 1650, Evelyn, then in Paris, notes in his *Diary*: "Came the learned Dr. Boet to visite me" (ed. Wheatley, 1906, ii. 20).

was captured by a privateer in the Parliamentary service,¹ and he was detained in London from early in May to late in October.² Probably he lodged with Dr. Gerard. At all events, they had many talks about Ireland, and Dr. Gerard, who had never visited that country, wrote the First Book of his *Naturall History* in 1645 on the basis of their conversations and of subsequent intercourse with several gentlemen who had been driven out by the "bloody combustions" there. He meant to add three more books, but he never carried out his plan. He sent the manuscript to Dr. Arnold, who returned it with editorial improvements.³ In 1647 (July 16) the House of Commons ordered that Dr. Gerard be appointed "Physician of the Army in Ireland" and be sent to Dublin;⁴ but there was some delay. Finally, in 1649, he was appointed State Physician for Ireland and "Doctor to the hospital at Dublin," and he went over late in the year.⁵ He died at Dublin on January 1^o/₈, 1649-50.²

Hartlib was eager to have Gerard Boot's fragmentary work completed, for he thought such a treatise would be of great benefit to the "improvers" of Ireland under the Commonwealth. His Interrogatory was meant to encourage the gathering of material for this purpose. He looked to Arnold Boot as the natural continuator, and in 1653 his hopes were high, for towards the end of that year the Doctor started from Paris for England.⁶ His final destination, apparently, was Dublin, where he may have expected to succeed his brother as State Physician. He reached Dieppe — but I must let

¹ In the House of Commons, April 25, 1644, "the humble Petition of Dr. *Arnold Boate* and Mr. *Ben. Worsley*, in the Behalf of themselves, and other poor Protestant Passengers, taken by some Ships in the Parliament's Service, in their Passage upon a Vessel of *Dover*, was this Day read; and referred, and in an especial Manner recommended unto the Consideration of the Adventurers, that set forth the Ships that took the said Passengers; to inquire into the Condition and Affection of the said Passengers; and to do therein as they shall think fit; and to report their Doings therein to the House" (Commons' Journals, iii. 469).

² Arnold Boot's prefatory letter in *Irelands Naturall History*.

³ Arnold Boot's prefatory letter.

⁴ Commons' Journals, v. 247. Benjamin Worsley was named as General Surgeon to the Army in Ireland in the same order.

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1649-1650, pp. 66, 588; Arnold Boot's prefatory letter.

⁶ His last letter to Hartlib from Paris (October 18, 1653) expressed his intention of bringing a book to Boyle, who was then in Ireland (Hartlib to Boyle, February 28, 1653-4, Boyle's Works, v. 258).

Hartlib tell the story — he is writing to Boyle, February 28, 1653–4: “I need not tell you again (for I hear, that you know it already) that Dr. *Boat*, when he was come as far as *Diepe* towards *England*, being let blood by those common butchers of human kind, departed this world: which really is a very great loss to the commonwealth of learning.”¹ The butchers thus pilloried are merely those physicians or surgeons who followed the old drastic method of treatment. Hartlib favored the new school, which walked in the footsteps of Paracelsus and van Helmont, eschewing huge doses, violent purges, and phlebotomy, and relying on so-called chemical remedies.² Dr. *Boat*’s death may safely be referred to the latter part of 1653.³ It left Hartlib in doubt how to procure the completion of Gerard *Boat*’s work, and his thoughts turned instinctively to Child. He writes to Boyle (February 28, 1653–4) that he is “utterly at a loss” how to go on “except Dr. *Child* from *Ireland* succeed him [Arnold *Boat*] in the pursuit of that weighty subject,” and again, in the same letter, he protests: “I must now most solemnly call upon you, on the behalf of the *Natural History of Ireland*, which, if yourself and Dr. *Child* do not take professedly to task, I fear will never be perfected to any purpose; at least, if so much could be done in it, as to have all the interrogatories judiciously answered . . . it would be a considerable addition to a second edition of this imperfect work.”⁴

Child certainly went to Ireland either in 1651 or more probably in 1652.⁵ What was his particular inducement we do not know, though it is a good guess that he was invited by a certain large landowner with whom, as we shall see presently, he was afterwards associated there. Perhaps, however, the design of the Commonwealth for “planting” that country with English settlers is reason

¹ Hartlib to Boyle, February 28, 1653–4 (Boyle’s Works, v. 258).

² His son-in-law Clod (Clodius, Claudius) was a fashionable London practitioner of the chemical persuasion (see Hartlib to John Pell, April 1, 1658, in Robert Vaughan, Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, ii. 454).

³ Van der Aa says 1653 (p. 893). The author of *Boat*’s life in the Dictionary of National Biography (J. T. Gilbert) says the date of his death has not been ascertained (v. 284), but gives it as 1653 with a query. Neither of them knows of the passage in Hartlib’s letter.

⁴ Boyle’s Works, v. 259.

⁵ We know that he was still in England during a good part of 1651 (see pp. 100–103, 107–108, above), and that he was in Ireland when, in 1652, the second edition of Samuel Hartlib his *Legacie* was published (see p. 108, above).

enough, for Ireland was at this time a land of promise for all the investors, speculators, and projectors in England. Child's friend, Robert Boyle, who had large Irish estates, went over in 1652.¹ Two other friends of his, Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Petty and Benjamin Worsley went over to take government positions in 1652 — Petty to be physician to the army and Worsley to act as Secretary to the Commissioners.² Worsley was already well acquainted with Ireland, where he had been Surgeon-General to the Army from 1641 to 1645.³ Child's friend Richard Leader, with whom he seems to have lodged in Boston and at whose house there he was certainly at one time confined,⁴ had been in Ireland before his appointment as manager of the iron works, and must have spoken favorably of that kingdom. Leader, at all events was an enthusiast on the subject. In 1650 he wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., from Barbadoes: "For

¹ Birch's *Life of Boyle* in *Boyle's Works*, i. 30; cf. Boyle's letter to John Mallet, January, 1652-3 (*Works*, i. 31).

² Child was certainly acquainted with Petty (p. 98, above), and it may be assumed that he also knew Worsley, who was an intimate friend of both Boyle and Hartlib. Petty and Worsley went over on the same ship, arriving at Waterford on September 10, 1652 (Petty, *History of the Down Survey*, ed. Larcom, Dublin, 1851, p. 2; Petty's will, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv, *Antiquities*, p. 110). Worsley was Secretary to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland as early as February 4, 1653 (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660*, p. 391), and I assume that he had this appointment before he left England.

³ Worsley was "Chirurgeon-General of the whole Army" in Ireland from 1641 to 1645 (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1633-1647*, pp. 776, 780, 787; *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, Historical Manuscripts Commission, New Series*, ii. 256-257, 284; *Lords' Journals*, vii. 401, 424; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 6th Report, Appendix*, pp. 61, 63).

⁴ See pp. 41, 71, above. On August 26, 1650, Child wrote to the younger Winthrop: "Mr Leader hath more curious booke[s] than I; especially about Divinity businesses; where you may see them" (*Winthrop Papers*, iii. 162). I am indebted to Mr. Clough for the following note:

Although Richard Leader's place of residence was chiefly at Lynn, he was the owner of at least two parcels of real estate in Boston. One of these, the one referred to in the text, he sold, October 10, 1655, for £200, to Mr. William Paine: "all that my Mansion house (now in possession of Mr. Robert Patershall, merchant) at Boston, together with ye Orchard, gardens, tymbre yards, wharfes wayes, water courses, Grounds," etc. (*Suffolk Deeds*, ii. 210.) The site of this property is in part now numbered 350-360 on the west side of North Street, between Harris Street and Hanover Avenue. In Leader's time, this estate included also the corresponding frontage on the easterly side of North Street to the water's edge. Cf. *Savage, Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 67, 68; *Aspinwall, Notarial Records*, p. 367.

my owne part I see no place so good as Ireland, either for p'fitt or pleasure; Where I intend to steere my course so sone as I can withdraw what I have oute of this westerne parte of the world." ¹ The agricultural and industrial possibilities of the new plantations would have been a strong attraction to a man of Child's tastes, and his fortunes needed repairing.

Soon after Child's death, Hartlib wrote to Boyle: "By that, which I read concerning Dr. *Child's* husbandries in the work of *Ireland*, I see what a good foundation of life he hath laid for that honest country calling. But I doubt the colonel cannot shew us any more observations or directions of his in writing, besides what is extant already from his own hand; though this would have improved clover, flax and woad, upon many more lands than his own." ² These sayings are uncommonly Orphic, even for Hartlib, but luckily his remark in a letter to Winthrop — that Child at the time of his death was "living with Esquire Hill" ³ — gives us the answer to the riddle and thus enables us to understand what Child's occupation was in Ireland. Esquire Hill and the Colonel are manifestly one and the same person — to wit, Colonel Arthur Hill, son and successor of Sir Moyses Hill of County Down. Colonel Hill had been appointed one of the Commissioners of Revenue for Ulster in 1651, ⁴ and his duties were much concerned with the sequestration of forfeited estates and the repeopling of the county with new planters. In this capacity he had a strong interest in husbandry. He had also every motive to study the subject on his own account, for he had succeeded to the family estates and was a great landholder. The Marquesses of Downshire are his descendants, ⁵ and their holdings in Ireland and England were worth nearly £100,000 a year in 1883. ⁶

¹ Letter to John Winthrop, Jr., January 16, 1659-60 (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, iii. 196).

² Hartlib to Boyle, May 8, 1654 (Boyle's Works, v. 262).

³ See p. 123, below.

⁴ Letter from Major George Rawdon to Lord Conway, November 20, 1651 (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660, p. 383); R. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. cxxvii. 40 note (cf. i. 71-73, 127, 131; ii. 329, 339, 655, 658, 670).

⁵ Burke's Peerage, under *Downshire*. The head of the family was created Viscount Hillsborough in 1717, Earl of Hillsborough in 1751, and Marquess of Downshire in 1789.

⁶ Complete Peerage, by G. E. C., iv. 461 (1916).

Even in the lifetime of his father, Arthur Hill had distinguished himself as a progressive landlord, for Sir William Brereton, in 1635, records a visit to "a brave plantation" which he held on a long lease from Lord Chichester: "This plantation is said doth yield him a £1000 per annum. Many Lanckashire and Cheshire men are here planted; with some of them I conversed. They sit upon a rack rent, and pay 5s. or 6s. an acre for good ploughing land, which now is clothed with excellent good corn."¹

Child, as we may now infer, was serving Colonel Arthur Hill as agricultural expert, with his headquarters perhaps at what is now Hillsborough Castle, near Belfast.² Boyle had doubtless been writing to Hartlib about the value of Child's services to Hill in the great enterprise of planting Ulster. Probably Child had himself invested something in Irish lands. A Robert Child subscribed £50 for the Irish adventure on July 19, 1642, and there is a reference to this same transaction in a record of March 10, 1651-2,³ which must be close to the time when our Robert Child went to Ireland. The name occurs again in a list of adventurers dated July 20, 1653, shortly before his death.⁴

Child died, it seems, between February and May, 1654. In a letter to Boyle, dated February 28, 1653-4, Hartlib expresses the hope that Child will finish Gerard Boot's *Natural History of Ireland*,⁵ but in writing to Boyle on May 8 he speaks of him as "the

¹ Sir William Brereton's *Travels*, Chetham Society, 1844, pp. 128-129.

² There is a possible trace of Child in this part of Ireland in a passage in his *Answer to Boot* (Samuel Hartlib his *Legacy*, 3d ed., 1655, p. 164): "I have seen long pices of yellow transparent Stone, or Amber found in a Fountain nigh Lake *Neagh*, about six miles from *Antrim* which the *Irish* say (though vainly) that it is found only there on *May-day*, and doe use it superstitiously about divers things." Cf. Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, ii. 60.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Adventurers for Land, 1642-1659*, p. 92; cf. pp. 91, 352.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1647-1660*, p. 405.

⁵ Boyle's *Works*, v. 259. In the same letter Hartlib remarks: "Sir, you complain of that barbarous (for the present) country, wherein you live; but if you would but make a right use of yourself, from the place where you live, towards Dr. *Child*, Mr. *Worsley*, Dr. *Petty*, major *Morgan* (not to mention others) they would abundantly cherish in you many philosophical thoughts, and encourage you, perhaps more vigorously than I can do at this distance and uncertainties, to venture even upon divers choice chemical experiments, for the advancement both of health and wealth." The letter was written in reply to a letter from Boyle dated Youghal, January 10, 1653-4.

late Dr. Child."¹ His friend the younger Winthrop did not hear of his death till some years later, for in 1661 Hartlib wrote to him, apparently in response to something in a letter of Winthrop's, perhaps an inquiry: "I wonder that you have not heard of D^r Rob. Child who dyed in Ireland about 3. yeares agoe living with Esquire Hill. He was a singular lover of your Person and a most vseful honest Man in his kind."² Child seems never to have married. He was certainly a bachelor when he was in New England,³ and we hear nothing that would lead us to infer that he ever took a wife.

I have passed lightly over Child's alchemical pursuits in order not to complicate too much our study of this remarkable man. They did not interfere with his practical, every-day interests — medicine, mining, agriculture, speculation in colonial iron works; nor were they inconsistent with mundane engrossment, for a time, in English-American politics. This observation is not without significance. Why somebody has not paid serious attention to the alchemical studies of the early New Englanders⁴ — Winthrop and Child and Stirk and Brewster and Avery, not to mention later investigators, like President Stiles and Judge Danforth and Dr. Æneas Munson⁵ — I do not know; but I suspect it is because alchemy ranges with witchcraft in the thoughts of most of us and we feel that this is a case in which "least said, soonest mended" is a sane maxim. In fact, however, there is no connection between the two subjects. Witchcraft looks backward: it reverts to the abysm of time; it reminds us (not much to our self-satisfaction) of the pit of primeval savagery

¹ Boyle's Works, v. 262. In this same letter (v. 264) Hartlib writes: "I am intending . . . to write to the possessors of the late Dr. *Boate's* papers, to publish those in print beyond the seas, which contain the Natural History of *Ireland*, written in Low-Dutch originally, as he told me in his life-time." This must refer to Dr. Arnold Boot, but no such publication is known.

² Hartlib to Winthrop, September 3, 1661 (1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xvi. 213). It will be noted that Hartlib underestimates the lapse of time.

³ Declaration of the General Court, November, 1646 (Hutchinson Papers, i. 239).

⁴ Lowell devotes a few pages to the subject in his essay on *New England Two Centuries Ago*, 1865 (Works, Standard Library edition, ii. 46-56).

⁵ For Munson (1734-1826) see Stiles, *Literary Diary*, ed. F. B. Dexter, iii. 345, 471, 472; Henry Bronson, *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, ii. 263-274.

out of which we are digged, of the miry clay that still adheres to the hem of our rationalistic garments; it is our vital link with Ashantee and the jujumen of the West Coast. But alchemy looks forward: it is experimental science in the making — science that does not yet acknowledge its finite bounds, but aspires star-eyed to the illimitable possibilities. Child's lifetime coincided with the eager stirrings of the scientific instinct in England. Had he lived a few more years, he might well have been one of the founders of the Royal Society, like his friends Boyle and the younger Winthrop. For a physician not to study alchemy in those days was a sign that he was either a reactionary or a fossil.

We have slight occasion, then, to take the defensive, and none at all to apologize for our great-grandfathers as if their zeal in alchemy were merely a picturesque and amiable weakness. It is much to the credit of New England intellectual life in the seventeenth century that the younger Winthrop could meet Robert Child and Sir Kenelm Digby on their own ground in these speculations; that George Stirk could go to London in 1650 with so thorough a knowledge of alchemical principles and processes that he was able to impose on the world his splendid fiction of the adept Eirenæus Philalethes, who still rules royally in the counsels of occultists; that Jonathan Brewster, our Plymouth elder's son, was in 1657 in hot and sanguine pursuit of the grand elixir in his cabin on the Connecticut frontier with the Indians howling at his kitchen door;¹ that William Avery at Boston in 1684 was patiently searching for the alkahest or universal solvent and had taught his son Jonathan to be "an assiduous labourer at the chemical fire."²

¹ Brewster was at a trading post at Manheken (Monhegen), afterwards a part of Norwich, Connecticut. See his letters to the younger Winthrop, January, 1656[-7] (Winthrop Papers, ii. 72-75, 77-81). He writes: "It is 5. yeares wanting two monthes befor the red Elixer be pfected, and 4. yeares before the white, soe that my worke will be yet till December next, befor the coullers bee & 5 monthes after befor the white apeare, and after the white standes a working till pfected by the hott fyerey imbibitiones, one whole year after till September. I feare I shall not live to see it finished, in regard ptly of the Indianes who I feare will raise warres: as also I haue a conceite y^t God sees me not worthy of such a blessing, by reason of my manifold miscariadges" (ii. 79).

² See William Avery's two letters to Boyle (November 9, 1682, and May 1, 1684), printed in Boyle's Works, v. 614-617; cf. our Publications, xiv. 147, 162-165.

Child's interest in alchemy and in the occult appears in the earliest letter of his that we possess — that addressed to his friend Winthrop in 1641¹ — and it emerges unabated in his latest extant letter to the same correspondent, that of August 26, 1650:² "Cornel. Agrippa de Occult phio [Philosophia] is coming forth in English,³ & Sendivogius,"⁴ so he notes as an item of scientific intelligence, along with an announcement of the great Harvey's book *de Generatione*⁵ and Dr. Bate's treatise on the rickets.⁶ And he mentions Thomas Vaughan twice: — first, by way of literary news, "One Vaughan an Ingenuous young man hath written Anthroposophia, & is printing phio Adamitica,"⁷ and again, near the end, in a kind of intellectual S.O.S.: "If you see a Booke called Anthroposophia, tell me, if you can, what the metaphysicall subiect is, which is the great question now amongst vs which is the perfection of all things." Thomas Vaughan, brother of the mystical poet, killed himself accidentally by exploding a mercurial compound.⁸ Experimentation and occultism, since (as we fondly think) divorced, were then joined in loving union. John Heydon (the friend of George Stirk, who was the friend of Robert Child) was an attorney who cast figures by geomancy and astromancy for the benefit of his clients, and found they served to increase his practice.⁹ Much later, Presi-

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 148–151.

² iii. 161–164.

³ See p. 102, above.

⁴ A New Light of Alchymie . . . Written by Micheel Sendivogius . . . Translated . . . by J. F. M.D. London, 1650. On Sendivogius see Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 364–370. As to the translator, see p. 102, above.

⁵ *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*, London, 1651.

⁶ Francis Glisson, George Bate, and Ahasuerus Regemorter, *De Rachitide* . . . *Tractatus*, London, 1651.

⁷ *Anthroposophia Theomagica: Or A Discourse of the Nature of Man and his state after death; Grounded on his Creator's Proto-Chimistry, and verifi'd by a practicall Examination of Principles in the Great World.* By Eugenius Philalethes. London, 1650. *Magia Adamica: or The Antiquitie of Magic, and The Descent thereof from Adam downwards, proved. Whereunto is added a perfect, and full Discoverie of the true Cœlum Terræ, or the Magician's Heavenly Chaos, and first Matter of all Things.* By Eugenius Philalethes. London, 1650.

⁸ See p. 142, below.

⁹ "Although our self is not of the Theomagical Order of the *Holy Rosie Cross*; yet we have been very studious and curious in searching out their secret *Mysterious Learning* near twenty years: besides, we have served as a Clerk five years

dent Stiles of Yale was reputed to know the great secret, but felt constrained to protest (with *coram Deo veritas*) that he was ignorant whether such a thing was even possible.¹

As to the younger John Winthrop, he began these studies early in life, for they loom large in the letters he received from the friend of his youth, Edward Howes, from 1628 to 1644.² When he met Child, then, Winthrop was doubtless already well versed in the science, and we have no reason to suppose that his faith was ever shaken. When he died, in 1676, he had long enjoyed the reputation of having discovered the mighty secret of the Hermetic sages. This comes out plainly in the Funeral Tribute published in that year by

in *Cliffords-Inne*, and now in Terme-time we follow the practice of an Attorney in the *Kings-bench* at *Westminster*. But this is our Vacation-Recreation, and it is profitable to our Practice in the Law; and by these Arts we gain credit: for we will undertake no cause that shall go against us; let the Plaintiff or Defendant pretend what they will, we know before-hand what good or evil will end the business; and so we (contrary to others) endeavour peace, save money and trouble; yet we do not profess our self a Scholar, but a Gentleman, and that very few Artists can do" (John Heydon, *Theomagia: or, The Temple of Wisdome, Spiritual, Cœstial, and Elemental*, bk. iii. chap. 19, p. 125, London, 1663, 1664).

¹ "Interspersed among my miscellaneous Writings may perhaps be found Things respecting the Rosacrucian Philosophy, which may induce some to imagine that I have more Knowledge of that matter than I really have. I have no Knowledge of it at all; I never saw Transmutation, the aurific Powder, nor the Philosophers Stone; nor did I ever converse with an Adept knowing him to be such. The only Man that I ever suspected as a real & true Adept was Rabbi Tobias of Poland, but he evaded my Interrogatories & communicated to me nothing — I believe he was only a conjectural speculative Philosopher. I have known 2 or 3 Persons (as Judge Danforth & Rev. Mr. West) who believed the reality of the Philosophers Stone, but neither of them ever obtained it. They are only conjectural & speculative Philosophers — and of such, D^r Franklin told me there were several at Philad^a &c. who were loosing their Time in chemical Experiments to no Effect. I never had, or made an Exp^t with, a Furnace or Alembic in all my Life. I am not versed in the Books of the Adepts; I have seen but few of those authors, & read less — perhaps all the little I have read collectively would not equal a common Octavo Volume. I am infinitely less acquainted with that than any other of the Sciences in the whole Encyclopædia of Literature. I never absorbed the extracted Sulpher of Gold in Terra: I have no practical Knowl. of the Matter: the few Ideas I have about it are only imaginary, conjectural & speculative. *Coram Deo Veritas*" (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, July 1, 1777, ii. 173-174; cf. ii. 183, 216; iii. 345, 348, 471-472).

² 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 240-245, 252-258; Winthrop Papers, i. 467-513.

Benjamin Tompson, "Learned Schoolmaster & Physician & y^e Renowned Poet of N. Engl.:"¹

Projections various by fire he made
Where Nature had her common Treasure laid.
Some thought the tincture Philosophick lay
Hatcht by the Mineral Sun in Winthrops way,
And clear it shines to me he had a Stone
Grav'd with his Name which he could read alone.²

The epitaph in Mather's *Magnalia* also testifies to Winthrop's reputation as a successful alchemist:

*Non Perit, sed ad Cœlestem Societatem
Regia Magis Regiam,
Vere Adeptus,
Abiit:*

WINTHROPUS, *Non minor magnis Majoribus.*³

This signifies that, whether or not Winthrop was really an adept in alchemy (that is, whether or not he had found the philosopher's stone), he was "an adept in the true sense" because he had now learned the secrets of the heavenly kingdom. The same belief is hinted at in Mather's interminable epitaph on Four Winthrops, in his "Hades Look'd into," 1717, a funeral sermon on Wait Winthrop:

Cinis tegitur hoc Marmore,
Dignus Lapide Philosophorum tegi.
Quatuor conduntur in hoc Tumulo
WINTHROPI.⁴

But the most striking of all tributes is a vivid passage in President Stiles's *Diary*, June 1, 1787. Stiles is speaking of "the *Governors Ring*, as it is called, or a Mountain in the N. W. corner of East Haddam:"

Gov^r Trumbull has often told me that this was the Place to which Gov. Winthrop of N. Lond. used to resort with his Servant; and after

¹ So runs the inscription on his tombstone in Roxbury (Hazard, 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 19).

² A black-letter broadside, reprinted by Waters, *Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger*, p. 75; cf. S. A. Green, *John Foster*, p. 127; 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, x. 270-271.

³ *Magnalia*, 1702, bk. ii. chap. 11, p. 33.

⁴ P. 43.

spend* three Weeks in the Woods of this Mountain in roast* Ores & assaying Metals & casting gold Rings, he used to return home to N. Lond. with plenty of Gold. Hence this is called the Gov. Winthrop's Ring to this day. Gov. Winthrop was an Adept, in intimate Correspond. with Sir Knelm Digby and first chemical & Philosophical Characters of the last Century — as may be seen in the Dedic* of 40th Vol. Phil. Transactions 1740.¹

The younger Winthrop had more than a thousand books "in a chamber" in Boston in 1640. We owe our knowledge of the extent of his library to the fact that there was "corn of divers sorts" in the same chamber and that the mice were busy. One of the volumes consisted of "the Greek testament, the psalms, and the common prayer . . . bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any of his other books, though there were above a thousand."² Many volumes that belonged to him I have examined in the New York Society Library³ and in the libraries of Yale University and the Massachusetts Historical Society. His collection was rich in alchemical and occult books, which he lent freely to other investigators. One volume, a German translation of the *Antimonii Mysteria Gemina* of the famous Alexander von Suchten,⁴ bears Child's autograph on the title-page: "Rob Child his booke 1636." John Winthrop (H. C. 1700) has also written his own name with Dee's famous monadic symbol (likewise used by John the Connecticut governor) on the same page. Child and his friend Winthrop ex-

¹ Literary Diary, iii. 266.

² Winthrop, ii. 24 (20).

³ There is an imperfect list of that portion of them that went to this corporation in the Alphabetical and Analytical Catalogue of the New York Society Library, 1850, pp. 491-505.

⁴ *Antimonii Mysteria Gemina*. Alexandri von Suchten. Das ist: Von den grossen Geheimnissen des Antimonij . . . Durch Johann Thölden, Leipzig, 1604 (Society Library, No. 240). On von Suchten, see Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 415-417. Antimony in Winthrop's time was an equally enthralling subject to the would-be adept and to the physician. Dr. William Douglass, in recording the death of the younger Winthrop, April 5, 1676, remarks: "He was much given to experimental Philosophy and Medicine; several of his *Recipe's* are still used by that Family in Charity to the Poor; some of his Pieces are to be found amongst the first *Philosophical Transactions* of the London Royal Society; he was a great Admirer of *Van Helmont*, and dealt much in *Antimonials*" (Summary, Boston, 1751, ii. 159 note †).

changed their treasures from time to time, by way of loan or gift, and it is pleasant to be able to read von Suchten's treatise in a copy that has been reverently handled by these two eager students of Hermetic philosophy.

The most exciting of Child's utterances on occult subjects occurs in a letter to Winthrop, written on May 13, 1648, soon after his return to England:

I had letters from a freind in Scotland, who hath perfected Helmonds menstruū, & made many excellent expim^{ta} by it for transmuta^ōn he did send a sheet written to me of all of thē & some things else but y^e ship was cast away & his freind who brought these things, hardly eschaped wth life. I dayly expect to heare from him, or else I resolve to see him if peace continue betwixt y^e 2 Kingdomes, w^{ch} is much to be feared: S^r I desire you, if you meet wth any sorts of seeds or stones, w^{ch} are not com^on to make me ptaker of some of them; & I shall willingly doe you service in this or any other way. Its reported by diverse, y^t y^e Empo^r of Germany hath found a secret to turne α into \odot ¹ by y^e w^{ch} he pays his Army y^e Duke of Holstein is turnd a great Chymist. Some say (y^t haue good intelligence) y^t Helia Artista is borne. I saw letters y^t came to a learned D^r from y^e *Fratres R C* to y^t purpose but he is not of O^r na^ōn.²

This reveals Child as in close contact with the latest scientific news from the Continent. The "fratres R. C." are, of course, the Rosicrucians, who ever since 1614 had been making a vast stir in Europe. One of the greatest of them was, like Child, a Kentishman — Dr. Robert Fludd, who died in London in 1637. I should like to think that Child knew him and, indeed, nothing is more probable. Both Winthrop and Edward Howes were deeply interested in Fludd's works, of which Howes gives Winthrop a catalogue in 1632: he calls him "the famous and farre renowned English man of our tymes."³ At first sight Fludd seems a likely candidate for identity with the mystical doctor whom Howes mentions so reverently in 1635:

I haue bin 2 or 3 tymes since wth the D^r and can gett but small satisfac^ōn about yo^r queries, I doubt he hath some pⁱudicate concept of

¹ I. e., "silver into gold."

² Winthrop Papers, iii. 159-160.

³ Howes to Winthrop, November 24, 1632 (Winthrop Papers, i. 483-485; cf. i. 496, 497, and 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 255).

one of vs, or both; yet I must confesse he seemed verie free to me, only in the maine he was misticall, this he said that when the will of God is yo^u shall knowe, what yo^u desire, it will come wth such a light, that it will make a harmonie amonge all yo^r authors, causing them sweetly to agree, and putt yo^u for euer after out of doubt & question. To discerne the fratres scientiæ I cannot as yet learne of him.¹

But it is pretty certain that the person meant is one "Dr. Euer."²

The report that Child quotes about the Emperor of Germany was founded on a strange occurrence at Prague in January, 1648. A certain Johann Conrad von Richthausen (so runs the tale) displayed to the Emperor Ferdinand III a grain of red powder which he averred was the true philosopher's stone. With this one grain, in the Emperor's presence, three pounds of quicksilver were transmuted into about two pounds and a half of pure gold. From this alchemic gold the Emperor caused a medal to be struck of the value of three hundred ducats, and upon Richthausen he bestowed, somewhat later, the grotesque title of Baron Chaos — Freiherr von Chaos.³

¹ Howes to Winthrop, August 21, 1635 (Winthrop Papers, i. 499). See also Howes's letters of August 4, 1636, and March 21, 1637[-8] (i. 501-502, 504-505), which are in a strain of exalted mysticism. The earliest of all Howes's letters to Winthrop (January 22, 1628) has a distinctly mystical tinge (Winthrop Papers, i. 467-468).

² Cf. Winthrop Papers, i. 500, 502, 507.

³ The medal is figured in J. J. Becher, *Oedipus Chemicus*, Frankfurt, 1664, ad p. 168; J. F. Helvetius, *Vitulus Aureus*, Amsterdam, 1667 (2d ed., Hague, 1702), frontispiece; Johann Zwelfer, *Mantissa Spagyrica*, pt. i. cap. 1 (*Pharmacopocia Augustana Reformata cum eius Mantissa & Appendice*, Dordrecht, 1672, p. 796; cf. Gabriel Clauder, *Dissertatio de Tinctura Universali*, Altenburg, 1678, pp. 84-88); W[illiam]. C[oo]per., *A Philosophicall Epitaph*, London, 1673, opposite pp. 34, 41; *Musæum Hermeticum*, Frankfort, 1677, p. 830 (*The Hermetic Museum*, London, 1893, ii. 281); J. J. Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Geneva, 1702, i. 200; J. F. Buddeus, *Exercitatio Politica An Alchemistæ sint in Republica Tolerandi* (in his *Commentatio Academica de Concordia Religionis Christianæ Statusque Civilis*, etc., Halle, 1712), fig. iv. ad p. 549 (German translation, *Historisch- und Politische Untersuchung von der Alchemie*, in Friedrich Roth-Scholtz, *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum*, Nürnberg, 1727, i. 78, fig. iv); Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique*, Paris, 1742, ii. 36-37; Kiesewetter, *Geschichte des Occultismus*, Leipzig, 1895, ii. 135. See also *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, 2^e Partie, Lyons, 1666, pp. 378-380 (*Voyage d'Allemagne*); D. G. Morhof, *De Metallorum Transmutatione*, Hamburg, 1673, p. 164; Wilhelm Freiherr von Schröder, *Nothwendiger Unterricht vom Goldmachen*, 1684 (Roth-Scholtz, *Deutsches Theatrum Chemi-*

The Duke of Holstein mentioned in Child's budget of alchemical news was Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp, a rather magnificent personage in his day, who succeeded in 1616 and died in 1659. He appears to have been a correspondent of the younger Winthrop's, doubtless on scientific topics.¹

The rumor which Child mentions, that "Helia Artista is born," signified the appearance of a divinely enlightened adept to whom was revealed the secret of the elixir. There was a saying, derived from Jewish tradition, "When Elias shall come, he shall make all things plain,"² — "That Proverbial Prediction of the *Jews*," as Henry More calls it, "touching their expected *Elias, Elias cum venerit solvet omnia.*"³ Elias Artista, therefore, became a term

cum, 1727, i. 232-233); G. W. Wedel, *Introductio in Alchimiam*, Jena, 1705, p. 14; K. C. Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie*, Halle, 1832, pp. 397-401; Louis Figuier, *L'Alchemie et les Alchimistes*, 3d ed., Paris, 1860, pp. 247-248; A. Bauer, *Chemie und Alchymie in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1883, pp. 35-36; H. Kopp, *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1886, i. 89-90, 195 n.; A. E. Waite, *Lives of Alchemistical Philosophers*, London, 1888, pp. 182-183; H. C. Bolton, *Contributions of Alchemy to Numismatics*, New York, 1890, pp. 19-20 (also in *American Journal of Numismatics*, xxiv. 82); Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 572; J. C. Creiling, *Die Edelgeborne Jungfer Alchymia*, Tübingen, 1730, pp. 84-92 (with figure).

¹ Among the letters addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., still remaining in the hands of his grandson, John Winthrop, F. R. S. (H. C. 1700) in 1741, there was at least one from "FRED. Princeps Holsatiæ & D. Slesvic" (Cromwell Mortimer's dedication to vol. xl of the *Philosophical Transactions*). The Harvard College copy of the volume was given to the library by this John Winthrop and contains an inscription in his beautiful handwriting:

Presented,

To the publick Library
of Harvard College, at
Cambridge in New-England;
by their very Affectionate
and most Obedient, humble
Servant

J: Winthrop.

Like his grandfather, many of whose alchemical books he inherited, this John Winthrop was a spagyric philosopher. "The extraordinary Knowledge," writes Mortimer in the dedication, "you have in the deep Mysteries of the most secret *Hermetic Science*, will always make you esteemed and courted by learned and good Men."

² See Malachi, iv. 5-6; Matthew, xi. 14, xvii. 10-12; Mark, ix. 11-13; John, i. 21, 25.

³ *Divine Dialogues*, 1668, ii. 361 (2d ed., 1713, p. 473).

among alchemists for him who should solve their desperate problem. Paracelsus gave wide currency to the phrase.¹ For an English example, take the work called "Cheiragogia Heliana. A Manuduction to the Philosopher's Magical Gold: by Geo. Thor. Astromagus" (London, 1659). "*Theophrastus*," writes Thor, "sayes thus: That, That is not In It, we may attain by the help of the Other: by, It, meaning the magnetick Spirit of the World, which is the Philosophers True Magnesia. And That (sayes he) will follow the Captain of Art (that is, *Helias* the Artist) close."² Works were published under the name of Elias Artista.³ In 1666, Johann Friedrich Helvetius, an eminent physician, was visited at the Hague by a nameless wanderer who gave him a little bit of the philosopher's stone, by means of which Helvetius was able (so he thought) to succeed *once* in making gold out of lead. He published his experiences in a tract called *The Golden Calf*,⁴ and throughout he calls his mysterious visitor Elias Artista. With reference to this incident, William Cooper, in his *Philosophicall Epitaph* (1673), addresses Child's friend Elias Ashmole in a lofty strain:

However Sir, give me leave to tender you these small Reliques of my obsequious obsequy, as Burnt Offerings, Reviving and describing *Aarons Calf* ground to dust by *Moses*, with *Helvetius* his Golden Calf, burnt to a stone or Pouders, by the *Teutonic Elias Artista*, and I wish you might prove another *Elias* (as your name imports) in this Fiery Chariot, or Transfiguration for the benefit of this our English nation, and of the whole world, to glorifie him who is the giver of all good things.

Indeed, this same Cooper, in the same dedication, unconsciously bestows the title *Elias the Artist* upon George Stirk also. For he cites "our late *English Phœnix*, or *Elias Artista Anonymon*, in his book of *The open entrance to the shut Pallace of the King*." This is the *Introitus Apertus*, the most famous of the treatises of *Philaethes*, — and *Philaethes*, as I am prepared to prove, was George Stirk and none other, though Cooper did not know it.

¹ See the references in Hermann Kopp, *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1886, i. 250–251.

² P. 5.

³ See Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, i. 236–237.

⁴ *Vitulus Aureus, Quem Mundus adorat & orat*. Amsterdam, 1667 (2d ed., the Hague, 1702).

This little excursus on Elias the Artist will, I trust, be forgiven when I point out its pertinency. We have it on Child's own word, as the letter shows, that he was not Hélias Artista himself and that he had never solved, or pretended to solve, the momentous problem of transmutation. This testimony may suffice to quiet forever a strange and romantic rumor which was current in scientific circles on the Continent soon after Child's death and which still echoes dimly among students of the occult and the pseudonymous. This is the report that Child was Eirenæus Philalethes (or Philaletha), that mysterious adept who discovered the secret of transmutation in 1645 at the age of twenty-three, wrote several books on the subject, — including the thrice-famous *Introitus Apertus ad Oclulum Regis Palatium*, — and wandered for years about Europe in disguise, occasionally performing the miracle of transmutation.

About the middle of the sixteenth century there occurred, on the Continent, three supposed cases of the successful transmutation of metals. Each was attested by a perfectly reputable witness who was then (and should be now) above suspicion of fraud or lying. Just what actually happened in a chemical way, or just what tricks were played by the transmuters, we are not called upon to explain. It is enough for us to feel sure that something did occur each time, and that silver or gold was found in the crucible.

The earliest of the three cases is that of Claude Berigard, an eminent French physician, born in 1578, who spent a good part of his life as Professor of the Aristotelian Philosophy in Italy, first at Pisa, afterwards at Padua. Berigard himself gives an account of the affair in his *Circulus Pisanus*, a commentary on Aristotelianism published in 1643. When he was living in Pisa, he received from an acquaintance one dram of a powder resembling wild poppy in color. Berigard worked the experiment in person, and took every precaution against being deluded, for he well knew that in many former instances gold had been secretly introduced into either the materials or the utensils. The result was convincing, for by means of the powder he turned ten drams of mercury into fine gold.¹ The second experiment took place on February 24, 1649, at Chur in Switzerland, in the presence of the apothecary Michael Morgenbesser; it was

¹ *Circulus Pisanus* Claudii Berigardi (Utini, 1643), chap. xxv. p. 154.

worked by a traveller from Genoa and produced silver from lead.¹ The third transmutation was effected in 1650 at Geneva in the presence of Pastor Gross; the adept was an Italian, who turned a mixture of tin and mercury into gold.² On the basis of these and other similar events, many scientific men, it seems, soon came to believe that a mysterious adept was adrift on the Continent, who used various disguises, and from time to time introduced himself (now by one name, now by another) to some student of the art and either effected transmutation or furnished the powder (known as the philosopher's stone) which enabled one to work the chemical miracle.

Now George Stirk, soon after his removal from Boston to London, which took place in 1650 or 1651, had exhibited various alchemical manuscripts in Latin which he said were the work of an adept who chose to call himself Eirenæus Philalethes. Stirk's story was that these had been given to him in New England by a friend of his who knew the adept well. This story he printed in 1654 in the preface to Part I of a versified treatise, *The Marrow of Alchemy*,³ a work which he then pretended was written by the friend in question, but which he afterwards acknowledged as his own composition.⁴ Stirk allowed copies of the manuscripts to circulate among students of alchemy, and they excited a lively interest, both in England and on the Continent. He died in 1665, and two years later Johann Lange published at Amsterdam the most important document of the group, the *Introitus Apertus ad Ocllusum Regis Palatium*, ascrib-

¹ Morgenbesser's letter dated Wahlau, October 14, 1672, as quoted from the original by Samuel Reyher, *Dissertatio de Nummis quibusdam ex Chymico Metallo factis* (Kiel, 1692), pp. 138-140.

² Gross's own account, as communicated by him to J. J. Manget and reported by the latter in his *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Geneva, 1702, Preface, pp. [iv-v].

³ *The Marrow of Alchemy, Being an Experimental Treatise, Discovering the secret and most hidden Mystery of the Philosophers Elixer. . . .* By Eirænæus Philoponos Philalethes. London, Printed by A. M. for Edw. Brewster . . . 1654. The Second Part appeared in 1655.

⁴ The complete evidence for this acknowledgment is too long and complicated to be given here. One decisive fact, however, may be cited. Stirk prefixed a Latin poem, with an English translation, to John Heydon's *Idea of the Law*, 1660, and another Latin poem (dated May 4, 1663) to the same author's *Theomagia*, 1664, and on both occasions he added his pseudonym "Eirenæus Philoponus Philalethes" to his own signature—*George* (in the second case *Georgius*) *Starkey*.

ing it on the title-page to "an anonymous philosopher Philaletha." In this work the concealed author describes himself as a true adept who had discovered the art of gold-making in 1645 at the age of twenty-three. Other editions and other tracts followed, appearing at different places, and under various editorship, and conjectures were freely emitted as to the identity of Philalethes, who was generally regarded as an authority of the first rank. Inquiries directed by Continental scholars to learned friends in England elicited much information about George Stirk, who had been a familiar figure in London scientific circles, as well as divers guesses as to Philalethes and Stirk's relations with him. It was the current opinion that Eirenæus Philalethes was an Englishman, now wandering incognito in foreign parts.

In the course of this lively interchange of learned chitchat, Stirk's known friendship with the much-travelled Dr. Robert Child, coupled with the fact that they had met in America,¹ was likely at any moment to suggest the attachment of Child's name to these tracts in some fashion; but the first extant testimony to any such connection dates from 1677. In that year (or perhaps in 1676) a distinguished Moravian physician, Johann Ferdinand Hertodt von Todtenfeld — an ominous name for a doctor! — sent to the Breslau Ephemeres a Latin epistle on Philalethes, including an extract from a letter received from an English colleague. The extract may be closely translated as follows:

Philaletha Anonymus was really named George Starkey. He was an Englishman by nation. Having made the acquaintance of a certain adept called Dr. Childe in America or the West Indies (called New England) he received from him an ounce of the White Elixir, one part of which transmuted a thousand times a thousand parts of lead, tin, or common mercury into the best silver. And without doubt, if George Starkey had not so quickly shown his hypocrisy, he would have obtained complete knowledge of the art. Wherefore, he then returned to England with his tincture, and carried with him the names or titles of twelve small tracts on chemistry composed by the learned Childe, the names of which I do not remember well but they will be found in the preface of the Marrow of Alchemy written in English, and I do remember the following, which are *Introitus Apertus ad Oclusum Regis Palatium*,

¹ See p. 101, above.

Brevis manuductio ad Rubinum caelestem, Fons Chymicæ Philosophiæ, Brevis via ad vitam longam, Elenchus errorum in arte chymica deviantium, Brevis manuductio ad campum Sophiæ. These six tracts were first written in English. Of all of them I have had a copy in my hands, copied from Starkey's autograph, before they were published in Latin, and so Starkey was the real author of those twelve tracts, and he carried with him only those twelve titles [of tracts] which Dr. Childe had promised that he would later send to him. But when Starkey saw that Dr. Childe would not write to him further, then he composed twelve tracts under those titles which Dr. Childe had given. And so he has been the cause of many evils by means of his deceptions. He died of the plague in 1665 while confined in the prison of London for his debts. At the time when he received the tincture from Dr. Childe he was twenty-three years old, and in the following year I made his acquaintance. But I did not come to know him well until he had used up all he had. Then, at my expense and that of certain friends of mine, we discovered the emptiness of his words. Now let it suffice to say concerning him in death, "May he rest in peace!"¹

Thus wrote Hertodt's English correspondent. Hertodt himself had nothing to add as to the identity of Philalethes, but he did assert that he had found his works a deceptive guide, and this utterance soon elicited an anonymous reply, also published in the *Ephemerides*: "I will not quarrel with anybody," says the apologist, "as to whether Starkey or Childe was the author of the tracts which circulate under the name of Philaletha, . . . but I do maintain that nobody can have written them *qui non habuerit penitissimam Chymiæ arcanorum notitiam.*"² Hertodt's paper and the reply, appearing as they did in the transactions of an important academy, attracted instant attention. There are three contemporary (or almost contemporary) copies of both communications, in three different hands, in Sloane MS. 646 in the British Museum,³ and Manget reprinted them both in 1702.⁴ In 1683 Johann Otto von Helbig defended the

¹ *Miscellanea Curiosa, sive Ephemerides Medico-Physicæ Germanicæ Academiæ Naturæ Curiosorum*, for 1677, Breslau, 1678, viii. 384-386. This was the official journal of the Breslau *Academia Naturæ Curiosorum* (later the *Leopoldina*), of which Hertodt was a Fellow.

² *Miscellanea Curiosa*, as above, viii. 389.

³ Fols. 2-6, 11b-13b, 23-24.

⁴ Johann Jakob Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, Geneva, 1702, ii. 697-700.

works of Philalethes against Hertodt, but admitted that he knew nothing of the author except that a London friend had lately informed him that he believed the adept to be still living in one of the islands under English rule.¹ In 1684 Wilhelm Freiherr von Schröder mentioned Hertodt's attack on Philalethes without approval.²

From the publication of Hertodt's letter until the present time, the name of Child has continued to be associated, off and on, with the works of Philalethes. In Sloane MS. 2558 there is a copy of Stirk's Marrow of Alchemy (made from the printed book) which has "Dr. Child" written in an eighteenth-century hand³ at the foot of the title-page under the imprint, and (in the same hand) there is a note on the blank page opposite the title-page: "it is supposed Eireneus Philalethes name was Bartlet who was acquainted with Dr. Child."⁴ Fuchs in his Repertorium, 1806-8, identifies Philalethes with "Childe."⁵ The same notion is mentioned, though the writer does not commit himself, in the ludicrously incorrect account of George Starkey (Stirk) in the Dictionary of National Biography.⁶

There is a curious piece of evidence which shows that the erroneous identification of Eireneus Philalethes with Child made its way to America and that scientific men in Boston about the beginning of the nineteenth century had recognized this Child as the Remonstrant. I find the evidence in certain alchemical books that once belonged to Judge Samuel Danforth.

¹ Dni. de Helbig iudicium de Philalethæ introitu ad apertum Regis palatium, & Pantaleone (appendix to Johann. Ottonis de Helbig, Magnæ Britanniæ Equitis, . . . Judicium de Duumviris Hermeticis Fœderatis, Jena, 1683, pp. 42-45):—"Licet amicus quidam Londini, cum nuper in Anglia essem, suam de Philalethæ suspicionem, & quod sub Imperio Britannico, in Insula quadam Anglicana adhuc viveret, mihi dixerit" (p. 42). There is an English translation (in the hand of Samuel Bellingham, M.D.) of the passage about Philalethes in Sloane MS. 633 (fol. 234a). It begins: "As Concerning Philalethes Introitus I know not the Author Although a friend at London wth I was Lately in England told mee hee beleueed hee yet Lived in Some of y^e English Islands or Plantations."

² Nothwendiger Unterricht vom Goldmachen, 1684 (in Friedrich Roth-Scholtz, Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum, Theil i., Nürnberg, 1727, p. 273).

³ Not Sloane's.

⁴ Both these notes are in the same hand as the text. The discrepancy is accounted for if we conjecture that the copyist transcribed scribbles (in different hands) found in the printed volume from which he copied.

⁵ Georg F. C. Fuchs, Repertorium der chemischen Litteratur, p. 199 (Ferguson, Bibliotheca Chemica, ii. 194).

⁶ liv. 108.

Judge Danforth's career as a public man is well-known. He was the son of the Rev. John Danforth of Dorchester, and was born in that town in 1696. He graduated at Harvard College in 1715, was Selectman of Cambridge 1733-1734, 1737-1739, Representative to the General Court 1734-1738, Member of the Council 1739-1774, Register of Probate for Middlesex County 1731-1745, Judge of Probate 1745-1775, Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex 1741-1774. He was also a Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1735 and of the Superior Court in 1753.¹ For a long time (at least from 1743 to 1768) he was one of the Commissioners of the Land Bank.² It is interesting to remember that he was on the committee appointed by the General Court for the rebuilding of Harvard Hall after the fire of 1764.³ He died at Cambridge on October 2, 1777. The Judge was a Tory, and as such he received the appointment of Mandamus Councillor on August 9, 1774, which he was forced to resign on September 2. This he did in Harvard Square, Cambridge, in the presence of a crowd of some four thousand people, who listened quietly to the old man's feeble voice. The scene is described in a letter from Dr. Thomas Young to Samuel Adams written two days later.⁴ Danforth's alchemical studies have attracted less attention. Dr. John Eliot remarks with dry brevity: "He was said to be a great natural philosopher and chymist."⁵ More to the point is the testimony of President Stiles, who thus records his death under date of October 3, 1777:⁶ "Last week the Hon. Samuel Danforth Esq. of Cambridge died in Boston,

¹ Paige, *History of Cambridge*, pp. 461, 465; Whitmore, *Civil List*, pp. 56-63, 73, 79, 88, 90; Emory Washburn, *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts*, 1840, p. 342; W. T. Davis, *History of the Judiciary of Massachusetts*, 1900, pp. 137, 140; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vii. 319.

² *Our Publications*, iv (index).

³ *Id.*, xiv. 13, 16, 17.

⁴ Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, ii. 237-238; *our Publications*, xi. 36 and n. 3. Cf. Thomas Newell's *Diary*, September 2, 1774 (1 *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, iv. 222, xv. 357); *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxviii. 61-62, xxix. 63-64, xliii. 146-147. In 1775 Danforth's house in Cambridge was protected by a guard: see Col. William Henshaw's *Orderly Book*, April 22, 1775 (1 *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, xv. 90).

⁵ *Biographical Dictionary*, 1809, p. 148 note.

⁶ *Literary Diary*, ii. 216.

æt. 81 & supra. He was deeply studied in the Writings of the Adepts, believed the Philosophers Stone a Reality and perhaps for Chemical knowledge might have passed among the Chemists for a **בַּעַל שֵׁם**." ¹

Convincing testimony to Danforth's alchemical ardor exists (though heretofore overlooked) in a fragment of his library still preserved in the Boston Athenæum.² He was in the habit of annotating his books. His marginalia exhibit his hand as it was at different periods of his life, and sometimes the same volume shows considerable differences in both ink and penmanship, so that these comments represent a long course of study, begun when he was a young man. Some of the books were obviously used as laboratory manuals. In Stirck's *Pyrotechny*,³ in particular, the stains, and the brittle leaves at the end, show plain traces of the action of the Judge's chemicals. The *Opus Tripartitum* ⁴ also exhibits signs of constant thumbing, and all three of its tracts are plentifully underlined and annotated in the Judge's hand. Several other volumes have Danforth's manuscript notes, some of which are highly interesting: I hope to return to them some day. Meantime our immediate concern is with the next possessor of these volumes, the Judge's eldest son, Samuel Danforth, M.D., who, like his father, was a Royalist.⁵ He was born at Cambridge in 1740, graduated at Harvard College in 1758, and practised medicine for many years in Boston, where he died in 1827.⁶ His eminence as a chemist was locally celebrated. He received the degree of M.D. from Harvard in 1790.

Dr. Danforth inherited his father's alchemical library,⁷ and I think that he too once believed in the philosopher's stone.⁸ His

¹ Ba'al Shem, "Master of the Name:" a term applied to an adept in secret learning; properly, one who can work wonders by virtue of knowing the true name of God (see Ginsberg, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, ii. 382-383). Our associate Professor George F. Moore has helped me here.

² These books came to the Athenæum by gift of Judge Danforth's son Dr. Samuel Danforth (H. C. 1758) and grandson Dr. Thomas Danforth (H. C. 1792).

³ *Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated*. By George Starkey. London, 1658.

⁴ *Opus Tripartitum de Philosophorum Arcanis*, London, 1678.

⁵ *Our Publications*, v. 260.

⁶ Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, ii. 233-238; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vii. 319-320.

⁷ Judge Danforth's library was valued in the inventory of his estate at £300; he bequeathed one half of it to his son Samuel (Suffolk County Probate Files).

⁸ See his manuscript note in the Judge's copy of *Urim and Thummim*, p. 71: "The Author of the above written *Urim and Thummim* was an adept."

signature — “Sam¹ Danforth’s 1799” — occurs in the Judge’s copy of *Opus Tripartitum* (1678), a collection of three tracts. The printed title-page designates the writer, in the ablative, as “Autore, Anonymo sub Nomine Æyrenæi Philalethes, natu Angli, Habitatione Cosmopolitæ.” Under the last two words Dr. Danforth has written “D^r Robert Child.” On the special title-page of the *Experimenta de Præparatione Mercurii Sophici* (in the same volume) we have the following state of things:

[Printed] *Ex Manuscripto Philosophici Americani, alias*
 [Written] D^r Robert Child sub Nomine
 [Printed] ÆYRENÆI PHILALETHES, natu An-
 [Printed] gli, habitatione Cosmopolitæ.¹

Again in the same volume, after the printed words “Catalogus Librorum editorum Authore Æyrenæo Philalethe Cosmopolita,”² is written “anglice D^r Robert Child.” At the end of the last tract in the volume (the *Vade-Mecum Philosophicum*) is written “Script in Boston Nov-Angliae.”³ Again, under the words “Authore Anonymo Philaletha Philosopho” printed in the half-title of the *Introitus Apertus in the Musæum Hermeticum*,⁴ occurs the manuscript entry: “or D^r Robert Child sometime a resident in Boston.” Finally, under the name *Eyræneus Philaletha Cosmopolita* on the title-page of *Secrets Reveal’d*,⁵ the Doctor has written “D^r Robert Child” and in the margin: “he fled to New England where he was persecuted as a Church of England man — see Hutchinsons History.”

All these scribbles appear to be in the same hand that wrote “Sam¹ Danforth’s 1799” in the *Opus Tripartitum*, and if so, they show that Dr. Danforth had got hold of the erroneous idea, common in

¹ P. 181.

² P. [223].

³ P. 222.

⁴ *Musæum Hermeticum Reformatum et Amplificatum* (Frankfort, 1677), p. 647. This copy has no indication of having been Judge Danforth’s, but it certainly belonged to his son the Doctor, who gave it to the Athenæum in 1812.

⁵ *Secrets Reveal’d: or, An Open Entrance to the Shut-Palace of the King . . .* Composed by a most famous English-man, Styling himself Anonymus, or Eyræneus Philaletha Cosmopolita: Who, by Inspiration and Reading, attained to the Philosophers Stone at his Age of Twenty three years, Anno Domini, 1645 (London, 1669). This volume has the Doctor’s autograph on the title-page: “Samuel Danforth’s.”

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that the right name of Philalethes was Child, and that he identified this Child with the celebrated Remonstrant.

By 1698, however, another identification had come before the public, for in that year Georg Wolfgang Wedel, in the preface to his edition of the *Introitus Apertus*, declared that Philalethes was commonly thought to have been an Englishman named Thomas de Vagan.¹ The error is patent. Thomas Vaughan (1621-1665), twin brother of Henry the poet, wrote under the name of *Eugenius* (not *Eirenæus*) Philalethes, and all his works are well known. We have already found Child citing two of them in a letter to Winthrop.² But, absurd as it is, the error had considerable currency. It is repeated, for example, in the title-page of a German translation of the *Introitus Apertus* published at Hamburg in 1705;³ and it is mentioned in 1742 by the abbé Lenglet-Dufresnoy, who, however, does not commit himself, remarking of Philalethes that "son nom, sa personne, sa vie, ses ouvrages, tout est chez lui un paradoxe indéchiffrable."⁴ The confusion between *Eugenius* and *Eirenæus* Philalethes, though often rectified,⁵ has persisted to very recent times. One finds "Philalèthe Irénée" in Larousse (1874) unhesitatingly equated with "Thomas de Vaughan ou Waghan."⁶ Hermann Kopp, in 1886, remarked that it has not been determined whether Philalethes was really, "as most have supposed," an Englishman named Thomas Vaughan;⁷ and as late as 1896, Mr. E. K. Chambers, though

¹ *Introitus Apertus ad Oclusum Regis Palatium, autore Anonymo Philaletha Philosopho, . . . denuo publicatus, cum Indice & noua præfatione Georgii Wolffgangi Wedelii, Jena, 1699. Ad Lectorem, p.15.* This preface is dated September 21, 1698. Wedel does not repeat the statement, however, in his *Introductio in Alchimiam* (Jena, 1705), though he often refers to Philaletha, whom he reckons among authorities who are "classici, veri, principes" (p. 19).

² See p. 125, above.

³ *Abyssus Alchymie Exploratus . . . von Thoma de Vagan, Einem Englischen Adepto . . . gezeigt und beschrieben, Hamburg, 1705.*

⁴ *Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, i. 403.* Lenglet-Dufresnoy adds (i. 480): "Eyrenée *Philalethe* se nommoit à ce qu'on croit, *Thomas de Vagan*."

⁵ Anthony à Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, first published in 1691 and 1692, distinguishes *Eirenæus* from *Eugenius* (Vaughan) and both from the author of *The Marrow of Alchemy*. See Bliss's edition, iii. 725 (370).

⁶ *Dictionnaire Universel, xii. 801.*

⁷ *Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886), i. 200.

not convinced that Eirenæus (as well as Eugenius) was Thomas Vaughan, was yet by no means sure that he was not.¹

The real Thomas Vaughan, a devout and highly-esteemed occult philosopher, was born in 1622 and killed himself by an alchemical accident in 1665, but neither his record nor the known limits of his career could preserve his name from an astonishing profanation in 1895, when Léo Taxil² made him a choregus of Satanism. According to the spurious *Mémoires d'une ex-Palladiste*, ascribed to "Miss Diana Vaughan," high priestess of the Luciferians, but really concocted by Taxil, and published in monthly numbers by the *Librairie Antimaçonnique* at Paris, Vaughan was fourth successor to Faustus Socinus as Grand Master of the Fraternity of the Rose Cross and was the organizer of "la Franc-Maçonnerie, telle qu'elle est aujourd'hui." In 1645 he got himself substituted at the last moment for the regular headsman at the execution of Laud, offered to Lucifer the blood of that "noble martyr" (with which he had soaked a sacred corporal), and secured in return a contract, signed by Lucifer and himself, enabling him to make gold and assuring him of a life of Hermetic knowledge for thirty-three years. After this infernal consecration he wrote the *Introitus Apertus*. On the 25th of March, 1678, his term was up and he was carried off by the devil.³ The extraordinary hoax of which these memoirs formed a part extended over a period of twelve years and affords one of the most amazing instances of human gullibility on record, but does not here concern us. Taxil owned up in a public address of unexampled cynicism delivered on April 19, 1897.⁴ What makes his fiction pertinent to

¹ Poems of Henry Vaughan, ed. by E. K. Chambers, vol. ii. pp. xxxiii-lvi.

² Taxil's real name was Gabriel Jogand-Pagès.

³ *Mémoires d'une ex-Palladiste*, pp. 110, 130-133, 172, 176-178, 240.

⁴ There is a full report of his address (based chiefly on that in *Le Frondeur* of April 25, 1917) in H. Gruber, *Betrug als Ende eines Betrugers*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 9-28, and a briefer report in Braeunlich, *Der neueste Teufelsschwindel*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 96-101. Cf. *Journal des Débats*, April 24, 1897, cix. 782-784; *L'Univers* (Paris) for April 23, 25, and 27, 1897. Taxil had previously been exposed by A. E. Waite, *Devil-Worship in France* (London, 1896); by F. Legge in *The Contemporary Review* for October, 1896, lxx. 466-483 (cf. lxi. 694-710); by Pourtalès in *Études publiées par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 34^e année, January-March, 1897, lxx. 162-174 (cf. *L'Univers* for March 12, 1897); and by Gruber, *Leo Taxil's Palladismus-Roman* (Berlin, 1897), but many believed in him until the very moment of his impenitent confession. For copies of several journals

our present study is that it is founded, to a large extent, on the acceptance of Thomas Vaughan as Eirenæus Philalethes. Undoubtedly the blunder has had its effect in developing the notion that our mysterious adept changed his name whenever the fancy took him, and thus has fostered the idea that a number of successful transmutations in the seventeenth century were worked by Eirenæus Philalethes in disguise. Petraeus, in 1717, declared that "the late Baron Urbiger" (himself a very shadowy personage, thought by many to have been a Borghese¹) asserted stoutly that King Charles II had told him that Eirenæus Philalethes made projection in his own royal presence;² and Lenglet-Dufresnoy, in 1742, mentioned an opinion that he was the wandering stranger who gave Helvetius the powder of projection in 1666.³ This idea Taxil utilized in his Luciferian romance, including the incident in his account of Thomas Vaughan and adding the statement that Vaughan forthwith initiated Helvetius as a Luciferian.⁴

But we are not at the end of our comedy of errors. In a singular work, with a singular title, *Die Edelgebörne Jungfer Alchymia*, by Johann Conrad Creiling,⁵ which appeared anonymously at Tübingen in 1730, the author avers that the writings of Philaletha have become "as familiar to alchemists as their daily bread, and have met with general applause from the majority. . . . By some (among them Wedel) his name is given as Thomas de Vagan; by others (Hertodt, for instance) as Childe or Dr. Zcheil, residing in America. Certain it is that Georgius Sterkey, an apothecary in London, who

containing important material on Taxil's imposture I am indebted to the staff of St. John's Ecclesiastical Seminary at Brighton and to the Maurist Fathers in Boston.

¹ See Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 487-488.

² "Der Irenæus I. Anonym: Philaletha aber soll Projection ver König Carls II. gethan haben, wie dann der sel. B. Urbiger aus dieses grossen Königs Munde solches selber gehöret zu haben sehr versichert hat" (Fr. Basillii Valentini . . . Chymische Schriften: Samt einer neuen Vorrede . . . begleitet von Bened. Nic. Petraeo, Med. D., 6th ed., Leipzig, 1760, sig. f v°). The first edition of Petraeus's book appeared at Hamburg in 1717 (Roth-Scholtz, *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum*, Nürnberg, 1727, i. 656). The Urbiger yarn owes what plausibility it has to King Charles's well-known interest in alchemy (Burnet, *Own Time*, ed. 1833, i. 169).

³ *Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique*, i. 405. See p. 132, above.

⁴ *Mémoires d'une ex-Palladiste*, pp. 215-217.

⁵ On the authorship, see Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, i. 182-183.

died . . . of the plague in 1665, published the tracts in question, and perhaps wrote some of them himself. In the tract *Medulla Alchymiae* he . . . gives information which shows that he did not obtain these writings (much less any of the tincture) directly from the adept, . . . but that the adept Childe gave some of the incomparable tincture, in English America, to Thomas de Vagan, or Vagan to Childe or to some other person," and so on.¹ Creiling, one sees, had been consulting George Stirk's *Marrow of Alchemy*, and, unaware of the elaborate mystification which that book involves, he has rigged an ingenious combination. Since both Vaughan and Child had been put forward, by different authorities, as the real Philalethes, he inferred that one of the two (probably Child) was the anonymous adept celebrated by Stirk in his preface, and that the other (probably Vaughan) was the friend mentioned *ibidem* as the disciple of this adept and as the author of the *Marrow* itself. The outlandish name *Dr. Zcheil* is merely Creiling's gallant attempt to spell *Child* phonetically in German.

Creiling's combinations have met with all the success that their irresponsible ingenuity deserves. In 1832 Karl Schmieder, Professor at Cassel, published his famous *History of Alchemy*. Schmieder believes that it is possible to transmute base metals into silver and gold, and that the secret was passed down from generation to generation among a select circle of initiates. He is inclined, therefore, to ascribe the three famous cases just mentioned — those of Berigard, Morgenbesser, and Gross — to one and the same philosopher, who may well have been identical with a certain unnamed adept from whom the great chemist van Helmont received the philosopher's stone. And this personage Schmieder would like to think was the mysterious wanderer Eirenæus Philalethes. For him he constructs a wild biography, which is a patchwork made up of all the blunders and credulous guesses that I have briefly registered. It is very likely, Schmieder thinks, that Philalethes passed under five names in his travels — Thomas de Vaughan, Thomas Vagan, Childe, Dr. Zheil, and Carnobie; when he was in America, where he met Starkey, he called himself Childe.²

So splendid a piece of constructive fiction, fortified in its details

¹ Chap. ii. § xxxi, pp. 195-197.

² Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie*, Halle, 1832, pp. 389-392.

by so much citation of learned authors, the world has not willingly let die. Figuiet repeats it, almost word for word, with additions, in his vastly entertaining book *L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes*.¹ Kiese-wetter, in 1895, goes over the same ground in his *Geschichte des Occultismus*,² with the same string of names, including Childe and Zheil, and so does Gessmann in 1900.³ Mr. A. E. Waite, in *The Real History of the Rosicrucians* (1887), informs us that Vaughan "adopted various pseudonyms in the different countries through which he passed in his wanderings as an alchemical propagandist. Thus in America he called himself Doctor Zheil, and in Holland Carnobius."⁴ None of these scholars seems to recognize Child and Z(c)heil as the same name differently spelled.⁵ Caillet, who equates our adept with Vaughan, remarks with solemn caution: "On a prétendu que Vaughan s'était fait appeler en Amérique '*le Docteur ZHEIL*' et en Hollande '*CARNOBE*.' Il n'a pas laissé d'écrits sous ces noms, à ma connaissance."⁶ An unverifiable reference in Ferguson's *Bibliotheca Chemica* (1906) introduces another factor into the confused equation: "Bacstrom says distinctly that his [Eirenæus Philalethes'] name was Winthorp and that he was Starkey's patron."⁷ Who Bacstrom was I cannot discover.⁸ He deserves our gratitude, however, for bringing in the name of the younger Winthrop, who, as

¹ 2d ed., Paris, 1856, chap. vi, pp. 276-286. He gives liberal, but not too liberal, acknowledgment to Schmieder in his preface.

² ii. 130-132.

³ G. W. Gessmann, *Die Geheimsymbole der Chemie und Medicin des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1900, p. 11.

⁴ P. 309. In his *Lives of Alchemystical Philosophers*, 1888, pp. 187-189, Waite gives up the identification of Eirenæus with Vaughan, but in his edition of *The Magical Writings of Thomas Vaughan*, 1888, he still contemplates the mysterious adept as wandering "over a large portion of the habitable globe, performing astounding transmutations under various names and disguises" (p. vii).

⁵ Ferguson saw the identity of the names (*Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 194).

⁶ Albert L. Caillet, *Manuel Bibliographique des Sciences Psychiques ou Occultes*, Paris, 1912, iii. 669.

⁷ Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, ii. 194.

⁸ He may have been that Johann Friedrich Bachstrom, German physician and preacher, of whom Adelung gives an account in his continuation of Jöcher (*Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Jöchers Allgemeinem Gelehrten Lexico*, i [1784]. 1323-1325). This Bachstrom lived in the first half of the eighteenth century and visited England, where he is said to have become an F. R. S., though this claim is not substantiated by the list in *Records of the Royal Society*, 2d ed., 1901.

we know, was a friend of both Stirk and Child, who were also friends of each other. As a matter of fact, as I hope to prove when time serves, Eirenæus Philalethes was the creation of George Stirk's teeming brain and not too scrupulous conscience, and the works ascribed to him, so far as they ever existed, were of Stirk's own composition.

My task is finished. I have followed the career of Robert Child from his birth to his death, and have even ventured to register the posthumous fictions that have associated themselves with his name. Few characters in our colonial annals are so multifariously interesting, and none, I think, appeals more congenially to a modern student.

MR. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper:

COMENIUS AND HARVARD COLLEGE

More than two centuries ago it was asserted that John Amos Comenius, the famous Bohemian scholar, was offered the presidency of Harvard College. This somewhat startling statement, twice made by Cotton Mather, apparently slumbered unnoticed by writers on either Comenius or the College for over a century and a half. It was dug out of the *Magnalia* in 1860, again lost sight of, then once more — twenty-five years later — came to light, and the stirring events in Europe during the past five years have called renewed attention to it. Mather's passage in the *Magnalia* deserves a more careful consideration than has been accorded it. It reads as follows:

Mr. *Henry Dunster*, continued the Præsident of *Harvard-College*, until his unhappy Entanglement in the Snares of *Anabaptism*; fill'd the *Overseers* with uneasy Fears, lest the Students by this means, should come to be Ensnared: Which Uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on *October 24*, 1654. He presented unto the *Overseers*, an Instrument under his Hands; wherein he Resigned his Presidentship, and they accepted his Resignation. That brave Old Man *Johannes Amos COMENIUS*, the *Fame* of whose Worth hath been *Trumpetted* as far as more than *Three Languages* (whereof every one is *Endebted* unto his *Janua*) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. *Winthrop* in his Travels through the *Low Countries*, to come over into *New-England*, and *Illuminate* this *Colledge* and *Country*, in the *Quality* of a



Examp. M. S.

G. Glover. sc.

Loe, here an Exile! who to serve his God,
 Hath sharply tasted of proud Persians Red
 Whose learning, Piety, & true worth, being knowne
 To all the world, makes all the world his owne
 F. Q.

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
 from the original in the possession of Charles T. C. Carter Esq.



President: But the Solicitations of the *Swedish* Ambassador, diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an *American*. On *November 2, 1654*. Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Norton*, were employed by the Overseers, to tender unto Mr. *Charles Chancy* the Place of *President*, which was now become Vacant; who on the *Twenty Seventh Day* of that Month, had a solemn *Inauguration* thereunto.¹

There is no mention of this episode in the histories of Harvard College by Peirce (1833), Quincy (1840), Eliot (1848), or William R. Thayer (1890), nor in later works relating to the College. Before examining the passage in the light of contemporary evidence, it will be well to bring together some remarks that have been called out by it in the past fifty-nine years. In an article printed in 1860 we read:

After the resignation of President Dunster, John Amos Comenius, of Moravia, received, through the younger Winthrop, overtures to accept the office, but he was induced to bestow his educational labors in Sweden and Transylvania. . . . Had Comenius made either Old or New England his permanent residence, it is not too much to suppose that his publications and earnest personal efforts would have introduced the same educational reform which he inaugurated in Germany.²

¹ Magnalia, 1702, bk. iv. pt. ii. § 5, p. 128; 1820, ii. 10; 1853, ii. 14. The punctuation of this passage is obviously at fault, the comma after Dunster's name being unnecessary and misleading.

² American Journal of Education, September, 1860, ix. 135. The article, called "Harvard College. 1636-1654," fills pp. 129-166. A note on p. 129 says: "This sketch will follow substantially Eliot's '*History of Harvard College*'" — that is, Samuel A. Eliot's Sketch of the History of Harvard College, published in 1848. I have been unable to ascertain whether this article was prepared by Eliot himself, or, as perhaps is more probable, by or under the direction of Henry Barnard, the editor of the American Journal of Education. As stated in our text, Eliot's Sketch does not mention Mather's story. A footnote on p. 135 of the article refers to "John Amos Comenius," translated from the German of Karl von Raumer, in the American Journal of Education for June, 1858, v. 257-298; but that memoir contains no allusion to Mather's story.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot kindly writes me as follows: "It is highly improbable that my father had anything to do with the article published in Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education for September, 1860, for his health was at that time already impaired; but I am by no means able to assert that he did *not* write that article. I am sure, however, that my father never alluded in conversation with me to the supposed invitation to Comenius to become President of Harvard. He would have been likely to do so if he had accepted that statement; because I entered the service of Harvard College in 1854, and my father knew that I had a strong interest in the history of the College."

In 1885 Edmund de Schweinitz, Bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum*, said:

While on his way to Lissa [in 1642] in order to consult with his colleagues, prior to his going to Sweden, he [Comenius] met probably in Holland, with Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Colony, who tried to induce him to come to America and accept the presidency of Harvard College, which had been founded at Cambridge in 1638. This overture Comenius declined, as also an invitation which reached him from France to visit that country.¹

"It may not be generally known," remarked William H. Payne in 1886, "that Comenius was once solicited to become the president of Harvard College. . . . This was on the resignation of President Dunster, in 1654."²

In 1892 Professor Paul H. Hanus — who, however, later changed his opinion — wrote:

While yet in the full vigor of his maturity, Comenius was invited to come to America and become the president of Harvard College. . . . Had "our Mr. Winthrop" prevailed upon Comenius to accept the invitation to become President of Harvard College, who can doubt that some of the improvements we are now so earnestly seeking to introduce into our schools, would have been adopted many years ago, and America and not Europe would lead the world in the excellence of its educational facilities.³

Comenius, asserted Samuel G. Williams in 1892, "was summoned to England, to Sweden, and to Hungary for aid in the bettering of learning and improvement of schools; and in 1654 he was offered and declined the presidency of Harvard College, his fame having reached even far distant America."⁴

¹ History of the Church known as the *Unitas Fratrum*, p. 580. A footnote says: "Our authority for the interesting fact that Comenius received an offer of the presidency of Harvard University, as it is now called, is Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, . . . At that time Mr. Henry Dunster was President, who 'fill'd the Overseers with uneasie Fears,' on account of 'his unhappy entanglement in the snares of Anabaptism.'"

² Gabriel Compayré's *History of Pedagogy*, 2d ed., 1890, p. 125 note.

³ The Permanent Influence of Comenius, in *Educational Review for March*, 1892, iii. 234-236. See p. 151, below.

⁴ *History of Modern Education*, 2d ed., 1896, pp. 164-165.

In 1896 James P. Munroe remarked:

Wide as were the wanderings of this pious old man, they narrowly missed extension even to America. . . . What a fertile source of speculation is this paragraph! If Comenius had yielded to "our Mr. Winthrop," and if thereby Dunster had been succeeded by this vigorous reformer instead of by the testy yet pliable Chauncy, what might not have been the difference of result. How unlike its real history might have been the growth, not alone of Harvard College, but of the whole country! Throwing off the shackles of English tradition two hundred years earlier than it in fact did, what might not this university have accomplished! The chief leader of New England thought, its early emancipation from the humanities would have altered the whole course of American history. The great Oxenstierna ought, perhaps, to be added to the list, already too long, of conservative forces governing New England.¹

In the same year (1896) Count Lützow said:

Though he remained some months in England, Komenský seems almost immediately to have recognized that he had then no hopes of carrying out his plans in that country. He meditated for some time accepting an invitation to North America. His exceptional linguistic and educational talents and his eloquence had suggested the idea of sending him there as a missionary. Numerous Bohemian Brethren,

¹ The Educational Ideal, pp. 76-77.

"I have," says Mr. Monroe, "examined with some care the numerous lives of Comenius printed in the German language, and a Bohemian friend has examined those printed in Czech; and although we find less noteworthy distinctions recorded, there is no mention of a call to Harvard College or America" (Educational Review, 1896, xii. 379). In a book published in German since this passage was written, Dr. Jan Jakubec, "Professor an der k. k. Böhm. Karl-Ferdinand-Universität in Prag," has said: "Aus Amerika wurde ihm die Leitung des Harvard College angeboten" (Geschichte der böhmischen Litteratur, Leipzig, 1909, p. 98; 1913, p. 114). Mr. Monroe owns the Korrespondenz Jana Amose Komenského, published in three volumes by the Čech Academy of Arts and Science in Prague, and writes me that his "good friend Professor František Čada of the University of Prague had collated them with some care without finding any justification for Mather's statement."

I have myself examined most of the books and articles relating to Comenius printed in the English language listed in the bibliographies in Mr. Monroe's Comenius's School of Infancy (1896, pp. 91-95), in Mr. Monroe's Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform (1900, pp. 175-180), and in Mr. Čapek's Bohemian (Czech) Bibliography (1918). So far as I have noted, Count Lützow and Dr. Jakubec are the only writers not Americans who have alluded to America or to Harvard College. But see p. 150 note 3, below.

or "Moravians" as they were called in foreign lands, had sought a new home in North America.¹

Finally, in 1899, Count Lützwow, ignoring his previous statement that Comenius had had thoughts of coming to this country as a missionary, repeated the familiar story, but with curious variations:

In June 1642 Komenský left England, and first proceeded to Holland. It is a proof of the great celebrity that he had already attained that he here received yet another invitation. While travelling in Holland, Komenský met Richard Charles Winthrop, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, who suggested to him that he should proceed to America and become rector of Harvard College, that had been founded six years before. Komenský, who was bound by his agreement with the Swedish Government, in the name of which De Geers had negotiated with him, declined the offer.²

In all the above accounts, as well as in numerous other accounts that have appeared since 1896, the sole authority given for the statement is Mather's *Magnalia*, and no other authority has apparently ever been cited.³ The first person to question the accuracy of the

¹ Bohemia, an Historical Sketch, p. 408. Count Lützwow gives no authority for his statement. The Moravians did not come to America until about 1735.

² History of Bohemian Literature, pp. 268-269. Again no authority is given. Count Lützwow must have relied on some writer who confused Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts with the late Robert Charles Winthrop, who edited the letters by and to Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, printed in 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 206-251.

³ In their Bohemian (Čech) Bibliography, 1918, Thomas Čapek and Anna Vostrovský Čapek say: "From Cotton Mather we learn (a fact which is confirmed by other sources) that Governor Winthrop offered to Komenský the Presidency of Harvard College" (p. 43). In reply to a query as to the "other sources," Mr. Čapek kindly writes me as follows:

"In the *Ottův Naučný Slovník* (Čech Encyclopedia), xiv. 627, Dr. J. Novák says: 'Having been provided with funds by Lawrence de Geer, he [Komenský] returned from England to the Continent. He stopped at Leyden and he received at that time an offer from America to take charge of a college there; thereafter in August, 1642, he proceeded to Norrköping,' etc.

"On p. 437 of *Pisemnictví České* (Čech Literature), by Dr. Václav Flajšhans, published at Prague, 1901, the statement is repeated; but it adds, that it was the Swedish Ambassador who prevented Komenský from accepting."

A tradition in regard to the alleged offer of the presidency might have come down from three wholly independent sources: (1) in America from Winthrop; (2) in England from Hartlib; and (3) in Bohemia from Comenius. The sole person to record the first source is Cotton Mather, and no one records either the second

statement was Professor Will S. Monroe. In an article on Comenius written in 1892, Mr. Monroe made no allusion to the story, though he then certainly knew about it.¹ Soon, however, his doubts were aroused; and in 1894, in an article called "At Comenius' Grave," he said: "Whether he taught in twenty cities, as Michelet maintains, and whether he was called to the presidency of Harvard College, as Cotton Mather asserts (but which the present writer seriously doubts), does not concern the limits of this article."² The "doubts" soon became certainties, and in an article printed in 1896³ and in a book published in 1900⁴ Mr. Monroe gave his reasons for concluding that the alleged invitation had never been extended to Comenius. These reasons were not considered conclusive by Mr. James H. Blodgett in 1898,⁵ but Professor Hanus was convinced by them and in 1899 retracted his former opinion:

There is a tradition that Comenius, while yet in the full vigor of his maturity, was invited to come to America, and become the president of Harvard College. . . . A diligent search among the archives of Harvard University has failed to confirm this tradition. There are also reasons for doubting Cotton Mather's statement quite apart from the absence of any existing record of the alleged invitation to Comenius.⁶

Disappointing as are the early records of Harvard College, from their meagreness and from the haphazard way in which they were kept, it so happens that they throw important light on the resignation of Dunster and the election of his successor. As both Mr. Hanus and Mr. Monroe content themselves with merely stating that the records do not corroborate Mather's story about Comenius, and as

source or the third source. Nor, apparently, did any European writer allude to the offer previous to 1896. Hence it seems pretty clear that the "other sources" referred to by Mr. Čapek are in reality derived from American sources.

¹ Comenius, the Evangelist of Modern Pedagogy, in *Education for December, 1892*, xiii. 212-219. Mr. Monroe cites Mr. Hanus's article quoted in our text.

² *Journal of Education*, November 15, 1892, xl. 324. These words are repeated in *Monroe's Comenius' School of Infancy, 1896*, p. xiii.

³ *Was Comenius Called to the Presidency of Harvard?* in *Educational Review for November, 1896*, xii. 378-382.

⁴ *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform, 1900*, pp. 78-81.

⁵ *Was Comenius Called to the Presidency of Harvard?* in *Educational Review for November, 1898*, xvi. 391-393.

⁶ *The Permanent Influence of Comenius*, reprinted in *Educational Aims and Educational Values, 1899*, pp. 195-211.

Mather's own account, though correct enough so far as it goes, is not complete, the evidence is here given in full.

Dunster's resignation, addressed "To the worshipful and honored Richard Bellingham, Esq. Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, with the rest of the honored Assistants and Deputies in General Court at Boston now assembled," and dated June 10, 1654, concluded as follows:

Therefore I here resign up the place wherein hitherto I have labored with all my heart, (blessed be the Lord who gave it) serving you and yours. And henceforth (that you in the interim may be provided) I shall be willing to do the best I can for some few weeks or months to continue the work, acting according to the orders prescribed to us; if the society in the interim shall not fall to pieces in our hands; and what advice for the present or for the future I can give for the public good, in this behalf, with all readiness of mind I shall do it, and daily by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, pray the Lord to help and counsel us all, in whom I rest.¹

In the College records, under the same date (June 10, 1654), we read:

m^r Henry Dunster President made a Resignation of his place in writing under his hand & delivered the same to the Overseers of the Colledge, wch being p^rsented unto the Gen^l Court then sitting, The Court made thereupon their Order as followeth.

In Answer to a writing presented to this Court by m^r Henry Dunster, wherin amongst other things therin conteyned, he is pleased to make a resignation of his place as Præsident, This Court doth order that it shall be left to the care & discretion of the Overseers of the Colledge to make provision (in case he persist in his Resolution more then one month & informe the Overseers) for some meet p^rson to carry an end that work for the p^rsent & also to act in whatever necessity should call for untill the next Sessions of this Court, when wee shall be better enabled to settle what will be needfull in all respects with reference to the Colledge: and that the Overseers will be pleased to make returne to this Court at that time of w^t they shall do herein.²

¹ Peirce, History of Harvard University, Appendix, pp. 79-80.

² College Book iii. 17-18. The second paragraph in this entry was doubtless copied from Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 352, or vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 196-197.

At a meeting of the Overseers held October 24, 1654:

M^r Henry Dunster after sundry conferences that had passed between the Overseers & himself made his finall Resignation in these following words.

To the hon^d Magistrates & Rev^d Elders of Harvard Colledge.

J Henry Dunster Præsident of Harvard Colledge: ffor & upon diverse considerations & weighty Reasons me thereunto moving, do relinquish & resigne up my Presidentship into the hands of yo^rselves the hon^d Overseers of the s^d Colledge. Heartily praying God graciously to provide for the s^d Society a suitable supply for the publick weal thereof, & of the whole country

Henry Dunster

This Resignation of M^r Dunsters was voted & consented to by the Overseers the 24th of the 8th 1654.¹

At the same meeting of the Overseers, on October 24, 1654:

It is agreed by the Overseers that the Rev^d m^r Richard Mather and the Rev^d m^r John Norton speak with the Rev^d. m^r Charles Chauncey and as they shall see cause encourage him to accept of an Jnvitation to the Presidentship of the Colledge, in case the Overseers shall give him a call thereto.

The Care and Governement of Harvard Colledge for the present time & untill a President shall be orderly elected and confirmed is committed by the Overseers unto the ffellows of the Colledge.²

At a meeting of the Overseers held November 2, 1654:

m^r Mather and m^r Norton are desired by the Overseers of the Colledge to tender unto the Rev^d m^r Charles Chauncy the place of President, with the Stipend of One hundred pound per annum to be payd out of the Country Treasury: And withall to signify to him, that it is expected and desired that he forbear to disseminate or publish any Tenets conc^rning the necessity of immersion in Baptisme & Celebration of the Lords Supper at Evening, or to oppose the received Doctrine therein.³

The condition having been accepted, "The Rev^d m^r Charls Chauncey was," on November 27, 1654, at a "meeting of the Hon^d &

¹ College Book iii. 18.

² iii. 39.

³ iii. 39.

Rev^d Overseers of Harvard Colledge, at the College Hall in Cambridge," "solemnly inaugurated into the place of President."¹

It thus appears that Dunster's resignation was first presented on June 10, 1654; that it was not immediately accepted; that the Overseers were empowered by the General Court to make provision, in case Dunster persisted in his resolution more than one month, for some "meet person" to carry on the college work, etc.; that on October 24 Dunster, after conferences with the Overseers, made his final resignation, which was accepted on the same day; that on the same day (October 24) the Overseers appointed Richard Mather and John Norton to confer with Chauncy with a view of offering the presidency to him, and also committed the care and government of the College to the Fellows; and that on November 2 the Overseers instructed Mather and Norton to tender the place to Chauncy, who accepted and was inaugurated on November 27. It is obvious, therefore, that if Cotton Mather meant that the presidency was offered to Comenius in 1654—and that is the interpretation always placed on Mather's words²—the statement cannot possibly be true. It is conceivable that immediately after June 10 the Overseers placed themselves in correspondence with Comenius, but there is no evidence that this was done, and Dunster clearly remained in charge of the College until his final resignation on October 24, since it was not until then that the College was committed to the care of the Fellows. Besides, even if Comenius had been written to in June, a reply could hardly have been received before October 24.

But because Comenius could not have been offered the presidency in 1654, must Mather's story therefore be wholly rejected? It could hardly have been invented, and must have had some basis. What was this basis?

¹ College Book iii. 39.

² Is this interpretation a necessary one? As printed, the passage (p. 146, above) appears to have that meaning. It is to be remembered, however, that Mather did not see his work through the press, as it was printed in London, and that many errors in the *Magnalia* are doubtless due to that fact. The single sentence about Comenius is preceded by a sentence about Dunster's resignation and is followed by a sentence about Chauncy's election. Hence the sentence about Comenius is really parenthetical, and, had Mather been able to see proof sheets, might have been placed within parentheses. Both in the *Magnalia* and in the *Ratio Disciplinæ* (quoted on p. 155, below), Mather mentions Sweden, showing that he had in mind Comenius's "diversion" to that country in 1642.

"Comenius," said Mather in 1702, "was indeed agreed with-
all, by our Mr. Winthrop in his Travels through the Low Coun-
tries, to come over into New-England, and Illuminate this Colledge
and Country, in the Quality of a President: But the Solicitations of
the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that Incom-
parable Moravian became not an American." By "Swedish Am-
bassador," Mather apparently meant Count Axel Oxenstiern, who,
born in 1583, became Chancellor in 1611, and died on August 28,
1654. But the passage just quoted is not the only one in which
Mather told the story. A quarter of a century later — to be exact,
in 1726 — he again returned to the subject, using words which
hitherto have escaped notice. Speaking of the churches of New
England, he said:

We will proceed then to Describe the PRACTICES in which they
generally manage and uphold their Principles. And that the Story may
be the less *Inspid*, we will take the leave to *Salt* it now and then with
Interspersed Notes of what we find practised in other Churches; espe-
cially the *Primitive*: . . . Which will be the more easily pardoned, when
'tis remembered that in our *brief Remarks*, we shall a little imitate what
was done in the *RATIO DISCIPLINÆ FRATRUM BOHEMORUM*,¹
written by that Incomparable *Comenius*, who once had resolved upon
coming over, at an Invitation to become President of *Harvard-College*
in this Country, if he had not, by being invited unto *Sueden*, been
diverted from it.²

Here, it will be observed, there is no allusion either to "our Mr.
Winthrop" or to the Low Countries, but the reference to Sweden is
repeated. Now it is known with certainty that in 1642 Comenius,
then in England, was "diverted" to Sweden.

Before pursuing this episode, let us inquire into the identity of
"our Mr. Winthrop," who travelled in the Low Countries. He has
been identified as Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts,³ as Gov-

¹ The work of Comenius published under this title, imitated by Cotton Mather
was between 1664 and 1738, mentioned by four generations of Mathers: see pp.
189-190, below.

² "Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum. A Faithful Account of the
Discipline Professed and Practised; in the Churches of New-England," Boston,
1726, Introduction, pp. 5-6.

³ See p. 148, above.

ernor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut,¹ and as Wait Winthrop,² the son of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut. Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts was never, so far as is known, on the Continent, he came to this country in 1630, he never returned to Europe, and he died in 1649. Wait Winthrop was born on February 27, 1642. Hence those two Winthrops must be eliminated. There can be no reasonable doubt that "our Mr. Winthrop" was Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut.³ Born on February 12, 1606, in 1627 he joined the ill-fated expedition under Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé, and in 1628 and 1629 he travelled on the Continent. Mather says of him:

His *Glad Father* bestowed on him a liberal Education at the University, first of *Cambridge* in *England*, and then of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; and because *Travel* has been esteemed no little Accomplisher of a *Young Gentleman*, he then Accomplished himself by Travelling into *France*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and as far as *Turky* it self; in which places he so improved his Opportunity of Conversing with all sorts of Learned Men, that he returned home equally a Subject of much *Experience*, and of great *Expectation*.⁴

Winthrop was not at Cambridge University,⁵ nor was he, in 1628-1629, either in France or in Germany, though he had been in the former country earlier and was in the latter country in 1642.⁶

¹ See p. 147, above.

² This suggestion, rightly rejected by Mr. Monroe, was made to him by the late Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale (*Educational Review*, xii. 379-380).

³ Hereafter in this paper called either John Winthrop, Jr., or the younger Winthrop, when it is necessary to distinguish him from his father.

⁴ *Magnalia*, 1702, bk. ii. chap. xi. p. 30.

⁵ It was Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts who studied at Cambridge University, though he did not take a degree: see R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, i. 58-59. The Adam Winthrop who matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, at Michaelmas, 1567 (Venn, *Matriculations and Degrees*, 1913, p. 740), was no doubt the father of Governor John Winthrop; Governor John Winthrop matriculated at Trinity at Easter, 1603 (*ibid.*); and Forth Winthrop, a younger brother of John Winthrop, Jr., matriculated at Emmanuel at Easter, 1626 (*ibid.*). All three left without taking degrees. John Winthrop, Jr., and Forth Winthrop were fitted for college at the Free Grammar School at Bury St. Edmund's, the former going to Dublin in 1622 and the latter to Cambridge in 1626. Adam Winthrop was auditor of Trinity College for sixteen or seventeen years, resigning in 1610 (R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, i. 32-33).

⁶ See p. 164, below.

Leaving London about June 11, 1628, he went by sea to Leghorn, thence by sea to Constantinople, thence by sea to Venice, thence by sea to Amsterdam, thence to Flushing, and thence by sea to London, which he reached in August, 1629.¹ Early in 1628 Comenius went to Lissa, Poland, and there remained certainly until 1640.² In 1629 Winthrop was a young man of twenty-three, while Comenius had not yet attained fame; but even if, of which there is no evidence, the two met in that year, obviously nothing could have been said about the presidency of an institution that did not come into existence until seven or eight years later. Two years after his return to England from Holland, Winthrop came to New England, reaching Boston in November, 1631;³ and in New England he remained, with the exception of an occasional trip to Europe, until his death on April 5, 1676. It has been stated that "his public duties obliged him repeatedly to visit England,"⁴ but this is an exaggeration, since

¹ Winthrop Papers, iv. 9-20. In a letter dated July 28, 1629, he wrote:

"I am yesterday safely arrived in this city of Amsterdam. . . . I am heere without acquaintance & our long passage hath eaten out all the money that I receyved at Venice, . . . therefore I pray you to send me a letter of credit from some merchant to some man in Flushing, or Middleborough, . . . because the longer I stay heere the more I shall runn in debt. Therefore I would, as soone as I can receive answeare from you . . . returne with all speede home. . . . If you write to me, I pray conscribe it to be delivered in Flushing at the house of Mr. Henry Kerker, for I purpose, God willing, to goe shortly thither, where I shalbe neere to take my passage upon all occasions" (iv. 18-19).

On August 8, 1629, his aunt Lucy Downing (the wife of Emanuel Downing) addressed a letter as directed (iii. 7). In a letter dated "Aug: Friday, 1629," he said: "I am (God be thanked) yesterday safely arrived in London" (iv. 19); and in his next letter, dated "Lond., Aug. 21, 1629" (iv. 21), he acknowledged having received letters on the previous Wednesday (August 19). Hence he must have reached London on Thursday, August 13 or 20, and obviously could not have gone to Germany.

² My information about Comenius is derived from the following sources: R. H. Quick, *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 1868, pp. 43-67; M. W. Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, 1896, pp. 1-101; W. S. Monroe, *Comenius and the Beginnings of Educational Reform*, 1900, pp. 38-82; Count Lützw, *Comenius's Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, 1901, pp. 11-52; Lützw, *Bohemia, an Historical Sketch*, 1896, pp. 392-416; Lützw, *History of Bohemian Literature*, 1899, pp. 249-253. It is of course possible that Comenius, though living at Lissa from 1628 to 1640, took an unrecorded flying trip to Holland in 1629 or in 1634-1635.

³ J. Winthrop, *Journal*, 1908, i. 70. He came in the *Lyon*, which reached Nantasket November 2.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iv. 3 note.

in the forty-five years he lived in New England he visited Europe only three times, though apparently other trips were contemplated.¹ As he had relatives and friends living in the Low Countries, and as he had already once been there himself, we should naturally expect him to visit them again, and this he certainly did on at least two of his three trips.

Winthrop's first visit was made in 1634-1635. Leaving Boston in October, 1634,² he had an eventful experience, which, under date of October, 1635, his father thus related:

Another providence was in the voyage of Mr. Winthrop, the younger, and Mr. Wilson³ into England, who, returning [to England] in the winter time, in a small and weak ship, bound for Barnstaple, were driven by foul weather upon the coast of Ireland, not known by any in the ship, and were brought, through many desperate dangers, into Galloway,

¹ In a letter to Winthrop dated Salem, February 24, 1651, Emanuel Downing wrote: "Wee heare that Mr. Dampont and Mr. Eaton are going for England. I cannot give much credit thereto, I hope you will not resolve to goe before you give your freinds a visit here" (Winthrop Papers, i. 76).

A document dated October 22, 1670, says: "About y^e peace between y^e *Maquaes* and *Mahicanders*, To leave this in suspense, Untill y^e Certainty of Govern^r *Winthrops* Voyage to *England* bee knowne & the Returne of Mr. Mayo^r from *Albany*" (New York Colonial Documents, xiii. 458). I have found no other allusion to this trip, which certainly was not undertaken. But in 1675 Winthrop did intend to go to England, though the intention was not carried out: see Winthrop Papers, iv. 166-169; Connecticut Colonial Records, ii. 263, 344.

In a letter to Winthrop undated but assigned to "May, 1647," his brother Adam Winthrop said: "Youer letter off the 2 of Desember I receaued, but it had a very longe passage. We were glad to heer of your safe arivall, and that you have bene in health since" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 222). The "very longe passage" might imply that John Winthrop had lately been in England, but actually it means only that he was at Pequot, where he had been granted a plantation and where he was living late in 1646: see Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 71, 160, 241; Winthrop Papers, iv. 38; R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, ii. 356-361. Writing to Winthrop from Ipswich on February 26, 1636, his sister Mary Dudley said: "I am sorry that I shall not see you before you take your journey to Coneticott, but I wish you a prosperous viage" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 65). In those days any trip by sea, however short, was called a "voyage."

² He was present at a court held October 6, 1634 (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 132), but on November 8 his father wrote: "I hope the Lord hath carried you safe to England" (R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, ii. 123).

³ Rev. John Wilson (1588-1667) of Boston.

where they parted, Mr. Winthrop taking his journey over land to Dublin, . . .

Mr. Winthrop went to Dublin, and from thence to Antrim in the north, and came to the house of one Sir John Clotworthy,¹ the evening before the day when divers godly persons were appointed to meet at his house, to confer about their voyage to New England, by whom they were thoroughly informed of all things, and received great encouragement to proceed on their intended course. From thence he passed over into Scotland, and so through the north of England; and all the way he met with persons of quality, whose thoughts were towards New England, who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God.²

The younger Winthrop was in London on July 7, 1635,³ embarked on the *Abigail* on July 10,⁴ and reached Boston about October 6, "with commission," as his father wrote, "from the Lord Say, Lord Brook, and divers other great persons in England, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be governor there."⁵ On this journey he did not, so far as is known, go to the Continent, though he may have done so.⁶ Comenius was living at Lissa at that time, and

¹ In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated (as printed) "Antrim, 5th Ju: 1634," Sir John Clotworthy says that "I shall request y^u, when y^u are freedde from y^e distractions w^{ch} a werisom journey may phapps afford, to consider of these p^ticulars" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 203-204), the particulars relating to those mentioned by Governor John Winthrop, and the letter clearly indicates that John Winthrop, Jr., was then in Europe. As he was in New England in June and July, 1634, it is obvious that the printed date is wrong; and an examination of the original letter shows that it is dated "Antrim, 5th Jn: 1634" — that is, January 5, 1634-5. Clotworthy, afterwards first Viscount Massereene, either knew or was interested in Hartlib, for on April 2, 1647, "Sir John Clotworthy carried to the Lords the vote for Three hundred pounds, out of Haberdasher's Hall, for Mr. Hartlib" (H. Dirck, Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib, p. 12).

² J. Winthrop, Journal, i. 164.

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 482.

⁴ Hotten, Original Lists, p. 100.

⁵ J. Winthrop, Journal, i. 161.

⁶ Not a single letter written by Winthrop during this journey has been preserved. But his movements can be followed fairly well by letters written to him, and from these it would appear that he visited Ireland, Scotland, and England only. In a letter to Winthrop dated Rotterdam, March 7, 1635, his brother-in-law Col. Thomas Reade said: "I cane not chooes but trobell you withe thes feaue leyne, to let you for to vnder stand that I should a bean very glad for to a spoke withe you at London, but the shipes coming a way so sone that I could not inquier you ought (thoe I was at deyveres places to heare of you)" (Winthrop Papers, ii. 113).

certainly was not in England. But even if Winthrop and Comenius met or corresponded, nothing could have been said or written about the presidency of a college that was not founded until 1636.

Winthrop's third visit was made in 1661-1663.¹ He sailed in July, and reached England late in September, 1661.² He signed a document in London on April 7, 1663,³ left there April 9,⁴ and was back in Connecticut in June.⁵ About 1647 Comenius returned to Lissa, but in 1650 settled at Saros-Patak in Hungary, where he remained until 1654, when he once more returned to Lissa. On April 29, 1656, that town was sacked by the Poles, and Comenius's books, writings, and property were destroyed. He himself went to Silesia, then to Frankfort on the Oder, then to Stettin, then to Hamburg, and finally to Amsterdam, where, under the protection of Laurence de Geer, the son of his former patron, he lived from 1656 until his death on November 15, 1670.⁶ Did Winthrop visit the Low Countries

¹ Mr. Monroe says: "Winthrop visited briefly in England during the early months of 1661, and the only reference to Comenius in connection with the names of any of the Winthrops occurs in a letter from Samuel Hartlib written at 'Axe-Yard in Westm. Sept. 3, 1661,' to Governor Winthrop at Hartford, shortly after the latter's return from London" (*Educational Review*, xii. 380-381). Hartlib's letter of September 3 was written not after Winthrop's return from London, but before he had reached London, which, as stated in our text, was in September. Hartlib's letter of September 3 addressed to New England, and another letter of October 9 addressed to Winthrop "Next to the Church in Colman Street," London, are printed in 1 *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xvi. 212-216. And Winthrop's visit was not "during the early months of 1661," but lasted from September, 1661, to April, 1663.

² In a letter to Winthrop dated "Brereton, Cheshire, October the Second, 1661," William Brereton said: "I was very glad to find in our good friend Mr. Hartlib's letter that you were come to London and that you intend to make some stay in England" (1 *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xvi. 215). Evidently, therefore, Winthrop must have reached London in September.

³ Winthrop Papers, iv. 83.

⁴ In a letter to Winthrop dated February 15, 1664, his aunt Lucy Downing said: "Y^{rs} of April 9th 1663 I had, but perceiuing therein y^t you was that day to set out of London to meet y^r ship at y^e Downs, I had noe hopes to recouer any to you" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 58).

⁵ Winthrop Papers, i. 526, 535; 1 *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xvi. 216.

⁶ Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of Comenius*, pp. 62, 70, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89. In a letter to an unknown person dated July 17-27, 1656, John Pell said:

"Five days ago, I received from you a letter dated Dantzic, Junii 17th, containing a letter from Mr. Comenius, dated the 22nd of May, wherein he describes

in 1661-1663? In a letter to Governor Stuyvesant dated June 21, 1661, Winthrop said:

It being my purpose (Deo volente) to make a voyage into Europe, and having information of a good ship that is shortly to saile from New Netherlands thither, I have sent one purposely to know the certainty thereof, & the very vttermost limited period that it may be certaine that ship or ships may stay. I have written of these quæries &

the sad estate of those Protestants that escaped from Lesna, where he, for his own part, besides his writings, lost in money, books, and household stuff, above three thousand reich-dalers, (near seven hundred pounds sterling.) . . . I hear he is sixty-five years old; and, it seems, hath nothing left but the clothes on his back" (in R. Vaughan's Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 1838, ii. 430).

A letter from Comenius dated Stettin, June 14-24, 1656, is printed in Thurloe's State Papers (1742), v. 118. (Cf. C. H. Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, 1909, ii. 244.) Another, dated Amsterdam, September 1, 1656, is printed in Monumenta Germaniæ Paedagogica, 1903, xxvi. 322-323.

In a letter to John Pell dated August 7, 1656, Samuel Hartlib wrote: "I have also received from Mr. Comenius fresh letters dated at Hamburg, . . . Mr Dury has returned to Amsterdam, and promises with all possible expedition to hasten unto us, and it is very like Mr. Comenius will come along with him" (Vaughan, ii. 432, 433). Comenius, however, did not go to England after 1642.

The Rev. Dr. John Pell, whose correspondence is printed in Vaughan's volumes, was unquestionably known to Winthrop, quite possibly as early as 1642. His brother Thomas Pell came to this country about 1635, served as a surgeon in the Pequot war of 1637 and 1638 (Elizabeth H. Schenck, History of Fairfield, 1889, i. 68), is mentioned in a letter written to Winthrop by Theophilus Eaton on January 4, 1656 (Winthrop Papers, ii. 476), and on July 2, 1666, himself wrote a letter to Winthrop (Winthrop Papers, iii. 410). He left his estate to his nephew John Pell, son of Dr. John Pell. In a letter to Lord Brereton, in whose family Dr. Pell was then living, dated October 10, 1670, Winthrop said: "I was at Boston in the Massachusetts colony when M^r John Pell arrived, by whom I had the great favour of your Lordships letter of the 23 of June last. He came into that harbour very opportunely for his advantage in the expedition of his businesse; for M^r Banckes, a neighboare of M^r Pell deceased, & one of those whom he had intrusted wth the estate, was in a vessell of Fairfeild (the place where M^r Pell lived) returning thither & mett the ship, coming in & came back wth M^r John Pell to Boston, where I spake wth them both" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 138; a letter to the same purport from Winthrop to Boyle, dated October 27, 1670, is printed in Boyle's Works, 1772, vi. 581-582). Dr. John Pell was a Fellow of the Royal Society; in 1643 he was at Amsterdam through the influence of Sir William Boswell; and his Idea of Mathematics, written about 1639, was sent by Hartlib to Mersennes and Descartes and published in 1650 in John Durie's Reformed Library Keeper: see the notice of Pell in the Dictionary of National Biography. Pell and Sir William Boswell were in correspondence as early as 1640 (Vaughan, Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, ii. 379, 380). For John Durie, see p. 172 note 5, below.

other matters necessary for my accomodation for such a designe, to my worthy friend, Capt: Willet. I am bold to request this favour of your Hon^r, that I may obtaine liberty to take passage in y^t ship.¹

In his reply, dated New Amsterdam, July 5, 1661,² Stuyvesant wrote:

By the bearer, and letters delivered vnto mee, I see your honnors inclination for Europe, which giues mee hoopcs off your honnors longe desyred and expected presencie. Vpon sight off your honnors letter, I sent jmmediately for the masters of the ships, and desiered off them the vttermost period of there stay. There answers was, that they all three weare reddy to sett sayle in companie one with another, desyreinge and expectinge only our lettrs off dispatch. Afterwards, I did speacke pryvately with the master and marchant of the biggest ship called the Trowe, which I thincke will bee most convenient for your honor; soe in regard off the ship M^r, which speackes good English. His answer was that hee was reddy to sett sayle this weecke; but for your honnors sake hee woulde stay vntill the middle or latter end off the followinge weecke, provyded that I woulde detainne the other ships soe longe, which I did promise.³

In a letter dated July 23, 1663, Thomas Willett reminded Winthrop that "ate yowar going for Holland, thar was a parshall of wampon sente, and allso som lefte bey yowar selfe when you went awaey."⁴ The presumption that Winthrop sailed from New Amsterdam to Holland in 1661 is made a certainty by the account of "Issues debtor to Powder delivered from the first May, A^o 1661, to the last of November, as appears by the Gunner's Delivery Book," which shows that one hundred and fifty-nine pounds of powder were expended at the time of his departure:⁵

¹ Winthrop Papers, iv. 73.

² It should be borne in mind that Stuyvesant's dates are no doubt New Style, while Winthrop's are Old Style, and that hence an allowance of ten days must be made. Thus June 21 Old Style, was July 1 New Style; while July 5 and July 23 New Style, were June 25 and July 13 Old Style.

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 391.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iii. 396.

⁵ New York Colonial Documents, ii. 460. On January 27, 1662, the Directors of the Dutch West India Company wrote a letter to Stuyvesant describing an "interview between gov. Winthrop of Connecticut and the directors at Amsterdam" (Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts, Dutch, 1865, i. 297). Winthrop's expected arrival at Amsterdam was thus announced in the Haerlemse

July 18.	To powder, 27 lbs., to salute Governor Winthrop, coming here from the Fresh river ¹ to proceed, in the <i>Trou</i> , to Fatherland, . . .	27
21.	To powder, 18 lbs., to salute the ships <i>Arent</i> , <i>Hope</i> and <i>Trouw</i> , when they sailed hence for Fatherland,	18
	To powder, 50 lbs., issued to the Burgomasters for the Burghers who were under arms to escort Governor Winthrop,	50
23.	To powder, 10 lbs., issued to the inhabitants of Breuckelen to salute Governor Stuyvesant, who escorted the above named Governor Winthrop,	10
	To powder, 25 lbs., to fire at the above named Winthrop's departure	25
	To powder, 29 lbs., issued to 58 soldiers, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per man, who also escorted the above named Winthrop,	29

That Winthrop and Comenius met in September, 1661, is possible, even probable; but even if they did, no formal offer of the presidency of Harvard could have been made to Comenius, since there was no vacancy in the office from the inauguration of Chauncy on November 27, 1654, to his death on February 19, 1672, fifteen months after the decease of Comenius. Moreover, in 1661 Winthrop had no official connection with Harvard, while Comenius was then a man of nearly seventy.²

There remains to be considered Winthrop's second visit in 1641-1643. Leaving Boston August 3, 1641,³ he was a fortnight in reaching Newfoundland, where he spent three weeks, and then sailed for Bristol, arriving there on September 28, 1641.⁴ Returning, he left England in May, 1643, but, owing to untoward circumstances, did not reach Boston until about September.⁵

Saterdaeghse Courant of September 17, 1661: "Amsterdam, September 16. On Monday last arrived in the Texel the ship *Arent*, from New-Netherlands, laden with tobacco and some peltry. The ship *Trou* and the ship *Klock* lay ready to sail, [intending] daily to depart, and may now be daily expected, having been seen, as is supposed, near Fairhill. In the *Trou* comes passenger Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, together with the Rev. Mr. Stone, as agents to his Majesty of England" (2 New York Historical Society Collections, i. 456). Thus Winthrop reached Amsterdam soon after Monday, September 2-12, 1661.

¹ The Dutch name for the Connecticut River.

² Comenius was born March 28, 1592.

³ J. Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 32.

⁴ Winthrop Papers, iv. 35.

⁵ See Winthrop's petition, undated, in which he says that he sailed in May, 1643, but was "kept above six weekes vpon the coast of England, and by reason thereof was above 14 weekes before he could attaine the port in New England" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 36-37). At the session beginning September 7, 1643, the

Besides being the son of the Governor of Massachusetts, the younger Winthrop, then thirty-five years of age, was already a man of note on his own account; he had gone to England on public business in 1634-1635, returning with a commission from Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, and "divers other great persons in England, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be governor there;" he was in correspondence with many celebrated persons in Europe; and during his stay in Europe from September, 1641, to May, 1643, he must have met many distinguished men, though unfortunately only one of his letters during that long period has been preserved.¹ Moreover, he then was, had been for some years before, and continued to be for some years afterwards, a magistrate of Massachusetts.² Finally, it can be shown that in the autumn of 1642 he visited both Germany and the Low Countries — a fact of which we should be ignorant but for the accident that the goods and books he shipped from Hamburg to Amsterdam were captured by a Dunkirker. In a letter dated at the Hague, November 1, 1642, Sir William Boswell, British resident at that place, wrote to Sir Henry De Vic, British agent at Brussels, as follows:

There is one M^r John Wentthrop, a Suff: gentle^m. and student in Physiq., who coming lately frō Hamburg into these p̄ts, by land, embarq^d vpon a shippe of y^t towne, bownd for Am̄strdam, a chest, conteyning in it apparell, books, & other n̄cies appertaining soly to him, & his personall vse, no way contrebanded, w^{ch} a ship of Dunikerk (or other place of Flandres) toke at sea, & haue brought into y^t or other port of Flandres. Whereupon my earnest suit vnto you is to lend M^r Wentthrope yo^r aduise & assistance, as shalbe requisit, for y^e recouery of his s^d goods, for w^{ch} himself (if possible) or frend, whom he employes for this end, will wait vpō you.³

General Court voted to pay his bill of £50, "except what is already paid" (Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 47).

¹ This is the letter, dated Bristol, October 8, 1641, cited above, p. 10 note 2.

² He was elected a magistrate in 1632, and for the years 1634-1649, both included: see Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 95, 118, 145, 174, 195, 228, 256, 288, 319, ii. 33, 66, 97, 146, 187, 238, 265, iii. 2, 9, 61, 104, 121, 146. His friends in England did not fail to note this honor. "I understand," wrote Francis Kirby on March 26, 1633, "that you are an Assistant and so have a voice in the weighty affaires of that Commonwealth" (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ix. 260).

³ Winthrop Papers, iii. 323.

It has already been said that Comenius was in England in 1642. What took him there can best be told in his own words:

After the *Pansophiæ Prodromus* had been published and dispersed through various kingdoms of Europe, many of the learned approved of the object and plan of the work, but despaired of its ever being accomplished by one man alone, and therefore advised that a college of learned men should be instituted to carry it into effect. Mr. S. Hartlib, who had forwarded the publication of the *Pansophiæ Prodromus* in England,¹ laboured earnestly in this matter, and endeavoured, by every possible means, to bring together for this purpose a number of men of intellectual activity. And at length, having found one or two, he invited me also, with many very strong entreaties. As my friends consented to my departure [from Lissa], I proceeded to London, and arrived there on the day of the autumnal equinox, 1641, and I then learned that I had been called thither by an order of Parliament. But in consequence of the King's having gone to Scotland, the Parliament had been dismissed for three months, and consequently I had to winter in London, my friends in the meantime examining the "Apparatus Philosophicus," small though it was at that time. . . . At length Parliament having assembled, and my presence being known, I was commanded to wait until after some important business having been transacted, a Commission should be issued to certain wise and learned men, from amongst themselves, to hear me, and be informed of my plan. As an earnest, moreover, of their intentions, they communicated to me their purpose to assign to us a college with revenues, whence some men of learning and industry, selected from any nation, might be honourably sustained, either for a certain number of years, or in perpetuity. The Savoy in London, and beyond London, Winchester, and again near the city, Chelsea, were severally mentioned, and inventories of the latter, and of its revenues, were communicated to me. So that nothing seemed more certain than that the design of the great Verulam to open a Universal College of all nations, devoted solely to the advancement of the sciences was now in the way of being carried into effect. But a rumour that Ireland was in a state of commotion, and that more than 200,000 of the English there had been slaughtered in one night, the sudden departure of the King from London, and the clear indications that a most cruel war was on the point of breaking out, threw all these plans into confusion, and compelled me and my friends to hasten our return.²

¹ This had been published by Hartlib at London in 1639.

² R. H. Quick, *Essays on Educational Reformers*, 1868, pp. 47-49.

The object of Comenius's visit to England having failed, "his position was unpleasant. On the strength of Hartlib's invitation and assurance that funds would be forthcoming, he had given up his post in Lissa. Hopes of universal colleges and pecuniary support were now vanishing into thin air, and he found himself with baffled expectations, a wife and daughters to support, and a rapidly emptying purse."¹ At this time he is said, but perhaps on uncertain authority, to have been asked by Marin Mersenne² to go to France, but declined. But an invitation to go to Sweden, given by Ludvig de Geer, a Dutch merchant then living at Norrköping, Sweden, was accepted. Leaving London in June, 1642, Comenius, apparently by way of Holland and Germany, reached Norrköping in August, and was almost at once summoned to Stockholm by Chancellor Oxenstiern, after which he took up his residence at Elbing in Prussia, which he reached in November.³ Though there is no proof that Comenius and Winthrop met in 1641-1642, yet attention should be called to certain coincidences. They both reached England in the same month — September, 1641. The former had come on the invitation of Samuel Hartlib, who later was a personal friend and correspondent of Winthrop's and may well have been so in 1642.⁴ Both remained in England some seven months, both were in Holland and Germany in the summer or autumn of 1642.⁵ Indeed, it

¹ Keatinge, *The Great Didactic of Comenius*, pp. 47-48.

² Mersenne is mentioned in letters of Sir Charles Cavendish to Dr. Pell, February 5, 1642 (Vaughan, *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, ii. 346); of Sir William Petty to Dr. Pell, November 8, 1645 (id. ii. 367-368); and of Boyle to Hartlib, March 19, May 8, 1647 (Boyle's Works, 1772, vol. i. pp. xxxviii, xli).

³ According to Keatinge (*The Great Didactic of Comenius*, pp. 49, 50-51, 53), Comenius apparently returned from Stockholm to Norrköping, then made a preliminary visit to Elbing, then went to Lissa "to take final leave of his scholastic and clerical duties," etc., and finally settled at Elbing in November.

⁴ See pp. 171-174, below.

⁵ John Humfrey left Boston in the autumn of 1641 and in a letter to Winthrop dated Weymouth, England, July 21, 1642, said: "You are a thousand times well-come home, . . . I beseech you if you see the wind chops about contrarie, & hold there, come downe, I will beare your charges of the Post, & you shall doe no worse (but as much better as you will & I can helpe it) then I. Indeede I thinke you should have beene with us before. . . . Good deare loving Sagamore, let us have your companie if possible" (Winthrop Papers, i. 18-19). This would seem to indicate that Winthrop was in London in July, 1642. On the other hand,

is quite within the bounds of possibility that they were travelling companions for a portion of Comenius's journey from London to Norrköping.

Before the decision of Comenius to accept the invitation to Sweden was reached, may not Winthrop have suggested to Comenius his coming to America? No formal offer of the presidency of Harvard could have been made, because no vacancy occurred in the office from the time of Dunster's appointment on August 27, 1640, to his resignation on October 24, 1654. But this does not preclude the possibility that the matter was discussed between Comenius and Winthrop, the latter suggesting that when a vacancy did occur the place might be offered to the former. It has been objected that Winthrop had no authority to make an offer. "I fail to find," says Mr. Monroe, "that he had anything to do with the management of Harvard College."¹ This objection is not so serious as it seems. The first board of Overseers, appointed on November 20, 1637, consisted of six magistrates, among them Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, and six ministers; and on September 27, 1642, the board was reorganized so as to include the magistrates and the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns. Thus from that date until 1650, the younger Winthrop was entitled as a magistrate² to take his seat as an Overseer, though whether he ever did so is not known. But it is to be remembered that in the early days of the College, the legislature constantly took a hand in the management of its affairs,³ even to the ignoring of the College charter itself. By that instrument, dated May 31, 1650, the Corporation consisted of a President, a Treasurer, and five Fellows, and the Corporation was authorized "to elect a new President, Fellows, or Treasurer, so oft, and from time to time, as any of the said persons

Winthrop's letter to Humfrey announcing his own arrival in England may have been written weeks before its receipt by Humfrey. All we know for certain of Winthrop's movements in the summer and autumn of 1642 is that he was in Germany and the Low Countries in October and November.

¹ Educational Review, xii. 380.

² See p. 164 note 2, above.

³ On October 18, 1654, the General Court (Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 204) appointed as Overseers John Allin of Dedham, John Norton of Boston, Samuel Whiting of Lynn, and Thomas Cobbet of Lynn, though none of them were eligible under the act of 1642.

shall die or be removed." Nevertheless, as we have already seen, Dunster's final resignation in 1654 was made to the Overseers, the selection and the election of his successor was placed by the General Court wholly in the hands of the Overseers, and even Chauncy's successor in 1672 may have been elected not by the Corporation but by the Overseers.¹ Indeed, nearly a quarter of a century went by before the Corporation exercised what now is its unquestioned right "to elect a new President." Thus the influence of the younger Winthrop as a magistrate and as the son of the Governor of Massachusetts would have been much greater than as a Fellow, had he held that position, since for many years the Fellows were practically merely Tutors.

The pastime of picking flaws in Cotton Mather's statements is too easy to afford much amusement. The passage under discussion, it seems to me, is distinctly one the basis for which is to be found in a tradition. A college boy of thirteen when the younger Winthrop died in 1676, Mather of course could not have derived the information from Winthrop himself. But Mather was an intimate friend of the younger Winthrop's sons John and Wait and of Wait's son John,² preaching a funeral sermon on each of the two former (in 1707 and 1717 respectively³); through his father Increase Mather and his grandfather Richard Mather, the latter of whom became an Overseer in 1642 and took an active part in the selection of Dunster's successor in 1654, he must have been saturated with all the gossip pertaining to Harvard College; and he appears to have made rather a specialty of the traditions of the Winthrop family. This was readily acknowledged by the late Robert C. Winthrop, who in 1864 wrote: "Now, Cotton Mather was certainly in the way of knowing something about the facts which he states in regard to the Winthrop

¹ See p. 367, below.

² In a letter to John Winthrop, F.R.S., dated December 10, 1707, Cotton Mather said: "If there be a Family in the World, which I have endeavoured alwayes to treat with all possible service and Honour, tis the *Winthropian*. If there be a person in that Family, for whose welfare, I have even travailed with Agony tis *You*; whereof the walls of a certain *Bibliothecula* in the World, are but some of the many witnesses" (Mather Papers, p. 405).

³ These sermons, after the fashion of their kind, contain no biographical data of value.

Family. . . . The family traditions, at least, must thus have been abundantly familiar to him."¹

I have endeavored to set forth, of course merely as a conjecture, a possible explanation of Mather's story that may be plausible. It should be added that another suggestion has been made in a question recently asked me by a correspondent. "Do you not think," he writes, "that the projected college at New Haven was the one really concerned?" Sporadic efforts to found a college at New Haven were made between 1648 and about 1660,² after which nothing further is heard of the affair for many years.³ Cotton Mather was not born until 1663, and it is doubtful in the extreme whether he had ever heard of these abortive efforts. At all events, there can be no possible doubt that in his mind it was Harvard College over which Comenius was asked to preside. His exact words are, "and Illuminate *this* Colledge" — that is, Harvard College, of which (and which alone) he was writing the history,⁴ which was the only college in existence not only in New England but in this country⁵ during the

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, i. 12. With regard to one story, told by Mather about the younger Winthrop, Mr. Winthrop, though pointing out errors in detail, concludes that "doubtless it must have had some foundation in fact" (i. 27). And of the same story the late Frederick J. Kingsbury said: "Of late years, however, it has become the fashion to throw doubt on anything related by Cotton Mather. But it should be remembered that Mather did not write as a historian but as a collector of interesting events which in any way had come to his knowledge illustrating the life of his times. Doubtless Mather had heard this story and there is no reason why it should not be true" (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1898, xii. 306).

² See New Haven Colonial Records, i. 376, ii. 141, 141 note, 370; B. Trumbull, History of Connecticut, 1797, i. 305-306, 566-571; Palfrey, History of New England, i. 237, 373; Hollister, History of Connecticut, ii. 567-568, 577; E. E. Atwater, History of the Colony of New Haven, pp. 271-285; B. C. Steiner, History of Guilford and Madison, pp. 394-395.

³ Yale College was incorporated October 19, 1701, but was not established in New Haven until October, 1716 (F. B. Dexter, Historical Papers, 1918, pp. 366-381). For the controversy that occurred over the will of Governor Hopkins, see Charles P. Bowditch's "Account of the Trust administered by the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins" (1889).

⁴ The title-page of Book IV reads in part as follows: "The Fourth Book of the New-English History. Containing An Account of the University, From whence the Churches of New-England, (and many other Churches) have been Illuminated." And the heading on p. 125 reads, "The History of Harvard-Colledge." In 1726 Mather specifically stated "Harvard College:" see p. 155, above.

⁵ William and Mary College was founded in 1693.

lifetime of the younger Winthrop, and the only one in New England at the time when Mather's passage¹ was written.² In 1634-1635 and in 1641-1643 Winthrop could hardly have invited Comenius to be head of an institution which was not thought of until 1648. John Davenport was one of those who pushed the scheme in 1660, at which time Winthrop was Governor of Connecticut³ and must have known about his friend's cherished plan. But in 1661 Comenius was, as already stated, a man of nearly seventy.

Three other questions may be asked, the replies to which will not be without interest. First, was Comenius personally known to any of his New England contemporaries? So far as direct evidence is concerned, this question must be answered in the negative.⁴ Never-

¹ Though not published until 1702, the *Magnalia* was finished on August 20, 1697, and sent to London on June 8, 1700 (C. Mather, *Diary*, i. 226, 229, 255, 352-353).

² Even had Mather spoken merely of "the College," there could be no possible doubt of his meaning Harvard. In his *Life of Theophilus Eaton*, Mather says: "His Eldest Son he maintained at the *Colledge* until he proceeded *Master of Arts*" (*Magnalia*, bk. ii. chap. ix, § 9, p. 28), the allusion being to Samuel Eaton, who graduated at Harvard in 1649. In 1690 was published Mather's "The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated. . . . In a Thanksgiving Sermon: Delivered on Decemb. 19, 1689." The epistle dedicatory to Sir Henry Ashurst contains the words: "And Sir, . . . you will pardon it if One born in that Countrey, and a Son of the *Colledge* there, take the Liberty to acquaint you, *That we are not insensible,*" etc.

In September, 1644, the Rev. Thomas Shepard presented to the Commissioners of the United Colonies a proposition "for the mayntenance of poore Schollers at the Colledg at Cambridge," whereby "euery famly (w^{ch} is able and willing to giue) throughout the plantaco^{ns} to giue yearely but the fourth part of a bushell of Corne, or somethinge equivalent therevnto" (*Plymouth Colony Records*, ix. 20-21). This proposition was recommended by the Commissioners and was favorably acted on by various of the "plantations." On November 11, 1644, the New Haven Colony "fully approved off" "the propositi^o for the releife of poore schollars att the colledge att Cambridge;" on March 16, 1646, "It was propownded that the free gift of corne to the colledge might be continued as it was the last year;" and thereafter are various allusions to "corne to the colledge" or to "the colledge corne," where "the college" meant not the proposed college at New Haven but Harvard College (*New Haven Colonial Records*, i. 149, 210, 225, 311, 318, 354, 357, 382). See also *Connecticut Colonial Records*, i. 112, 139, 250.

³ Winthrop was elected Governor of Connecticut in 1657 and in 1659-1675, both included. He resigned in 1667, 1670, and 1675 (*Winthrop Papers*, iv. 121, 137, 168-169), but his resignation was not accepted in the two former years (*Connecticut Colonial Records*, ii. 62, 64, 145).

⁴ In a matter of this sort, negative evidence must be received with caution.

theless, it is not only possible but probable that Comenius was known personally to the younger Winthrop, and he may well have met, especially during his residence at Amsterdam from 1656 to 1670, other New Englanders.

Secondly, did Comenius correspond with any of his New England contemporaries?¹ It was Samuel Hartlib who had invited Comenius to come to England in 1641, and less than twenty years later Hartlib and Winthrop were on terms of intimate friendship. How long had this friendship lasted? On April 15, 1661 — or several months before he went to England in that year — Winthrop wrote to Thomas Lake: "I make bold wth you to transmitt by your hand to Colonell Temple those books . . . w^{ch} you will receive heerwth (want of fitt artists heere must be my excuse that they appeare in that dessolate forme); they were sent me before winter, from the great intelligence of Europe, M^r Samuell Hartleb, a Germā gentlemā, as conteinig something of novelty."² In a letter to William (afterwards Lord) Brereton dated November 6, 1663, Winthrop spoke of some proposals "w^{ch} I had formerly hinted to M^r Hartlib in a letter frō home"³ — that is, before his departure for England in 1661. In a letter to Winthrop dated September 3, 1661, Hartlib, evidently not knowing that his correspondent would arrive in London that very month,⁴ said: "Our Publique Miseries and my privat condition (to speak of no Particulars at present) are such that yet I must answer briefly your most loving Letters of Octob. 25, 1660 & May 10, 1661. I heartily thank you again for y^e barrel of Cramburies w^{ch} was very safely delivered to mee. The present of the Indian Corne I have not received to this day, but professe mys. highly obliged to your generous courtesy."⁵ In a letter to Winthrop dated August 11, 1660, John Davenport said:

It has already been pointed out that very few letters written by the younger Winthrop during his three trips to Europe have been preserved, and in those extant there is not the slightest allusion to his having been in Holland: yet we know with certainty that he was there in 1642 and 1661.

¹ It need scarcely be pointed out that in those days, as in these, New England scholars had an extensive correspondence with foreign scholars whom they never met, a notable instance being Cotton Mather himself, who never left America.

² Winthrop Papers, iv. 73-74.

³ iv. 86.

⁴ See p. 160, above.

⁵ 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 212.

My Brother Hooke¹ is valetudinarius, . . . His letter I send inclosed, with some others, and one from M^r Hartlib, who thinckes you live in this plantacon, and hath sent a large wrighting unsealed, that I might peruse it, which though I want time to read over, I choose rather to send it to you, then to detain it. He hath sent also sundry wrightings, and bookes, some to your selfe, some to me. But I cannot heare of them, in the pinnases, which makes me doubt, they are stayed in the Bay, at M^r Usher's,² which I the rather suspect, because M^r Hartlib, and brother Hooke certifie me that M^r Dury³ also hath sent some papers and bookes to the 2 Teaching Elders at Boston, and to me.⁴

Thus Winthrop and Hartlib were in correspondence before August, 1660, in which year Winthrop wrote "most loving letters," clearly showing that the two men must have been friends of long standing. In a letter to Winthrop dated August 19, 1659, Davenport wrote:

I shall onely, at present, add that since my wrighting to you, I have received letters & bookes, & written papers from my ancient and honoured freinds Mr. Hartlib, & Mr. Durie,⁵ wherein I finde sundry rarities

¹ Rev. William Hook (1600-1677).

² Hezekiah Usher.

³ This name is printed "Drury," but an examination of the original letter shows that Davenport plainly wrote "Dury." See the next note but one.

⁴ 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 38.

⁵ The Rev. John Durie (or Dury), though he never came to this country, was well known to the New England clergy, and may well have been known personally to Winthrop, — if so, he would be another link connecting Winthrop and Hartlib. ("This day Mrs. Dury with her husband went from hence to . . . Chester; from whence they intend to give a visit to Sir Richard Saltonstall at Wrexham:" Hartlib to Dr. Keffler, August 10, 1658, in Boyle's Works, 1772, vi. 113.) The Rev. John Norton of Boston died in 1663, and the next year was published at our Cambridge "Three Choice and Profitable Sermons," to which was appended "A Copy of the Letter Returned by the Ministers of New-England to M^r. John Dury about his Pacification. Faithfully Translated out of the Original Manuscript written in Latine, By the Reverend Author of the Three former Sermons." The preface, which mentions "*the late Synod 1662*," is signed by forty-four persons — President Chauncy, four Fellows of Harvard College, and thirty-nine ministers. Mather says: "The Three Sermons thus Published . . . are accompanied with the Translation of a Letter, which was composed in Latin by Mr. Norton, and subscribed by more than Forty of the Ministers, on this Occasion. The famous *John Dury* having from the Year 1635. been most indifatingly labouring for a *Pacification*, between the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, communicated his Design to the Ministers of *New-England*, requesting their Concurrence and Countenance unto his Generous Undertaking. In answer to *Him*, this Letter was written" (Magnalia, bk. iii. pt. i. chap. ii. § 25, p. 39).

of inventions, & projects for common good, of sundry kindes, which I long for an opportunitie to communicate to your selfe, might your first leisure give us an occasion of personal discourse together. They are too many to be transmitted unto you by passengers, & yet such as, I beleive, will afford singular contentment to your publick spirit, & probably you will finde some particularities among them, which may be advantagious to your private proffit, in the improvement of your Fishers Island, &c.¹

And on December 6, 1659, Davenport again referred to the books mentioned in the letter just quoted:

Norton's original letter was written before 1661 (in which year the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, one of the signers, died), and in 1738 was in the possession of Samuel Mather. Extracts from it were quoted by Cotton Mather in the *Magnalia* (see the reference above), and it was reprinted in full by Samuel Mather in his *Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England* (1738), pp. 151-166.

Davenport called Durie his "ancient and honored friend." They had doubtless met in Holland in 1633-1636. Durie was the son of Robert Durie, who in 1609 became the first pastor of the English Presbyterian Church at Leyden; on August 3, 1611, at the age of twelve, he was admitted a student at Leyden University (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 58); after the death of his father in 1616 he returned to England; from 1628 to 1633 he was in Germany and Holland; on December 17, 1633, he was in London (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634*, p. 329); in 1634 he was in Germany, then again in England, and in July, 1635, he started for the Continent and "laboured for a year in the Netherlands:" see the notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Durie's daughter married Henry Oldenburg, a friend of the younger Winthrop's. Davenport took refuge in November, 1633, in Holland, where he remained until late in 1636 or early in 1637, and reached Boston in June of the latter year: see the notices of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in F. B. Dexter's *Historical Papers* (1918), pp. 31-58. In 1738 Samuel Mather wrote: "I might fitly subjoin to the Letter foregoing [Norton's letter to Durie] another Letter of the famous Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT Batchelor of Divinity, who was Minister of *New Haven* and afterwards Pastor of the first Church in *Boston New-England*, to the pious DURIE upon the same Occasion that the foregoing Letter was written; which Letter was signed by the Ministers of *Connecticut Colony*. . . . But, lest the Appendix should swell too much upon us, I consent to the dropping it. *N. B.* As I signified concerning the former Letter; so I would advertize concerning this, that if any Gentleman or others desire to see the *Original Copy* of it, I have it at their Service" (*Apology, etc.*, p. 166). Portions of Davenport's letter were quoted by Cotton Mather in the *Magnalia*, bk. iii. pt. i. chap. iv. § 9, pp. 54-55.

It may be added that Davenport, while in Holland, corresponded with Sir William Boswell: see *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xlii. 228, 234; and cf. p. 164, above.

¹ Winthrop Papers, ii. 504-505.

The booke concerning bees, which you desired, I now send you, by John Palmer,¹ & with it 3 others, viz., 1. An Office of Address, 2. An Invention of Engines of Motion, 3. A Discourse for divisions & setting out of Landes in the best forme, &c. These 3 are small bookes in 4^{to}: I shall add unto them a 4th booke in 8^o, called Chymical, Medicinal, & Chirurgical Addresses. These are a few of many more which are sent to me. I hoped for an opportunity of shewing them to you here, & shall reserve them for you til a good opportunity.²

The "booke concerning bees," which Winthrop "desired," was no doubt Hartlib's Reformed Common-Wealth of Bees, and the other four books were all edited or published by him.³

Hence in 1659 Hartlib was an "ancient and honored friend" of Davenport's. May he not also have been an "ancient and honored friend" of Winthrop's? Various facts indicate that such a conclusion is highly probable. Winthrop himself spoke of Hartlib as "the great intelligence of Europe," a position acquired by him soon after his coming from Germany to England about 1628; and "no person," as our associate Professor Kittredge puts it in a letter to me, of "John Winthrop, Jr.'s scientific interests, family position, and character, *if in England at all*, could have escaped Hartlib's acquaintance." It will be recalled that in 1642 Sir William Boswell characterized Winthrop not as an American colonist, not as a New Englander, not even as the son of the Governor of Massachusetts, but as "a Suffolk gentleman and *student in physic*."⁴ Winthrop's studies had begun at an early age. In 1628 he was giving medical advice;⁵ before he left England in 1631 he was corresponding with Edward Howes on medical and chemical subjects;⁶ immediately on his arrival here he was requested to send over some "Indian creatures alive;"⁷ by 1636 he was known to the Kefflers (or Kufflers), who were correspondents

¹ That is, John Palmer was the bearer of the books.

² Winthrop Papers, ii. 509.

³ See H. Dirck, Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib (1865), pp. 58, 59, 60, 65, 77, 82, 83.

⁴ See p. 164, above.

⁵ Winthrop Papers, iv. 7.

⁶ Winthrop Papers, i. 468-472.

⁷ Henry Jacie to Winthrop, January 9, 1632 (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 235).

of Hartlib;¹ and before 1641 he was well known to Dr. Robert Child,² who was also a personal friend of Hartlib's.³ In a letter to Winthrop dated January 31, 1655, Sir Kenelm Digby, who knew all the scientific men in England, declared that he would not let "the fauourable conueyance of M^r Downing . . . escape me without saluting you, to reuiue me in y^r remembrance, and to wittnesse that j retaine faithfully the respects j haue euer had for you since j haue had the happinesse to be acquainted wth y^r great worth," hoped that "att my coming into England,⁴ j should haue had the comfort of finding you here," urged Winthrop "to delay no further time in making y^r owne country happy by returning to it," and expressed his "great afféc-tion."⁵ Obviously, the friendship here had been of long standing.

¹ Winthrop Papers, ii. 17, 18. A letter from Abraham Keffler (written in 1639) is printed in Winthrop Papers, iii. 270-271; and one from Dr. John Sibert Keffler (written in 1659) in iii. 382-383. Both men are referred to in Digby's letter of January 26, 1656 (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 16), and the latter in Winthrop's letter of November 12, 1668 (Winthrop Papers, iv. 136). Mr. Kittredge, to whom I am indebted for information about the Kefflers, thinks that Winthrop must have met Abraham Keffler in the Rochelle expedition, in which both men were engaged — Keffler as an expert in explosives (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1628-1629, pp. 148, 161; 1629-1631, pp. 212, 215). In 1638 the latter received a grant of denization in England (id. 1638-1639, p. 176).

² In a letter undated but written on or shortly after May 2, 1641, Child acknowledged letters from Winthrop, and wished to be remembered to "yo^r father, M^r Dudley, M^r Bellingham, M^r Humphreys, M^r Cotton, M^r Wilson, M^r Peters, unto whome I am much beholdē" (Winthrop Papers, iii. 149, 151), showing that he was well acquainted with many of the chief men in New England before Winthrop's visit to Europe in 1641. He had first come to this country between 1638 and 1641 (see p. 7, above). If, as Savage thinks (3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 247; Genealogical Dictionary, i. 379), the Robert Child who matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, at Easter, 1628, and proceeded A. B. in 1631-2 and A. M. in 1635 (Venn, *Matriculations and Degrees*, p. 147), was our Dr. Robert Child, then the latter and Forth Winthrop (the brother of John Winthrop, Jr.) may well have met at Cambridge; for Forth Winthrop entered Emmanuel College in 1626 (see p. 156 note 5, above) and remained there during 1627 and a part of 1628. From a letter to his brother undated but written in the spring of 1628 (Winthrop Papers, iv. 192-195), it appears that Forth Winthrop was still at Emmanuel.

³ In a passage published in 1655 but written as early as 1653 or 1654, Child calls Winthrop "our" — that is, his and Hartlib's — friend: see p. 112, above.

⁴ Digby had returned to England for a time in January, 1654: see T. Longueville, *Life of Sir Kenelm Digby* (1896), p. 278. He was at Hartlib's house on May 14, 1654 (Boyle's Works, 1772, vi. 89).

⁵ 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 5-6. In a letter to Winthrop

Another early link between Winthrop and Hartlib is found in George Stirk, afterwards famous in Europe under the name of Starkey. When sent here from Bermuda, he was committed to the special care of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts;¹ he graduated from Harvard College in 1646; he was practising medicine in Boston in 1647 and 1648;² while here he doubtless made the acquaintance of Dr. Robert Child through the younger Winthrop; on going to England he met Robert Boyle certainly as early as 1652, perhaps in 1651,³ having been presented to him by Child;⁴ almost immediately after his arrival in England Stirk, as Cardilucius testifies,⁵ made Hartlib's acquaintance (which is also acknowledged by Hartlib in letters written in 1654);⁶ and in 1655 Stirk contributed two letters to Hartlib's Reformed Common-Wealth of Bees.⁷

In his letter to Winthrop of September 3, 1661, Hartlib said: "Mr. Comenius is continually diverted by particular Controversies of Socinians & others from his main Pansophical Work, but some weekes agoe hee wrote that hee would no more engage hims. in any Particular Controversy, but would refer y^{em} all to his Pansophical Worke."⁸

dated March 3, 1655, Hugh Peters said that "Sir Kenelme Digby . . . longs for you here" (Winthrop Papers, i. 116). It is worth noting that in a letter dated Leghorn, July 14, 1628, Winthrop wrote: "there is newes . . . from Marseiles that the Duke de Guise is come to sea with 4 gallioones & 12 sailes of gallies, it is supposed to meete with Sir Chillam Digby, who hath taken 3 or 4 Frenchmen, hath beene at Algiers, & redceded some 20 or 30 Christian slaves, hath mand his prizes, & is gone againe towards the bottom" (Winthrop Papers, iv. 10).

¹ Winthrop Papers, iii. 279.

² iii. 353, 359.

³ George Starkey's Pill Vindicated.

⁴ Stirk's dedication, to Boyle, of *Pyrotechny Asserted*, published in 1658.

⁵ Cardilucius calls Hartlib his "good friend:" "Und hat ihn [a certain Latin tract] Herr *G.S.* [i.e. George Stirk] vom Authore mit aus West-Indien bracht, und solchen alsofort meinem guten Freunde Herrn *S.H.* übergeben, von dannen ich ihn etliche Jahr hernach bekommen" (*Magnalia Medico-Chymica Continuata*, 1680, Vorbericht, p. 4).

⁶ Hartlib to Boyle, February 28, 1654, December 8, 1657, in Boyle's Works, vi. 78-83, 97.

⁷ For this information about Stirk I am again indebted to Mr. Kittredge.

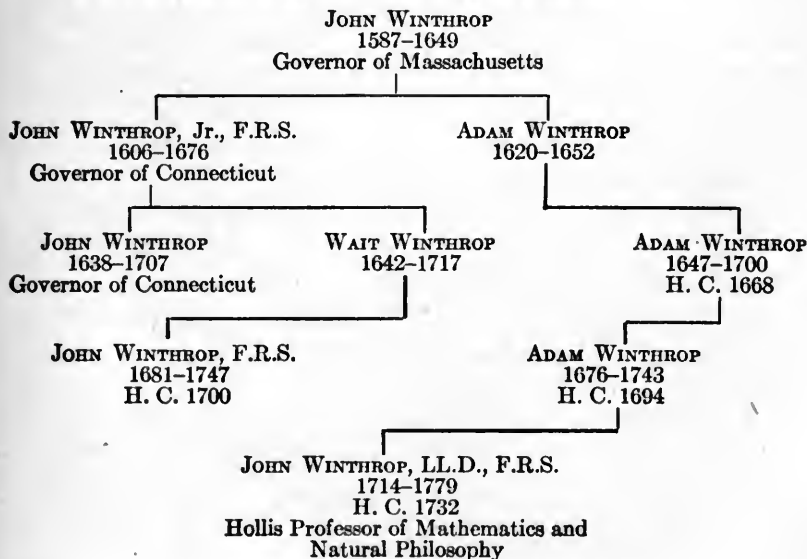
⁸ 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 213. This is the only reference to Comenius in either the Proceedings or the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His name does not occur in A. P. C. Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* (1907). Mr. Monroe says (*Educational Review*, xii. 381) that "the only reference to Comenius in connection with the

It is reasonable to suppose that Comenius and Winthrop met in 1661, for both were then at Amsterdam, the former was famous, while the latter was the most distinguished American then living; and it is probable in the extreme that they met in 1642. But however that may be, we are not left to conjecture as to the fact of Winthrop's having corresponded with Comenius as well as with Hartlib. The John Winthrop who graduated from Harvard College in 1700 is usually, to distinguish him from others of the same name, called John Winthrop, F.R.S., though no fewer than three John Winthrops were Fellows of the Royal Society.¹ The Harvard graduate of 1700 was the son of Wait Winthrop, who was the son of John Winthrop, Jr.² In 1741 was published the fortieth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, with a dedication written by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, then Secretary of the Royal Society. This dedication "To the

names of any of the Winthrops occurs" in the letter quoted in our text, but there is one other important reference: see p. 178, below.

¹ These were John Winthrop, Jr.; John Winthrop, who graduated at Harvard in 1700; and John Winthrop, who graduated at Harvard in 1732. The last is usually called Professor John Winthrop, but sometimes John Winthrop, LL.D., because he was the first person to receive (in 1773) that degree from Harvard College: see our Publications, vii. 321-329.

² The following table shows the relationships at a glance:



Honourable John Winthrop, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society, &c. &c.," reads in part as follows:

SIR,

PERSONAL Friendships and Favours are become the trite Topics of Dedications and public Addresses, as if it concerned the Public to have upon Record the mutual Regard, private Persons may have to each other: Therefore without expatiating here, so far as Gratitude might lead me, on the many Favours you have honour'd me with, I shall confine myself to the Relation *Your Illustrious Grandfather* had, and *Yourself* have, to the ROYAL SOCIETY.

No sooner were the Sciences revived at the Beginning of the last Century, and that Natural Knowledge began to be thought a Study worthy a real Philosopher, but the ingenious JOHN WINTHROP, Esq; your Grandfather, distinguish'd himself in the highest Rank of learned Men, by the early Acquaintance he contracted with the most Eminent not only at Home, but in his Travels all over *Europe*, by the strict Correspondence he afterwards cultivated with them, and by several learned Pieces he composed in Natural Philosophy; which indeed his innate Modesty would not suffer him to publish immediately, and when prevailed on by Friends to impart some of them to the Public, he concealed his Name, not being solicitous of the Reputation they might reflect on their Author.¹

And in a footnote to the words "the strict Correspondence he afterwards cultivated," Dr. Mortimer adds: "*As might appear from the great Treasure of curious Letters on various learned Subjects still in your Hands, E. gr. from . . . Ds. Comenius. . . . Many of which you have given me the Pleasure of perusing; besides a great Number which it would take up too much Room here to recite.*" Dr. Mortimer's list of Winthrop's correspondents contains the names of no less than eighty-two distinguished persons, among them Boyle, Lord Brooke, Clarendon, Charles II, Cromwell, Sir Kenelm Digby, Galileo, Glauber, Hartlib, van Helmont, Kepler, Dr. J. S. Kuffeler,² Milton, Sir Isaac Newton, Oldenburg, Dr. Pell,³ Prince Rupert, Lord Saye and Sele, Dr. George Starkie, and Sir Christopher Wren. As Galileo died in

¹ My attention was called to this dedication by Mr. Kittredge.

² See p. 175 note 1, above.

³ See p. 161, above.

1642, van Helmont in 1644, and Kepler in 1630, Winthrop must have begun early to correspond with celebrated men.

The succession of the Winthrop papers was presumably from Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts to his son, John Winthrop, Jr.; from John Winthrop, Jr., to his son, John Winthrop; from the latter John Winthrop, who had no son, to his brother Wait Winthrop; and from Wait Winthrop to his son, John Winthrop, F.R.S. If the letter or letters that passed between the younger John Winthrop and Comenius — letters which were in existence in 1741, which very likely had been seen by Dr. Mortimer, and which may perfectly well have been seen by Mather — are ever recovered, who knows but what they will corroborate Cotton Mather's discredited story at least to the extent of proving that a discussion or correspondence took place between Winthrop and Comenius in regard to the latter's coming to this country and becoming President of Harvard when a vacancy occurred?

Thirdly, to what extent were Comenius's works known to New England scholars and used in New England schools and colleges in the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century? Did his fame, as was asserted in 1892, reach "even far distant America"?² On this point there is an abundance of evidence. "Though Comenius himself did not come to America," remarks Mr. Hanus, "his text-books, especially the *Janua*, did come. They seem to have been used as text-books here in Massachusetts; perhaps in Harvard College itself, more probably in the Boston Latin School."³ It was not the text-books alone, however, that early found their way across the Atlantic. John Harvard, as is well known, came to New England in 1637 and died in 1638, leaving half of his estate and all of his books to the infant College. In the list of the latter is "Anchorani porta linguarum."⁴ Our associate Mr. Potter⁵ thinks that this was undoubtedly the copy of Comenius's *Porta Linguarum Trilinguis* pub-

¹ It is only fair to add that Tycho Brahe, whose name occurs in the list, died in 1601, and hence that letters from him which were in the possession of John Winthrop, F.R.S., could not have been addressed to John Winthrop, Jr.

² See p. 148, above.

³ *Educational Aims and Educational Values*, p. 209.

⁴ *College Book* i. 264.

⁵ See p. 195, below.

lished at London in 1631 and listed in the Catalogue printed in 1723, where (as in the above list) it is entered under the name of the editor, Joannes Anchoranus.¹ Thus within two years after the founding of the College and within one year after its actual beginning, the College owned at least one of Comenius's works. The Catalogue of 1723 gives three other books by Comenius,² but of course it is impossible to say how long they had been in the library. In the inventory of the estate of William Tyng, made on May 25, 1653, is found a copy of "Janua Linguarum."³ The Rev. Samuel Lee, who died in 1691 and whose library was sold in Boston in 1693, owned two of Comenius's works — "Comenij Physica" and "History of the Bohemian Persecution."⁴ In his letter to Winthrop of September 3, 1661, which, it will be remembered, contained an allusion to Comenius,⁵ Hartlib said:

I beseech you to remember my most hearty respects & services to that Reverend & most pretious Servant of God Mr. Davinport, to whom I cannot write for the present, but have sent him by these ships a smal Packet directed to his name with a Book or two of the Bohemian Ch-Government, & some Prophetical Papers, w^{ch} were sent to mee from my deare friend Mr. Dury,⁶ who is now at Amsterdam . . . The fore-said Booke is called — *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis Disciplinæq. ac Obedientiæ In Ecclesia recte constituta vel constituenda. Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis. Cum præmissa Ordinis ac Disciplinæ in Ecclesiis F. F. Bohem. Usitate Descriptione.*⁷

This book by Comenius was published at Amsterdam in 1660. A copy of the same book was bought by Increase Mather in London, was sent to his father in January, 1661, and is now owned by the

¹ Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Collegij Harvardini (1723), p. 67.

² Janua Linguarum Reserata, 2d edition, Lissa, 1632; Janua Linguarum Gr. & Lat., Amsterdam, 1642; Janua Linguarum Trilinguis, London, 1662 (Catalogus, p. 74).

³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxx. 432. This reference came to me from Mr. Thomas G. Wright.

⁴ The Library of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee (1693), pp. 11, 13. The History of the Bohemian Persecution, London, 1650, was a translation of Comenius's *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ*, published in 1648.

⁵ See p. 176, above.

⁶ See p. 172 note 5, above.

⁷ 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 212, 213.

American Antiquarian Society.¹ It bears on a fly-leaf the following inscription:²

Reverendo Patri suo D.
 Richardo Mathew
 Rectori Collegii
 Norwicheensis
 Doctoris

Dei filius - duo non indig-
 nior alter

Comenius Mathew
 Calce non solus.

Londoni Jani
 18. 1660

¹ In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xx. 322, the title-page is said to be wanting and the title is wrongly given — a mistake due to the fact that the book is in two parts, separately paged, and the title-page is bound in the wrong place. There being some doubt as to the identity of the book, Mr. Brigham kindly sent it to me for my inspection.

A translation of Comenius's *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis*, etc., was published in London in 1661 under the title of *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, etc. There is a copy in the Yale University Library, but with no clues to ownership.

² To those who have struggled with Increase Mather's small and difficult handwriting, the inscription will seem surprisingly large and legible. The Massa-

Many books by Comenius have found their way to American libraries, some of which are worthy of notice.¹ Several were owned by different members of the Mather family.² In the Boston Athe-

chusetts Historical Society owns a copy of the Bible printed at London in 1599, one of the fly-leaves of which is nearly filled with memoranda in the hand of Increase Mather. First comes the signature "Crescentius Mather;" then the words "I was married y^e 6 day of y^e 1 moneth being y^e fifth day of ye week 166½;" then other entries coming down as late as 1710. The signature at the top is nearly as large as that of the facsimile, after which the hand dwindles in size.

With regard to the words "cœlū non solū," found in the inscription, Mr. Kittredge writes me: "Horace says, 'Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt,' and this became so proverbial that 'caelum non animum' by itself was an intelligible motto. I take it that 'caelum non solum' imitates this. 'I have changed climate (or clime), but am still an Englishman, not having changed my *natale solum*, since New England is really England.'"

¹ I have examined those owned by the Boston Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library, the Congregational Library, the Harvard College Library, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. Our associate Mr. Brigham has sent information about those owned by the American Antiquarian Society. The late Mr. Thomas G. Wright of New Haven, at my request, kindly examined those in the Yale University Library. Some of the copies contain notes or signatures not without interest — showing, for instance, that the books were apparently used at the English universities — but which have no bearing on the question under discussion.

Professor Hanus describes (*Educational Review*, iii. 235 note; *Educational Aims and Educational Values*, p. 209 note) several, but by no means all, of the copies in the Harvard College Library. In an article, quoted by Mr. Hanus, on "Boston as an Educational Centre," the late Arthur Gilman, speaking of Comenius, said:

"The connection of the great pioneer among pedagogical reformers with Boston is not fanciful, though it may at first sight appear so. The writer has before him a copy of the 'Gate of Languages,' printed in London in 1670. Fifty years after its publication it was the property of the writer's great-grandfather, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1724. Following the family line, it belonged in 1813 to one of the writer's uncles, who graduated from Phillips Academy, at Exeter, in that year, and went out of Harvard a member of the Class of 1818. It seems to have been a text-book in the college, and there are other worn and stained copies in the library" (*Christian Union*, July 4, 1891, xliv. 53 note).

Mr. Gilman's relatives were the Rev. Nicholas Gilman (1708-1748, H. C. 1724), who "went to the Latin School at Newburyport, at eight years of age," and Joseph Gilman (1792-1823, H. C. 1818): see A. Gilman, *Gilman Family* (1869), pp. 55-64, 166.

² Two of these, besides the *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis*, etc., are now in the American Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*, xx. 322). The Massachusetts Historical Society owns a volume once the property of Cotton Mather containing *Physicæ ad Lumen divinum Reformatæ Synopsis* (1643), *Pansophiæ Prodromus*

næum is a copy of *Historia Revelationum* (1659), which has three signatures on the title-page: "J G Percival," who of course was James Gates Percival; "Richard Salters," which is the autograph of the Rev. Richard Salter who graduated at Harvard College in 1739; and "John Norton," here reproduced:¹

John Norton

The Boston Public Library has a copy of *Janua Linguarum Trilinguis* (London, 1685) which has on the title-page the words "Ex libris Thomæ Berry 1710;" and on the first page of the *Præfatio*, in the hand of Judge Sewall, the words "August. 17. 1703;" and also the signatures "Iosephum Sevallum," "John Rogers," and "Josephum Sevallum" again, the last two with a line through each. Thomas Berry of the Class of 1685 married Margaret Rogers, daughter of President John Rogers (H. C. 1649), and their son Thomas Berry graduated at Harvard in 1712.² Perhaps the book belonged to the elder Thomas Berry and passed from him to his brother-in-law John Rogers of the Class of 1684, or to the latter's son, John Rogers of the Class of 1711.³ Joseph Sewall entered the Boston Public Latin School in 1696⁴ and graduated at Harvard in 1707. Judge Sewall describes how he took his son to Cambridge:

Second-day of the week, Aug^t 16, 1703. In the Afternoon I had Joseph in a Calash from Charlestown to Cambridge, carried only his little Trunk with us with a few Books and Linen; Went into Hall and heard Mr. Willard⁵ expound the 123 [Psalm]. 'Tis the first exercise

(1644), and *De Sermonis Latini Studio* (1644); and also a copy of *De Zelo Sine scientia & charitate, Admonitio Fraternalis J. A. Comenii ad D. Samuelem Marecium* (1659), which once belonged to Cotton Mather or to his son Samuel Mather or to both.

¹ This is not the autograph either of the Rev. John Norton of Boston or of his nephew the Rev. John Norton (H. C. 1671) of Hingham, and I have been unable to identify the writer.

² Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, iii. 334-335. After the death of the elder Thomas Berry in 1695, his widow Margaret married in 1697 John Leverett (H. C. 1680).

³ Or, of course, the book may originally have belonged to John Rogers of the Class of 1684, and then have come into the possession of the elder Thomas Berry.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School* (1886), p. 41.

⁵ Rev. Samuel Willard (H. C. 1659), then Vice-President of the College.

of this [College] year, and the first time of Joseph's going to prayer in the Hall.

Aug^t 23. 1703. I went to Cambridge to see Joseph settled in his study, help'd to open his Chest.¹

The Judge may have taken the book out to Joseph on August 23.

A copy in the Yale University Library of *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (London, 1672) has on a fly-leaf the words "Timothy Stevens his Book, Anno 1681." It is a fair guess that this was the Rev. Timothy Stevens who graduated at Harvard in the Class of 1687 and settled at Glastonbury, Connecticut.²

In the same library is a copy of "A Reformation of Schooles, Designed in two excellent Treatises: . . . translated into English, and published by Samuel Hartlib, for the general good of this Nation" (London, 1642), on a fly-leaf of which are the words "Sam^l Andrews, his booke." This may well have belonged to the Rev. Samuel Andrew who graduated at Harvard in 1681, settled at Milford, Connecticut, and became Rector of Yale College;³ or to his son Samuel Andrew, who graduated at Yale in 1711;⁴ or to the latter's son Samuel Andrew, who graduated at Yale in 1739 and to whom his grandfather in 1717 left by will his library.⁵

It is the Harvard College Library, however, that owns the largest number of books by Comenius, most of which were given to the College soon after the destruction of the library by fire in 1764.⁶ The chief benefactors in this line were the Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead of the Class of 1700, and Middlecott Cooke of the Class of 1723. The latter was a son of Elisha Cooke (H. C. 1697), who was a son of Elisha Cooke (H. C. 1657), who was a son of Richard Cooke.

¹ Diary, ii. 87.

² Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, iii. 386-388.

³ Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, ii. 457-462.

⁴ F. B. Dexter, *Yale Annals and Biographies*, i. 101-102.

⁵ i. 621.

⁶ Besides the books mentioned in the text, the fly-leaf at the end of a copy of *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (London, 1673) contains the entry: "This belonged to Middlecott Cooke the G. Son of the immortal Elisha Cooke & son of Elisha Cooke, a family that guided Mass. for 80 years by their virtue and patriotism. One of the best of Books in itself considered." This book was "The Gift of Edward Soley, of Charlestown, Senior Sophister. 1827," who graduated in 1828.

A copy of *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (London, 1650) has on a fly-leaf "Elisha Cooke his Booke;" in another place "Elkanah Cooke his B;" on another fly-leaf "Elkanah Cooke;" and finally, on the same fly-leaf as the last, the following:

ELKANAH
COOKE
HIS BOOKE
(1650)

Elkanah Cooke was a younger brother of the first Elisha Cooke, and no doubt the book was used by them at the Boston Public Latin School.¹ Born in 1640 or 1641,² Elkanah Cooke signed documents in 1656, 1658, and 1660,³ after which all trace of him is lost, and, as he is not mentioned in the will of his father, dated December 18, 1673,⁴ the presumption is that he died young.

Among the many Comenius books given by the Rev. John Barnard is a copy of *Physicæ ad Lumen divinum Reformatæ Synopsis* (Amsterdam, 1645), on the fly-leaves of which are written "John Barnard Ejus Liber Anno Domini 1693;" and "John Barnard His Book Anno Dom 1696;" and also the following:

John Barnard
Ejus Liber
1693

John
Swift.

¹ The name of Elkanah Cooke is not found in the Catalogue (1886) of the School, but the early records are very defective. The two Elisha Cookes and Middlecott Cooke are entered under the years 1646, 1686, and 1712, as probable scholars (pp. 40, 41, 43).

² New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 78; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 445, 449; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ix. 10.

³ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 277, 353, xxxi. 105; Suffolk Deeds, iii. 413.

⁴ Suffolk Probate Files, no. 670.

John Barnard entered the Boston Public Latin School in 1689,¹ and graduated at Harvard in the Class of 1700. John Swift graduated at Harvard in 1697.

On a fly-leaf at the beginning of a copy of *Janua Aurea Linguarum* (Amsterdam, 1649) is inscribed:

Davenport: S^r these are to entreat you to step up to Swans study and drink a glass of ale

So I rest yours to serve

J^N^o PHILLIPS

"From the Quinquennial Catalogue," remarks Mr. Hanus, "it appears that John Phillips was a member of the class of 1735, John Davenport [who graduated in 1721] was a tutor from 1728 to 1732, and Josiah Swan was a member of the class of 1733. If these are the worthies named on the fly-leaf it looks as if the freshman was induced to ask the tutor to step up to the junior's study for liquid refreshments. Those must have been happy times!"

On fly-leaves at the end of the same book is written:

Joel Jacoomis
is my owner

Joell J. a roomie his Books.
Joell Jacoomis his Books

We have here what is perhaps the only extant autograph² of an Indian student at Harvard College in the seventeenth century — a student, moreover, of whom, oddly enough, the younger Winthrop himself gave a very interesting account. In a letter to Robert Boyle dated November 3, 1663, Winthrop wrote:

I make bold to send heere inclosed a kind of Rarity, the first perhaps that your honor hath seene of that sort from such hands: it is two papers of latin composed by two Indians now scollars in the Colledge in this Country, & the writing is wth their owne hands. If your hon^r shall

¹ Catalogue (1886), p. 41.

² The names of "Joel Jacoomis" and "Caleb Chesecheamuck" are attached as witnesses to a deposition dated January 20, 1664, in Massachusetts Archives, lix. 186; but that document is a copy, and hence the names are not autographs.

judge it worth the notice of the Gentlemē of the hon^{ble} Corporation¹ & y^e Royall Society, you may be pleased to give y^m a view of it. Possibly as a novelty of that kind it may be acceptable, being a reall fruit of that hopefull worke that is begū amongst them, and therewth may please to give me leave to have my humble service presented to them, testifying thus much that I received them of those Indians out of their owne hands, & had ready answers frō them in latin to many questions that I propounded to them in y^t language, & heard them both expresse severall sentences in Greeke also. I doubt not but those honorable *fautores Scientiarū* will gladly receive the intelligence of such *vestigia doctrinæ* in this Wildernesse amongst such a barbarous people: I humbly crave your excuse for deteining your hon^r with these Indian matters, it is but fit once this being y^e first of such kind y^t has beene represented from this remote p^{te} of y^e world, otherwise should not have presumed upon your patience.²

The two Indians whose exercises were thought worthy of being sent to the Royal Society, though apparently not hitherto identified, were unquestionably Caleb Cheeshahteumuck and Joel Jacoomis, both of the Class of 1665. The former duly graduated, being the only Indian whose name adorns the Quinquennial Catalogue, though by that fatality which seemed to pursue the educated Indians he died of consumption the following year; while Joel met with a tragic death shortly before the Commencement at which he was to have graduated. Their story, as written by Daniel Gookin in 1674, is worth repeating:

At the island of Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, about the year 1649, one of the first Indians that embraced the christian religion on that island, named Hiacoomes³ who is living at this day, and a principal

¹ Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, now known as the New England Company, of which Boyle was then Governor. For the many names by which this society has been called, see our Publications, vi. 180 note 2.

² 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 218-219. It is also printed, with slight differences, in Winthrop Papers, iv. 84-85.

³ Cotton Mather speaks of, this Indian, calling him "I-a-coomes" (*Magnalia*, bk. vi. chap. vi. sect. ii, p. 53). Elsewhere he is called "Hiacombs," "Hiacoms," "Iacomes," "Jacomes," "Jacoms," and "Sacomas" (*Plymouth Colony Records*, x. 167, 210, 245, 262, 277, 405, 405 note). Cf. p. 260, below.

It will be observed that Joel spells his name "J:acoomis," and "Jacomis." In the list of temporary students at Harvard College printed in our Publications

teacher among them, and is a grave and serious christian, and hath had a great blessing since upon his posterity; for his sons and his daughters are pious, and one, if not more of his sons, teachers to them; and his eldest son, called Joel, of whom we shall speak afterwards, was bred a scholar at Cambridge in New-England, and was not only a good and diligent student, but a pious man, — though he was taken away by death, before he came to maturity. . . .

There was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, notable, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. . . .

I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the college at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other, Caleb; both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning, that he should, within a few months, have taken his first degree of bachelor of art in the college. He took a voyage to Martha's Vineyard to visit his father and kindred, a little before the commencement; but upon his return back in a vessel, with other passengers and mariners, suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket; where the bark was found put on shore; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murdered by some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards.¹ Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge. I knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell.² I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent

(xvii. 285 note), the name appears as "Jacoms," that being the form found in a monitor's bill of the period: see 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 403-408; F. B. Dexter, Historical Papers, pp. 1-5.

¹ In a document dated May 11, 1665, Edward Rawson said: "there are eight Indian youths, one whereof is in the colledg, & ready to comence batchiler of art, besides another, in the like capacity, a few months since, wth seuerall English, was murdered by the Indians at Nantucket" (Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 198).

² Cambridge.

student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation.

The other called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art at Cambridge in New-England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physick; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days.¹

Finally, the New York Society Library owns two of Comenius's books which no doubt were once in the possession of the younger Winthrop — indeed, may possibly have been given to him by Comenius himself. These are *Physicæ ad Lumen divinum Reformatae Synopsis* (Amsterdam, 1645), and *Janua Linguarum* (London, 1652).²

Nor were the scholars of New England content with merely buying the works of Comenius or with using them at school or college, — they also studied them and quoted them in their own books. Thus in "A Defence of the Answer and Arguments of the Synod Met at Boston in the Year 1662. Concerning The Subject of Baptism and Consociation of Churches," published at our Cambridge in 1664, Richard Mather more than once cited Comenius's *Ratio Disciplinæ*.³ In his *Discourse Concerning the Subject of Baptisme*, published at Cambridge in 1675, Increase Mather wrote:

¹ Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 154-155, 172, 173. For Caleb, see also Sibley, Harvard Graduates, ii. 201-204.

² Alphabetical and Analytical Catalogue of the New York Society Library (1850), p. 494, to which my attention was called by Mr. Wright. The so-called Winthrop Library is catalogued on pp. 491-505, there being 269 titles. "*This Ancient and Curious Collection of Books was presented by the late Francis B. Winthrop, Esq; they were the property of his distinguished ancestor, John Winthrop, the Founder of Connecticut*" (p. 491). This statement is not strictly accurate, for I have noted at least fifteen books which were not published until after the death of John Winthrop, Jr. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that the two books in question did belong to the younger Winthrop, though Mr. F. B. Bigelow (the librarian) kindly informs me that "The two volumes of Comenius contain no mss. notes."

³ Pp. 20, 28.

n Ratio ordin.
Fratr. Bohem. p.
71.

As for those pure Churches, which (*n*) for a long time flourished in *Bohemia*, *Comenius* tesifyeth concerning them, that (*disciplina subjacent omnes a sine ad Infantem*) even Children as well as others were under discipline.¹

How Cotton Mather in a book published in 1726 imitated in his title the same work by Comenius has already been pointed out.² And in 1738 Samuel Mather cited the same work.³

Whatever may be thought of the views expressed in this paper, at least there can be no doubt that the fame of Comenius did indeed reach "even far distant America."

MR. ALFRED C. POTTER made the following communication:

CATALOGUE OF JOHN HARVARD'S LIBRARY

In the Record Book of Harvard College known as College Book No. I there occurs on pages 264-258 a list of the books bequeathed to the College by John Harvard.⁴ This list, formerly erroneously supposed to be in the handwriting of President Dunster, bears the following heading:

Catalogus Librorū quos dedit Dominus ^{Harvardus} _{Hervertus} Collegij
hujus Patronus.

The change from "Hervertus" to "Harvardus" shows a curious uncertainty in the mind of the writer as to at least the Latin form of the benefactor's name. The list comprises 250 entries, each numbered in pencil in a later hand. These are very brief, usually confined to a single line, but on the other hand often including several works by an author and occasionally books by more than one author. The entries are made usually under the author but sometimes under the title, with no attempt at uniformity. The arrangement is alpha-

¹ P. 29. In some preliminary words "To the Reader," Mather said: "*The Judicious Reader will remember that this was written . . . in America; where I could not by any means come by the sight of some Books more fully discovering the practice of Antiquity respecting the controverted Question. Yet such as I had, I have spared no pains in revolving.*"

² See p. 155, above.

³ Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England, p. 174,

⁴ See our Publications, xv. 158-166.

betical only under the first letter. The nature of many of the entries would indicate that the binder's titles were used, and some of the errors make at least plausible the suggestion that the list was taken down by dictation.

Some years ago our colleague Mr. Andrew McF. Davis printed this list, with identification of many of the baffling titles.¹ But for his excellent pioneer work the present writer would never have undertaken the task of compiling a catalogue of John Harvard's library. The Catalogue of the College Library published in 1723² has been one of the main sources of identification, for it is a fairly safe assumption that if a title given in the Harvard list reappears in this Catalogue it is the book and edition that John Harvard owned. Rather over half of the titles have thus been found. Unfortunately, this Catalogue gives only the briefest of titles, often hard to recognize owing to abbreviation, and has many misprints, especially in the dates. Beyond these sources, the usual library catalogues and bibliographies have been used, e.g., the catalogues of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Trinity College (Dublin), the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the bibliographies of Lowndes, Watt, Jöcher, etc. And occasionally some bookseller's catalogue would by chance furnish a clue to a cryptic title. But there still remain some forty titles that are either wholly unidentified or whose identification is uncertain. Some of these are from entries that are so vague as to render any attempt to discover the book out of the question: see "Christianity" (no. 58), "H" (no. 15), and "N. Test. Lat." (no. 157). Others, "Chareus in Epist." (no. 61), or "Household Phys." (no. 104), ought to be found, but so far have eluded my researches.

The size of Harvard's library has been variously estimated. Quincy³ said there were 260 volumes; Mr. Davis in 1888⁴ gave the number as "evidently over 300," but twenty years later revised his figures and said there were 373 volumes.⁵ This confusion arises partly from counting titles rather than volumes and partly from the

¹ A few Notes concerning the Records of Harvard College. Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 27, 1888, pp. 7-13.

² *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ Collegij Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiæ in Nova Anglia.* Bostoni Nov-Anglorum: MDCCXXIII.

³ *History of Harvard University* (1840), i. 10.

⁴ A few Notes, etc., p. 6.

⁵ *John Harvard's Life in America*, in our Publications, xii. 33 n.

uncertainty in the list itself. A count made from the present attempt at a catalogue shows that there were 400 volumes, representing 329 titles.

But one, or at most two, of John Harvard's books escaped the fire that destroyed the Library in 1764: Downname's *Christian Warfare against the Devill, World and Flesh* (no. 78), and, possibly, the *English Statutes of 1587* (no. 69). But many of the others have been replaced from time to time, until now the Library (including the Andover-Harvard Theological Library) has over sixty per cent of the identified titles. Attempts have been made of recent years to pick up the rest, but without much success. Lists have been sent the rounds of the English booksellers with only meagre results. One dealer told me he recognized many of the titles as those of books he had sold for waste paper. Of the books now represented in the Library, 111 are the same editions that Harvard had and 85 are in other but contemporary editions.

A few words may be given to the general character of the books as revealed by the catalogue. Nearly three-quarters of the collection is theological. About half of these consist of biblical commentary, about equally divided between the Old and the New Testaments, and mainly in Latin. While there are a number of volumes of sermons, there is comparatively little of religious controversy. The works of several Jesuit writers stand out among those of Puritan divines. The classics are well represented, — often, rather curiously, in English translations, as Chapman's *Homer*, Holland's *Pliny*, and North's *Plutarch*. There are a number of grammars and dictionaries, Greek, Hebrew, and English, and half a dozen books of extracts, or phrases, as Ocland's *Anglorum Prælia*, La Primaudaye's *French Academy*, and Peacham's *Garden of Eloquence*. These last are probably among the books of Harvard's schoolboy days. English literature and history find scanty place in this library, — Bacon's *Essays* and the poems of Quarles and Wither representing the former, and Camden's *Remaines* and a tract on the *Plague* and another on the *Gunpowder Plot* (see nos. 132 and 158) covering the latter field. There is some science, some scholastic philosophy, and several medical books. A few books on logic and two on law are also to be found in the collection. It is worth noting that 86 books, or over one-fourth of the whole library, were printed in or after 1630.

CATALOGUE¹

1 Ambrosij Dictionariū.

CALEPINUS, AMBROSIIUS. Dictionarium undecim linguarum.
Ed. 7. Basileæ: 1627. f°. (Cat. 1723)

There were many other editions. H. C. L. has Basileæ, n. d, 2 v. f°.

2 Antonius & Gralerus in Senecā.

SENECA. L. Annæi Senecæ philosophi et M. A. Senecæ rhetoris
quæ extant opera. Parisiis: 1619. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The "Antonius" in the List probably stands for M. Antonius Muretus, and the "Gralerus" is intended for Gruterus. Both of these commentators were among the editors of the edition of Seneca noted above from the Catalogue of 1723, and it seems at least probable that this is the work meant by the compiler of the List.

3 Abernethyes physick for the soule.

ABERNETHY, JOHN. *A christian and heavenly treatise, containing physicke for the soule. 3d ed. London: 1630. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

Entered twice in the List, — under both author and title: see no. 185.

4 Analysis Apocalypseως.

GRASERUS, CONRADUS. Plaga regia, hoc est Commentarium in Apocalypsin Sancti Johannis. Tiguri: 1600. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

This identification is not certain.

5 Anglorū prælia.

OCLAND, CHRISTOPHER. *Anglorum prælia. Londini: 1582. 16°. (Cat. 1723)

This work was appointed by Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council to be received and taught in every grammar and free-school within the kingdom, "for the remouing of such lasciuious poets as are commonly reade and taught in the said grammar schooles."

¹ The following catalogue is arranged in the order of the original List, and the first line of each entry reproduces the original *verbatim*. Then follow the fuller titles as far as found, with any necessary notes.

Where a title has been found in the printed Catalogue of 1723, it is indicated by the words "Cat. 1723" after the entry.

When the same edition of any work is now in the Harvard Library, an asterisk precedes the title. If the book is now in the Library, but in a different edition, the facts are given in a note.

6 Aquinatis Opa. Conclusiones.

AQUINAS, St. THOMAS. Opera omnia. Venetiis: 1593. 17 v. f°. (Cat. 1723)

This is entered twice in the List: see no. 232.

AQUINAS, St. THOMAS. Totius summæ conclusiones. Lugduni: 1613. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has edition of 1622.

7 Aynsworts workes.

AINSWORTH, HENRY. *Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalms, and the Song of Songs, or Canticles. London: 1627. 3 pts. in 1 v. f°. (Cat. 1723)

Each part has a separate title-page, dated 1626, which is the date given in the Catalogue of 1723.

8 Amesij Theologiæ Medulla. De Cons: In Epistolas Petrj. contra Armin: Bellarminus Enervatus.

AMES, WILLIAM. *Medulla theologiæ. Amstelodami. n. d. (Cat. 1723)

AMES, WILLIAM. *De conscientia, libri quinque. Amstelodami: 1630. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

AMES, WILLIAM. *Utriusque Epistolæ divi Petri Apostoli explicatio analytica. Amstelodami: 1635. 12°.

There was also an edition of 1625. The Catalogue of 1723 gives one of the date of 1650.

AMES, WILLIAM. Coronis ad collationem Hagiensium, qua argumenta pastorum Hollandiæ adversus remonstrantium quinque articulos de divine prædestinatione. Lugd. Bat. 1618. 4°.

This is probably the work meant by the brief entry in the List "Contra Armin." There were also editions of 1628 and 1630. The Catalogue of 1723 quotes one of 1650. H. C. L. has edition of 1664.

AMES, WILLIAM. *Bellarminus enervatus. 3d ed. 4 tom. in 2. Oxoniæ: 1629. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

9 Augustinj meditationes. Opa.

AUGUSTINE, Saint. Meditationes. Colonia: 1614. 12°.

There were also editions of 1631, etc. The work does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

AUGUSTINE, Saint. Opera. Paris: 1635-37. 11 vols. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of Basel, 1556. 10 v. f°.

10 Alstedij Physica Harmonia. Compendiū Theologiæ.

ALSTED, JOHANN HEINRICH. *Physica harmonica*. Herbornæ: 1616. 12°.

This title, although clearly indicated in the List, does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, which gives his *Logicæ systema harmonicum*, 1628.

ALSTED, JOHANN HEINRICH. *Compendium theologicum*. Hanovix: 1624. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

11 Apeius in Nov. Testam^t.

I have found no writer whose name resembles "Apeius." It has been suggested that it is an error for Alexander Alesius, author of several commentaries on different books of the New Testament. He does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

12 Anatomy Arminianisme.

DU MOULIN, PIERRE. *The anatomy of Arminianisme: or the opening of the controversies lately handled in the Low-Countryes, concerning the doctrine of providence, of predestination, of the death of Christ, of nature and grace. London: 1620. sm. 8°.

13 Anchorani porta linguarum.

COMENIUS, JOHANN AMOS. *Porta linguarum trilinguis*. London: 1631. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

This was edited by Joannes Anchoranus, under whose name the compiler of the List enters it. H. C. L. has the 3d edition, London, 1637.

14 Actus Synodi Nationalis.

DORT, *Synod of*. *Acta synodi nationalis . . . Lugd. Bat. 1620. f°. (Cat. 1723)

15 Acta Synodalia.

DORT, *Synod of*. *Acta et scripta synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum remonstrantium in Fœderato Belgio. Herderwiici. 1620. sm. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

16 Aschamj Epistolæ.

ASCHAM, ROGER. *Familiarum epistolarum libri tres*. Londini: 1578. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has the edition of 1590.

The Catalogue of 1723 includes with this his "Apologia pro Cœna Domnica," and so Davis in his List, but there is no other evidence that it was in Harvard's library.

- 17 Arraingm^t of the whole Creature.
[JEROME, STEPHEN.] *Arraignement of the whole creature at the barre of religion. London: 1631. sm. 4°. (Cat. 1723)
- 18 Alicalj Emblemata
ALCIATI, ANDREA. Emblemata cum commentariis per Claud. Minoem. Parisiis: 1583. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
H. C. L. has the Paris edition of 1589.
- 19 Æsopi fabulæ.
ÆSOP. Fabulæ. London: 1624. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
- 20 Ægidius in Arist. Philos. & Metaph.
COLONNA, EGIDIO. Commentationes physicæ et metaphysicæ. Urseliis: 1604. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
- 21 Academia Gallica.
LA PRIMAUDAYE, PIERRE DE. *The French academie, wherein is discoursed the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happie life. . . . Translated into English by T. B. London: 1594. 4°. (Cat. 1723)
Entered in the List under a Latin title, "Academia Gallica." This work was written in French and does not appear ever to have been translated into Latin. This English translation (by Thomas Bowes) is in the Catalogue of 1723, and furthermore is a work that frequently is included in the inventories of colonial libraries.
- 22 Βασιλικον δῶρον.
JAMES I. *Βασιλικον δῶρον; Or, His maiesties instructions to his dearest sonne, Henry the prince. London: 1603. 12°.
There were several other editions.
- 23 Bezæ Test. N. cū Annotat. Test. Græc. Lat. In Epist. ad Galat.: Ephe.
BÈZE, THÉODORE. Novum Testamentum. Græcè & Latinè. Ed. T. Beza. [Geneva]: 1565. 8°.
The Andover-Harvard Theological Library has a copy. The Catalogue of 1723 has "Biblia S. Vet. Test., Junii et Tremellii, et Nov. Testam, Bezæ. Amstel. 1628. 8°." See no. 43.
BÈZE, THÉODORE. In Epist. ad Galat.
BÈZE, THÉODORE. In Epist. ad Ephe.

24 Baynes on Collos.: Ephes.

BAYNES, PAUL. Commentarie upon the first and second chapters of S. Paul to the Collossians. London: 1635. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has 1634 edition.

BAYNES, PAUL. Commentarie on Ephesians. London: 1618. 4°.

The Catalogue of 1723 has 1658 edition, probably a misprint for the above.

25 Bethneri Gram̄: Hebræa.

BYTHNER, VICTORINUS. Grammatica Hebræa. Londini: 1635. (Cat. 1723)

Title of 1638 edition now in H. C. L.: "Lingua eruditorum; hoc est, nova et methodica institutio linguæ sanctæ."

26 Berchetj Catechismus.

CALVIN, JOHN. *Elementaria traditio Christianorum fidei, aut Catechismus . . . et precum formulæ. Omnia . . . in Latinum conversa . . . per T. Berchetum. Hanoviæ: 1628. 8°.

27 Buxtorfi. Dixonar. Hebr.: Gram̄: hebr.:

BUXTORF, JOHANN. *Lexicon Chaldaicum et Syriacum. Basileæ. 1622. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

BUXTORF, JOHANN. *Thesaurus grammaticus linguæ sanctæ hebrææ. Ed. 4^a. Basileæ: 1629. 8°.

There were also several other editions before 1637.

28 Beton displaying of y^e popish Masse.

BECON, THOMAS. The displaying of the popish masse. London: 1637. 12°.

29 Bellarmin. de fælicitate sanctorū. In Psalm. In 1^a & 2^a Epist: ad Thessalon. Conciones.

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO. De æterna felicitate sanctorum, libri quinque. Amstelodami: 1616. 8°.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives an edition without place or date. There were other editions besides that quoted above.

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO. Expositio in Psalmos. Colon: 1611. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO. In 1^{am} & 2^{am} Epist. ad Thessalon.

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO. Conciones habitæ Lovanii ante annos circiter quadraginta. Cameraci: 1617. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

30 Bolton in 4 volumnes.

BOLTON, ROBERT. *A discourse about the state of true happiness. 6th ed. London: 1631. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

BOLTON, ROBERT. *Instructions for a right comforting afflicted consciences, with antidotes against some grievous temptations. London: 1631. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

BOLTON, ROBERT. *Three-fold treatise: containing the saints sure and perpetuall guide. London: 1634. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

BOLTON, ROBERT. Some generall directions for a comfortable walking with God. Ed. 4. London: 1634. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has the third edition, 1630.

31 Ball on faith.

BALL, JOHN. Treatise on faith. London: 1637. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1632.

32 Bastingius on Palatines Catechisme.

BASTINGIUS, JEREMIAS. Exposition or commentarie vpon the Catechisme of the Christian religion . . . in the Countie Palatine. Cambridge: 1595. (Cat. 1723)

33 Brerewood on the Sabbath.

BREREWOOD, EDWARD. A learned treatise of the Sabaoth. Oxford: 1630. 4°.

There were also editions in 1631 and 1632.

34 Bacons advancem^t. Essayes.

BACON, FRANCIS. *Two bookes of the proficiencie and advancement of learning divine and humane. Oxford: 1633. sm. 8°.

There were three editions, 1605, 1629, 1633.

BACON, FRANCIS. *Essayes or counsels, civill and morall. Newly enlarged. London: 1629. 8°.

There were twelve editions from 1597 to 1632. It seems probable that Harvard's copies of the Essays and the Advancement of Learning were bound together: in this case they would be likely to have been the Essays of 1629 or 1632 and the Advancement of 1629 or 1633.

.35 Bannes in Arist: de Gen: & Corrup.

BAÑEZ, DOMINGO. Quæstiones & commentaria in duos libros Aristotelis de generatione & corruptione. Colonia: 1616. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

36 Bovillij Adagia.

*Adagia, id est: proverbiorum, paroemiarum et paraboliarum omnium, quæ apud Græcos, Latinos, . . . in usu fuerunt, collectio. . . . In qua continentur . . . Caroli Bovilli proverbia.

[Frankofurti a. M.] 1629. f°.

The work was edited by Johann Jacob Grynæus. It is entered in the List under Carolus Bovillus, the last of several authors mentioned on the title-page. It does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

37 Bedæ Axiomata Philosophica.

BEDE. *Axiomata philosophica, ex Aristotele & alijs præstantibus philosophis diligenter collecta. Colonia: 1609. sm. 12°.

38 Brentius de parabolis.

BRENTZ, JOHANN. De parabolis.

39 Beards theatre of Gods judgm^{ts}.

BEARD, THOMAS. *Theatre of God's judgements. 3d ed. London: 1631. 4°.

Other editions appeared in 1597, 1612, and 1648. The Catalogue of 1723 gives the date 1651, probably a misprint.

40 Brerewoods Tractatus Logicus.

BREREWOOD, EDWARD. *Tractatus quidam logici de prædicabilibus et prædicamentis. Oxford: 1628. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

41 Brentij Pericopæ &c.

BRENTZ, JOHANN. Pericopæ Evangeliorum. Francofurti: 1559. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has the edition of 1556.

42 Bullingerus in Isaj.

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. Isaias excellentissimus Dei propheta . . . expositus . . . authore H. B. Tiguri: 1567. f°.

43 Biblia Tremelij & Junij.

*Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra . . . ab Imanuele Tremellio, & Francisco Junio . . . Novi Testamenti. . . . Ed. 7^a. Hanovix 1624, '23. f°. (Cat. 1723)

44 Bucani Institutiones. °

BUCANUS, GULIELMUS. *Institutiones theologicæ, seu Locorum communium christianæ religionis analysis. Ed. postrema. Genevæ: 1617. sm. 8°.

There were also editions in 1609 and 1630.

45 Bradshewes p^rparation for the Sacram^t.

BRADSHAW, WILLIAM. A preparation to the receiving of Christs body and bloud. 7th ed. London: 1627. 12°.

The Catalogue of 1723 has an edition of 1643.

46 Broughton on the revelat: on Eccles. Positions on the Bible. On Daniel. texts of Script. chronol. pamphlets.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. Revelation of the holy Apocalypse. London: 1610. 4°.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. A comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes. London: 1605. 4°.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. Principall positions for grounds of the holy Bible. London: 1609. 4°.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. *Daniel, with a brief explication. Hanaw: 1607. sm. 4°.

There were also several earlier editions published in London.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. Texts of scripture. London: 1591. 4°.

BROUGHTON, HUGH. Sundry workes defending the certaintie of the holy Chronicle. n. p. n. d. 4°.

The Catalogue of 1723 has Broughton's Works in one volume, folio, 1615.

47 Baylyes directions for health.

[VAUGHAN, SIR WILLIAM.] *Directions for health. 6th ed. Whereunto is annexed Two treatises of approved medicines for all diseases of the eyes . . . the first written by Doctor Baily. London: 1626. 4°.

As Walter Bayley's name is the only one on the title-page, the entry in the List is easily explained. The book does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, and the above edition, which is now in H. C. L., may not be the same one that John Harvard had.

48 Calvinus in Pent & Joshua. Sermons vpon Job in English. p^rlectiones in Ezechiel. Institut. Religio. Christ. Tomus 4^{us} opū Theologicorū. Harmonia. In Prophetas min: Homilia in Samuelem. In Epistolas Paulj. In Psalm.

CALVIN, JOHN. In quinque Libros Mosis Commentarii . . . ejusdem . . . in Librum Iosue Commentarius. [Heidelberg.] 1595. f°. (Cat. 1723)

CALVIN, JOHN. Sermons upon the booke of Job. Translated out of French by A. Golding. London: 1574. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1584.

CALVIN, JOHN. Prælectiones in Ezekielem. Genevæ: 1616. f°. (Cat. 1723)

CALVIN, JOHN. Institutio Christianæ religionis. n. p. 1607. f°. (Cat. 1723)

There is a copy of the edition of 1609 in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

CALVIN, JOHN. Operum omnium theologicorum tomus quartus. Genevæ: 1617. f°. (Cat. 1723)

CALVIN, JOHN. Harmonia ex tribus Evangelistis composita Matthæo, Marco, et Luca. n. p. 1572. f°. (Cat. 1723)

There is a copy of the Geneva edition of 1582 in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

CALVIN, JOHN. Prælectiones in duodecim Prophetas minores. Genevæ: 1610. f°. (Cat. 1723)

CALVIN, JOHN. *Homiliæ in primum librum Samuelis. Genevæ: 1604. f°. (Cat. 1723)

CALVIN, JOHN. *Commentarii in omnes Pauli apostoli epistolas. Genevæ: 1580. f°.

CALVIN, JOHN. In Librum Psalmorum commentarius. [Genevæ?]: 1564. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

49 Camararij meditationes histor.

CAMERARIUS, PHILIPP. Meditationes historicae. Francofurti: 1624. (Cat. 1723)

50 Corradj Casus Consc.

CORRADUS, JOANNES BAPTISTA. Responsa ad cujuscunque pene generalis casuum conscientiæ. Perusiæ: 1596. 8°

51 Church his God & man. Good mans treasure.

CHURCH, HENRY. Miscellanea philo-theologica: or, God and man. London: 1637. 2 pts. 4°.

CHURCH, HENRY. Of the good mans treasury. London: 1636. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

52 Camdens remains.

CAMDEN, WILLIAM. *Remains concerning Britaine. London: 1637. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

53 Cleonardi

CLENARDUS, NICOLAUS. *Institutiones meditationes. Paris: 1566. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

The identification of this title is by no means certain; the entry has been trimmed off by the binder, so as to be almost illegible. The title is gone entirely, as well as the upper portion of the author's name.

54 Chysostinj homilia.

CHRYSOSTOM, Saint. Homiliæ ad populum Antiochenum habitæ. London: 1590. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

55 Castanej Distinctiones.

CHASTEIGNER, HENRI LOUIS. Synopsis distinctionum tum philosophicarum, tum theologiarum. Col. Allobr.: 1618. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

56 Calliopæia.

DRAXE, THOMAS. Calliepeia; or, a rich store-house of proper, choise and elegant Latine words and phrases, collected for the most part out of all Tullies works. The second impression, enlarged. London: 1613. 8°.

The Catalogue of 1723 includes a copy marked "Title page gone." Other editions were published in 1612, 1618, 1625, 1631, and 1643. There is a copy of the last in H. C. L. This work may be entered a second time in the List under the heading "Elegant Phrases," no. 89.

57 Chrystopolitanj opa.

This entry in the List is probably meant for Zacharias, Chrystopolitanus. His name does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, nor do his Opera seem to have been published. His principal work was "In unum ex quatuor, sive de concordia evangelistarum opus ab Ammonio redacta," 1535.

58 Christianity.

59 Cornerj Psalteriũ Lat:.

CORNERUS, CHRISTOPHORUS. Psalterium Latinum. n. p. 1578. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

60 Curiel in Epist. Thomæ.

CUMEL, FRANCISCUS. Variarum disputationum tomi tres . . . primus in primam partem S. Thomæ . . . Lugduni: 1609. f°. (Cat. 1723)

61 Chareus in Epist.

62 Cornelius de artibus & Scientijs. In Eccles.: Prophetas majores, & minores; in Pent. in Epist: Paulj. in Acta. In Prov. in 7 vol.

The compiler of the List has confused the German theologian and mystic, Cornelius Agrippa, and the Jesuit, Cornelius à Lapide.

AGRIPPA, HEINRICH CORNELIUS. De incertitudine et vanitate omnium scientiarum et artium liber. n. p. 1609. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has editions published at Colonïæ in 1531 and 1575.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum. Lugduni: 1634. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1638.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in Prophetas majores. Paris: 1622. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1625.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas minores. Paris: 1630. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1628.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis. Lutetiæ Parisiorum: 1637. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1618.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. In omnes divi Pauli Epistolas commentaria. Paris: 1631. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1692.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in Acta Apostolorum . . . et Apocalypsin. Paris: 1631. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1627.

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À. Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis. Antverpiæ: 1635. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1645.

63 Clavis græc: Linguae.

LUBIN, EILHARD. Clavis græcæ linguæ. London: 1620. 8°.

There was also an edition of 1629. H. C. L. has London, 1647.

64 Coñentariũ in Horatiũ in Fol.

65 Coñent: in 4 Euangel. & Acta Apost. On the Prov.

66 Cottons concordance.

COTTON, CLEMENT. *Concordance to the Bible. London: 1631. f°.

67 Comment in Arist. Phys. de anima.

ZABARELLA, JACOPO. Commentarii in Aristotelis libros de anima. Venetiis: 1605. f°. (Cat. 1723)

ZABARELLA, JACOPO. Commentarii in Aristotelis libros physicorum. Venetiis: 1605. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the date as "1650," — probably a misprint. The identification of the above two titles is not positive, as the entry in the List is by title only. The second work may have been "Commentariorum collegii Conimbricensis Societis Jesu in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis prima [secunda] pars. Coloniae: 1616. 4°." This is also in the Catalogue of 1723.

68 Cartwright in Eccles. & Prov.

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS. *Metaphrasis et homiliae in librum Salomonis qui inscribitur Ecclesiastes. Marpurgi Cattorum: 1604. 16°.

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS. *Commentarii succincti & dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis. Amstelodami: 1638. sm. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

69 Collection of statutes.

*The whole volume of statutes at large . . . since Magna Charta untill the 29th yeere of Ladie Elizabeth. London: 1587. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The Catalogue of 1723 also gives a later volume of the Statutes from 35th of Elizabeth to 4th of Charles; but as the List does not indicate more than one volume I quote only the former. The copy of this now in the Harvard College Library was in the Library before the fire of 1764, and may be John Harvard's own copy. But there are no marks of ownership in the book, nor is there, as in the case of Downname's Christian Warfare, any tradition connecting it with him.

70 Conradus in Apocalyp.

CONRADUS, ALFONSUS. In Apocalypsim . . . Commentarius. Basileae: 1560. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

71 Carlton agst Pelag. & Armin.

CARLETON, GEORGE. *Examination of those things wherein the author of the late Appeale holdeth the Doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England. London: 1626. 4°.

72 Chytreus in Apocal. in Levit. in Genes. Numer. in Deut. Ester. Judices in 6 Tom.

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. Enarratio in Apocalypsin. Vitebergæ: 1575. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. *Tertius Liber Moysis qui inscribitur Leviticus. Vitebergæ: 1575. 8°.

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. In Genesin enarratio, recens recognita. Vitebergæ: 1568. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. Enarratio in Numeros et Josuam. Vitebergæ: 1568. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. Enarratio in Deuteronom. Vitebergæ: 1575. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. In Ester.

CHYTRÆUS, DAVID. Enarratio in Judic. et Evangel. Joannis. Francofurti: 1589. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

73 Characciolus his life.

[BALBANI, NICCOLO.] *Newes from Italy of a second Moses, or the Life of Galeacius Caracciolus, the noble marquise of Vico. Containing the story of his admirable conversion from popery. Written first in Italian, thence translated into Latin by the Reverend Beza, and for the benefit of our people put into English by William Crashaw. London: 1608. 4°.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the date as 1639, obviously too late to have been in Harvard's library. Other editions were printed in 1612 and 1635.

74 Catin. Phrases.

Possibly this may be meant for some edition of the *Dicta Catonis*. An English translation by Sir Richard Baker was published in 1636 under the title "*Cato variegatus, or Cato's Morall distichs: translated and paraphrased with variations of expressing in English verse.*" It does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, and the identification is more than doubtful.

75 Danej opa Theolog. Questiones. de salutaribus dej donis. in Math. his coñon Ethicks.

DANEAU, LAMBERT. *Opuscula omnia theologica. [Genevæ]: 1583. f°. (Cat. 1723)

DANEAU, LAMBERT. Isagoges Christianæ in Chriſtanorum theologorum locos communes Pars quarta. Genevæ: 1586. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

Entered in the List as "*Questiones de salutaribus Dci donis,*" which is contained in the fourth part of this work.

DANEAU, LAMBERT. In Evangelium domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Matthaëum commentarii brevissimi. Rupellae: 1590. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1593.

DANEAU, LAMBERT. His common ethicks.

Perhaps his "Ethices christianae libri tres. Genevæ. 1614. 8°." I find no English translation.

76 Dickson on hebr.

DICKSON, DAVID. *A short explanation of the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrewes. Aberdene: 1635. 24°.

77 Dictionariū Anglic. Historicū. Geograp. Poëticū. Lat. Græc.

ESTIENNE, CHARLES. *Dictionarium historicum, geographicum, poëticum. Genevæ: 1633. f°.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives only an edition of Oxford, 1671. The Bibliothèque Nationale has 17 editions from 1561 to 1620. The copy of the 1633 edition now in H. C. L. bears the autograph of President Benjamin Wadsworth.

78 Dounā his warfare.

DOWNAME (DOWNHAM), JOHN. *Christian warfare against the devill, world and flesh. 4th edition. London: 1634-33. 4 pts. in 1 v. f°.

The copy now in the Harvard College Library is probably the only one of John Harvard's books that survived the fire that destroyed the Library in 1764. After this item in the List is written in pencil "Escaped when the Library was burnt." Although there is no autograph or any other early indication of his ownership, long tradition has held it to be Harvard's own copy, and as such it is treasured. When the Library was moved into the Widener Memorial Building in 1915, this was the first book to be carried into the Library's new home. It is, however, possible that the "Volume of Statutes" of 1587 (no. 69) may also have been one of John Harvard's books.

79 Davenantius in Epist. ad Collos.

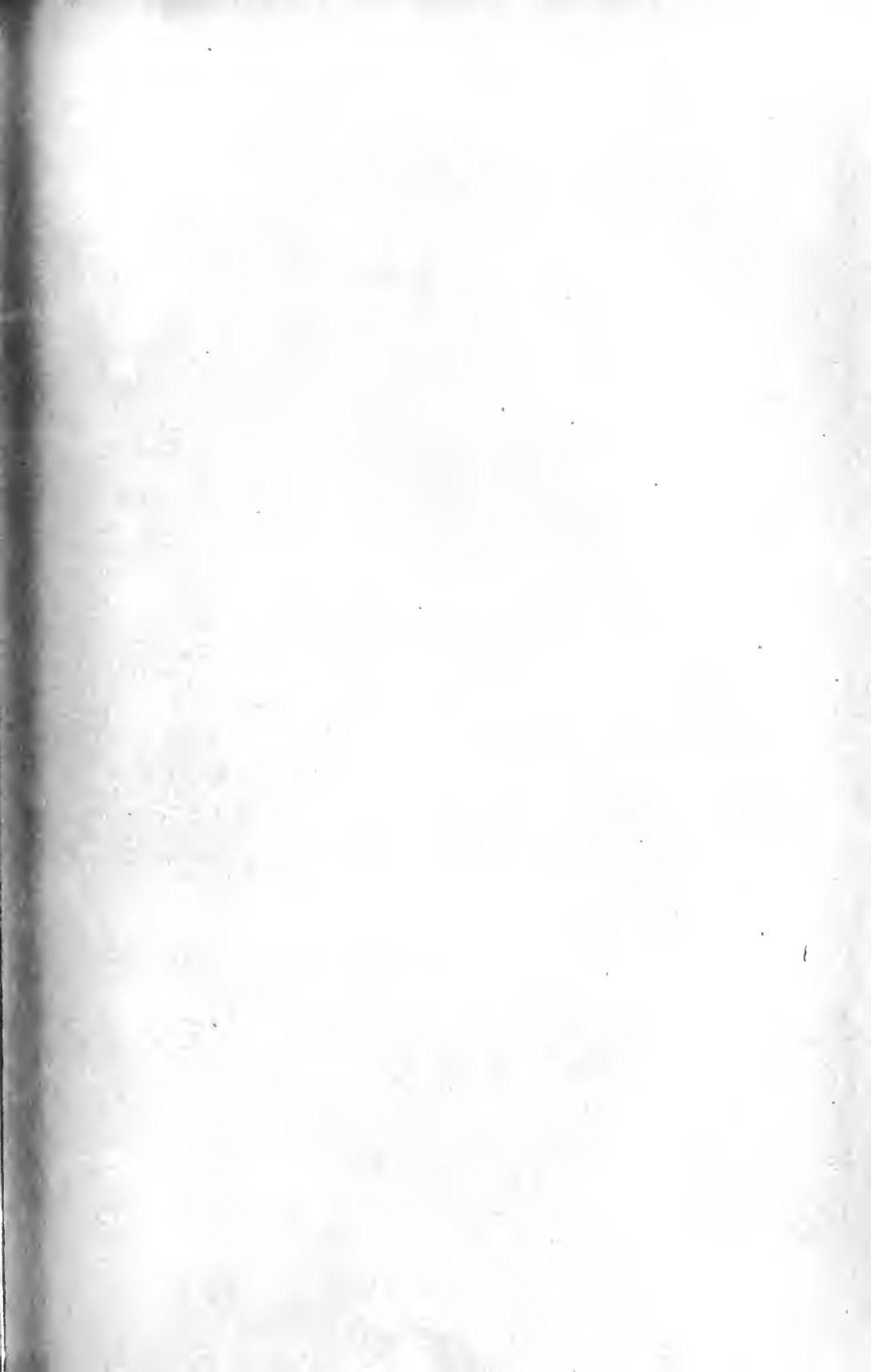
DAVENANT, JOHN. *Expositio epistolæ Pauli ad Colossenses. Cantabrigiæ: 1630. f°. (Cat. 1723)

80 Duns Scotus in 8 Libros Arist. Phys.

DUNS SCOTUS, JOANNES. In viii. libros Physicorum Aristotelis quæstiones. Colonia Agrippinæ: 1618. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

81 Dove on the Cant.

DOVE, JOHN. The conversion of Solomon, being a commentary on the book of the Canticles. London: 1613. f°.





Omnia hac tibi dabo.

Mundus Abulens

Sicut, pugnat et orat.

Resistite diabolo et fugiet

Saltem m. s. non dele.

Cetus homo.

THE CHRISTIAN warfare Against the Devil

to obtaine victorie
By John Downname
Bachelor in Divinity and
preacher of Gods word.

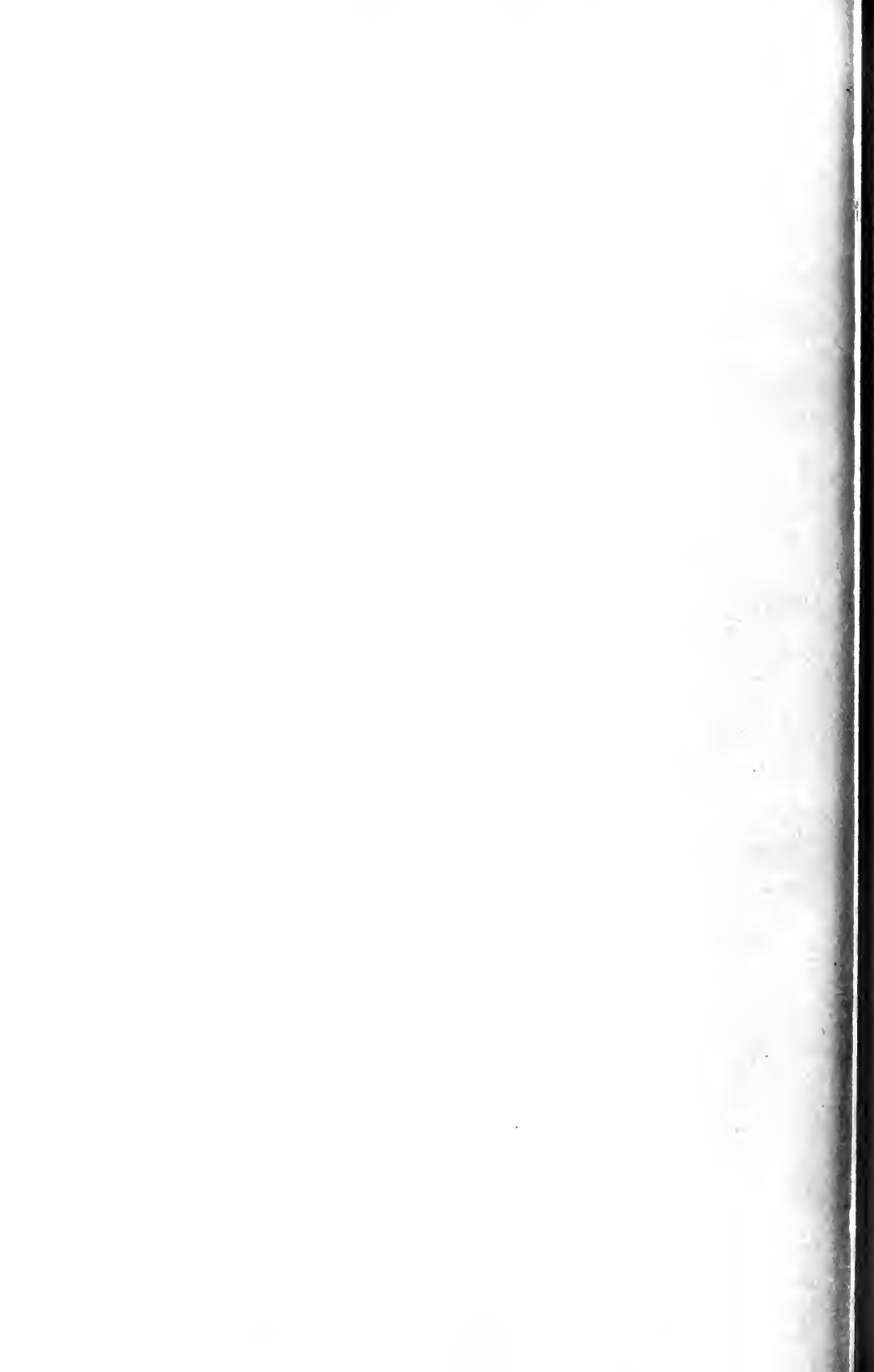
LONDON
Printed by William Stansby
at the signe of the Sunne in
St Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet

Mundus serviens

Deponite veterem hominem.



Is Paynes scul
Compared for the School of Divinity at the University of Cambridge by the Rev. John Hayward



82 Dike on the hart. his mischeife of Scandalls.

DYKE, DANIEL. *The mystery of selfe-deceiving, or a discourse and discoverie of the deceitfulness of man's heart. London: n. d. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

DYKE, JEREMIAH. *The mischief and miserie of scandalls both taken, and given. London: 1632. sm. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

83 Death subdued.

CROOKE, SAMUEL. Death subdued. London: 1619. (Cat. 1723)

84 Elton on the Coṃandm^{ta}.

ELTON, EDWARD. *Gods holy mind . . . or tenne commandements. London: 1625. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

85 Epictetj Enchyridion.

EPICETUS. Enchiridion. n. p. n. d. (Cat. 1723)

Probably in Latin. H. C. L. has an edition of 1585, etc.

86 Eustachij Philosophia.

EUSTACHIUS, a *S. Paulo*. Summa Philosophiæ quadripartita, de rebus dialecticis, ethicis, physicis, & metaphysicis. Colonæ: 1629. 8°.

There were several other early editions: H. C. L. has one printed at Cambridge in 1648.

87 Euphoranius.

BARCLAY, JOHN. Euphormionis] lusingini sive satyricon partes quinque. Amstelodami: 1629. 24°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1637.

88 Erasmj Colloquia.

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS. *Colloquia nunc emendatiora. Lugd. Bat. 1636. 24°.

This is not given in the Catalogue of 1723. There were many other editions.

89 Elegant Phrases.

Davis suggests that this may be meant for the following title from the Catalogue of 1723: "Hewes, John. Survey of the English tongue and phrases. London: 1632." It might also possibly be "Valla, Lorenzo. De Latinæ linguæ elegantia. Basileæ: 1545," also in the Catalogue of 1723. But it is more probably a duplicate entry for "Draxe, Thomas. Calliepeia," no. 56.

90 Garden of Eloquence.

PEACHAM, HENRY. Garden of eloquence, containing the figures of grammar and rhetorick. London: 1577. 4°.

91 Exon his meditations.

HALL, JOSEPH. Occasional meditations. By Jos. Exon. London: 1630. 12°.

There was also an edition of 1633.

92 Essayes morall & Theol.

TUVIL, DANIEL. *Vade mecum: a manuell of essayes, morall, theological, etc. London: 1631. 12°.

An edition had also been published in 1609.

93 Francklin *ὀρθοροβίας* lib.

FRANCKLIN, RICHARD. **Ὄρθοροβία*, seu Tractatus de tonis in lingua græcanica. Londini: 1630. 24°. (Cat. 1723)

94 Funebres Conciones¹ 15.

SPANGENBERG, JOHANN. Funebres contiones quindecim. Francofurti: 1548. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the place as above, but no date. The edition here quoted is in the British Museum; an edition of 1564 is in the Mather collection in the American Antiquarian Society.

95 Fabritius in Hoseā.

FABRITIUS, STEPHANUS. Conciones in Hoseam. Bernæ: 1623. (Cat. 1723)

96 Felthoms resolues.

FELLTHAM, OWEN. *Resolues, a duple century, the VI. ed. London: 1636. sm. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

97 Fuebernes lapidua Pasmaliensis.

98 Fayus in Epist. ad Timoth.

LA FAYE, ANTOINE DE. Commentarii in priorem epistolam ad Timotheum. Genevæ: 1609. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

The entry in the Catalogue of 1723 seems to indicate that this was bound with the same author's Commentarium in Psalmos XLIX et LXXXVII.

99 Feuardensius in Epist. ad Philemonem.

FEU-ARDENT, FRANÇOIS. Commentarii in Epistolam ad Philemonem. Parisiis: 1587. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

¹ Altered from "Consiones."

100 Gualterus in Marcū.

WALTHER, RUDOLPH. *In Evangelium Jesu Christi secundum Marcum homiliae CXXXIX. Tiguri: 1570. f°. (Cat. 1723)

101 Golij Ethicæ.

GOLIUS, THEOPHILUS. Epitoma doctrinæ moralis ex decem libris Ethicorum Aristotelis collecta. Argentorati: 1621. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1631.

102 Griners in Dan.

GRYNÆUS, JOHANN JACOB. Explanatio Danielis Prophetæ quinque primorum capitum. Basileæ: 1583. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

103 Goodwins Aggravation of sin.

GOODWIN, THOMAS. Aggravation of sinne. London: 1638. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has edition of 1637.

104 Household Phys:

105 Haxions prælections.

106 The honest man.

FARET, NICOLAS. The honest man: or, the art to please in court. Translated into English by E. G[rimestone]. London: 1632. 12°.

107 Hunnius in Joh: Evangel.

HUNNIUS, EGIDIUS. Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Joannem. Ed. 3. Francofurti ad Mæn.: 1595. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

108 Hindersham of fasting. On the Psal. on John 4. 2 Tom.

HILDERSAM, ARTHUR. The doctrine of fasting and praier and humiliation for sinne. 2 pt. London: 1633. 8°.

HILDERSAM, ARTHUR. *CLII lectures upon Psalme LI. London: 1635. f°.

HILDERSAM, ARTHUR. *CVIII lectures upon the fourth of John. 2d ed. London: 1632. f°. (Cat. 1723)

109 Hieronus in Haddanū in Isai.

OSORIO, JERONIMO. *In Gualterum Haddonum, de religione libri tres. Ed. 3^a. Dilingæ: 1576. 8°.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the edition of 1574, with a slightly different title: "Adversus Gualterum Haddonum."

OSORIO, JERONIMO. Paraphrasis in Isaiam. Coloniae Agrippinæ: 1579. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

110 Horatius cū Stephanj notis.

HORACE. *Poemata, novis scholiis et argumentis ab Henr. Stephano illustrata. Ed. 3^a. [Genevæ]: 1575. 8°.

There were several other editions with the notes of Stephanus. The edition given in the Catalogue of 1723 (Basileæ: 1580), however, did not contain them.

111 Hemmingius in 84 Psalm. in Epist. ad Collos.

HEMMINGSEN, NIELS. The faith of the church militant, most effectualie described in this exposition of the 84. Psalme, translated by T. Rogers. London: 1581. 16°.

The List does not indicate whether it was the original or the above translation.

HEMMINGSEN, NIELS. In Epist. ad Colloss.

112 Homers workes in English.

HOMER. *Whole works; translated by Geo. Chapman. London: n. d. f°. (Cat. 1723)

Chapman's Whole Works of Homer was first issued about 1616, and again in 1620 (?) and 1625 (?), all in folio. Several editions of parts of the Iliad and Odyssey had been printed previously.

113 History of the Church.

SIMSON, PATRICK. *The historie of the church. Third edition enlarged. London: 1634. f°. (Cat. 1723)

114 Haylins Geography.

HEYLYN, PETER. Microcosmos, or Little description of the great world. Ed. 5. Oxford: 1631. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has 6th edition, 1633.

115 H

This line, coming at the top of a page, is trimmed off, the letter "H" only being legible.

116 Hutton agst Coṃon prayer booke.

HUTTON, THOMAS. Reasons for refusal of subscription to the Booke of Common Praier. Oxford: 1605. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

117 Henshaws meditations.

HENSHAW, JOSEPH. Horæ succesivæ, or Spare-houres of meditations. 3d ed. London: 1632. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

118 Jackej Instit. Philos:

JACK, GILBERT. *Primæ philosophiæ institutiones. Lugd. Bat.: 1628. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

119 Juvenalis.

JUVENAL. *Iunii Iuvenalis et Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae. Londini: 1615. 12°.

There were many other editions, any one of which might equally well have been in John Harvard's library. H. C. L. has the one noted above.

120 Isocratis Orat: Græc & Latin.

ISOCRATES. Scripta quæ quidem nunc extant, omnia Graecolatina postremò recognita; H. Wolfio interprete. ("Tit. deest." Cat. 1723)

Title taken from H. C. L. copy, Basileæ, 1571.

121 Judic: Synodi Nationalis.

DORT, Synod of. *Judicium Synodi Nationalis Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Belgicarum. Dordrecht: 1619. 4°.

122 Keckermannj Philos. Disput.

KECKERMANN, BARTHOLOMÄUS. Disputationes philosophicæ. Hanoviæ: 1611. 8°.

123 Keckermanj contemplat. de loco. et de terræ-motu.

KECKERMANN, BARTHOLOMÄUS. Contemplatio gemina, prior ex generali physica de loco; altera, ex speciali, de terræ motu. Hanoviæ: 1607. 8°.

The Catalogue of 1723 does not give these two works of Keckermann's, but does list his *Operum omnium* tom. I-II, 1614.

124 Lutherus in Genesin. Tomus 1^{us}, 2^{us}, 3^{us}, 4^{us}, 5^{us}, 6^{us}, 7^{us}.

LUTHER, MARTIN. *Tomus primus-septimus operum omnium. Vitebergæ: 1582, '62, '83, '84, '85, '80, '58. 7 vols. f°. (Cat. 1723)

From the way in which the dates of the different volumes are given in the Catalogue of 1723, this would seem to have been a set made up of various editions. The "In Genesin" in the List is the special title of vol. III of the Opera.

125 Luke Angl.

This is apparently meant for a translation of the Gospel of Luke into English; but I find no record of any separate translation as early as 1637.

126 Loscij Annotationes Scolasticæ.

LOSS, LUCAS. Annotationes in epistolas Dominicales. Francofurti: 1560. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

127 Lightfoots Miscelanes.

LIGHTFOOT, JOHN. *Erubhin, or Miscellanies Christian and Judaicall, and others. London: 1629. 16°. (Cat. 1723)

128 Lucanus.

LUCAN. De bello civili vel Pharsaliæ libri decem, . . . studio . . . emendati . . . G. Bersmani . . . illustrati. Lipsiæ: 1589. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

129 Lewes right vse of pmises.

LEWIS, JEREMIAH. The right use of promises. London: 1631. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

130 Lexicon Græco Lat:.

SCAPULA, JOHANN. *Lexicon Græco-Latinum novum. Londini: 1637. f°. (Cat. 1723)

Entered in the List by title only, but the above entry in the Catalogue of 1723 seems to identify the book.

131 Lemnius medicus de complexionē.

LEMNIUS, LEVINUS. *De habitu et constitutione corporis quam . . . complexionem vocant. Francofurti: 1619. 12°.

132 Londons complaint.

SPENSER, BENJAMIN. *Vox civitatis; or, Londons complaint against her children in the countrey. London: 1625. 4°.

This tract relates to the plague that visited London in 1625. Among its victims were the father and four brothers and sisters of John Harvard.

133 Lamentations.

While positive identification of this entry is impossible, it seems probable that "The Lamentations of Jeremy. Translated by Hugh Broughton. London: 1615," is the work called for.

134 Lord Verul: Nat: History.

BACON, FRANCIS. Sylva sylvarum, or A naturall history. London: 1631. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has the edition of 1627.

135 Livellj Vita & in Harding.

HUMPHREY, LAURENCE. *Joannis Juelli vita et mors . . . cum refutatione quorundam objectorum T. Hardingi. Londini: 1573. sm. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

The Catalogue of 1723 misprints the date as 1673.

136 Leigh on ye pmises.

LEIGH, EDWARD. *A treatise of the divine promises. London: 1633. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

137 Lumberds Justice.

LAMBARDE, WILLIAM. Eirenarcha, or Of the Office of the justices of peace. London: 1588. 16°.

There were at least a dozen editions of this book; many of them are in the library of the Harvard Law School.

138 Lycosthenjs Apophthegmata. Similia.

LYCOSTHENES, CONRADUS. *Apophthegmata. Genevæ: 1633. 8°.

LYCOSTHENES, CONRADUS. Similia. n. p. 1602. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

139 Loscij Questiones.

LOSS, LUCAS. Quæstiones in Evangelia Dominicalia. n. p. 1568. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

140 Laurentij opa.

DU LAURENS, ANDRÉ. Opera omnia, anatomica et medica. Francofurti: 1628. 2 vols. f°.

The Catalogue of 1723 has his "Historia anatomica humani corporis. Francofurti: 1602. 8°." H. C. L. has the edition of 1615 of this. The title given above corresponds more nearly to the entry in the List.

141 Mollerus in Psalmos.

MOLLER, HEINRICH. Enarrationes Psalmorum Davidis. Genevæ: 1591. f°.

The Catalogue of 1723 mentions the edition of Geneva, 1639, which H. C. L. has. There was also an edition of 1603.

142 Marloratj Thesaurus Scripturæ.

MARLORAT, AUGUSTIN. *Thesaurus sacræ scripturæ propheticae et apostolicae. Genevæ: 1613. 8°.

There were several other editions of this work. It is entered twice in the List: see no. 145.

143 Musculus in Psalmos. Matthæū.

MUSCULUS, WOLFGANG. In Davidis Psalterium sacrosanctum commentarii. Basileæ: 1589. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1618.

MUSCULUS, WOLFGANG. *Commentarij in Matthæum Evangelistam tribus tomis digesti.* Basileæ: 1611. f°. (Cat. 1723)

There is a copy of the edition of 1569 in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

144 *Mollinæus contra Arminios.*

DU MOULIN, PIERRE. **Anatome arminianismi seu, Eucleatio controversiarum quae in Belgio agitantur.* Lugd. Bat. 1619. 4°.

145 *Marlotj Thesaurus Scripturæ.*

See no. 142.

146 *Magirj Physica. Anthropologia.*

MAGIRUS, JOANNES. *Physiologiæ peripateticæ libri sex.* Francofurti: 1619. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has edition of 1610.

MAGIRUS, JOANNES. *Anthropologia, hoc est commentarius in P. Melanchtonis libellum de anima.* Francofurti: 1603. 8°.

147 *Maxes Sermons.*

MAXEY, ANTHONY. **Certaine sermons preached before the King's Miesty.* 7th ed. London: 1636. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

148 *Melanchj Logica.*

149 *Minshej Dictionariū.*

MINSHEU, JOHN. **Ductor in linguas.* The guide into tongues. London: 1617. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The identification in this case is not certain. The entry in the List may be for the above work, which was a dictionary of eleven languages; or it may be for "Percyvall, Richard. A dictionarie in Spanish and English. Enlarged by J. Minsheu. London: 1599. f°." This is also in the Catalogue of 1723.

150 *A Manuduction to Divinity.*

JAMES, THOMAS. **A manuduction, or introduction unto divinitie.* Oxford: 1625. 4°.

It does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

151 *Martinij Graḿ: Hebr.*

MARTINIUS, PETRUS. *Grammatica Hebræa cum Coddæi notis.* Amstelodami: 1621. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1612.

152 *Micomius in Marcū.*

MYCONIUS, OSWALD. In *Evangelium Marci*. . . . *Expositio*.
Basileæ: 1538. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

153 *Montanj in Psal. Prov^r Comt. & Hebr.*

ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS. *Commentarium in 31 Psalmos priores*. Antverpiæ: 1605. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS. *Prov. Comt.*

ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS. *Hebr.*

The Catalogue of 1723 gives "Comment. in Nov. Test. Antv. 1575."

154 *Moses Vayled.*

GUILD, WILLIAM. **Moses unvailed: or, Those figures which served unto the patterne and shaddow of heavenly things, pointing out the Messiah, Christ Jesus, briefly explained*. London: 1626. sm. 8°.

155 *N. Test. Catholicj Expositio Eccles:*156 *Nichols mirrou for Magistrates.*

The mirour for magistrates; newly enlarged, with a last part [by Richard Niccols]. 4 pt. London: 1610. 4°.

Niccols's edition of the *Mirour for Magistrates* appeared first in 1610 as above; it was reissued in 1619, 1620, and 1621. H. C. L. has a copy of the earlier edition of 1587.

157 *N. Test. Lat.*158 *Nonæ Novemb. æternitatj consecratæ.*

COOPER, THOMAS. **Nonæ Novembris æternitati consecratæ in memoriam admirandæ illius liberationis principis & populi anglicani a proditione sulphurea*. Oxoniæ: 1607. 4°.

The copy of this tract on the Gunpowder Plot that is now in H. C. L. was formerly in the Bindley and Huth libraries.

159 *Natales Comes. in 29¹ Tomis.*

This entry is obviously wrong. *Natale Conti* (*Natalis Comes*), although a somewhat voluminous writer, does not appear to have published as many as 29 volumes, nor were his collected works issued. The Catalogue of 1723 gives his *Mythologia*, 1681, 2 v. H. C. L. has an edition of 1616.

160 *Osiandri Psalm.*

OSIANDER, LUCAS. *Explicationes in Psalmos*. Vitebergæ: 1579. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

¹ This number has been altered.

161 Philosophers Banquet.

SCOTT, SIR MICHAEL. *The philosopher's banquet. Newly furnished and decked forth with much variety of many several dishes. 3d ed. London: 1633. 24°.

Originally issued in Latin, this work appeared in English translation also in 1614.

162 Pfaltsgraues Church.

A declaration of the Pfaltzgraves: concerning the faith and ceremonies proposed in his churches. London: 1637. 4°.

There is a copy in the Prince collection in the Boston Public Library.

163 Polanj Syntagma Theologiæ. De Legendo cū fructu.

POLANUS, AMANDUS. Syntagma theologicæ christianæ. Hano-viæ: 1615. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1625.

POLANUS, AMANDUS. De ratione legendi cum fructu authores sacros tractatus. Basileæ: 1604. 8°.

164 Piscator 17 Tomis.

No edition of the complete works of Johann Piscator seems to have been published. He was the author of many volumes of biblical commentary; at least fifteen volumes of commentaries on the various books of the New Testament are credited to him between 1594 and 1613. As the Catalogue of 1723 lists only five titles under his name, as noted below, it is impossible to identify the seventeen volumes of his writings that were in the library of John Harvard:

Aphorismi doctrinæ Christianæ. Herbornæ: 1599. 8°.

Commentarius in Genesim. n. d. n. p. f°.

Commentarius in Jobum. n. d. n. p. f°.

Commentarius in Novum Testamentum. Herbornæ: 1658(?). f°.

Epitome operum D. Augustini. Agust. Vend.: 1537(?). f°.

The last two dates are probably misprints in the Catalogue of 1723.

165 Pelagius redivivus Prin.

[FEATLEY, DANIEL.] *Pelagius redivivus, or Pelagius raked out of the ashes by Arminius and his schollers. London: 1626. 4°.

The List seems to attribute this to Prynne; or, possibly, Prynne's tract "The church of England's old antithesis to new Arminianisme, 1629," was included with this.

166 Plin. Nat. Hist.

PLINY, the Younger. *Historie of the world, commonly called Naturall historie; translated by P. Holland. London: 1601. f°. 2 v. (Cat. 1723)

167 Plutarchj Vitæ Angl. Moralia Angl.

PLUTARCH. *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes compared together. . . . Translated . . . by Thomas North. London: 1595. f°. (Cat. 1723)

PLUTARCH. *The philosophie commonly called, the Morals. Translated by P. Holland. London: 1603. f°. (Cat. 1723)

168 Philippi Homil: in Jonam.

Can this be "Philipp Melanchthon, In Evangelium Joannis Annotationes. Tubingæ: 1523. 8°." ?

169 Pike his worthy worthy comūnicant.

DYKE, JEREMIAH. A worthy communicant: or, A treatise shewing the due order of receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper. London: 1636.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the edition of 1689, probably a misprint.

170 Pareus de doctrina Xⁱana.

PAREUS, DAVID. Operum theologicorum exegeticorum pars 1 [& 2], 1628. f°. (Cat. 1723)

This is probably the work meant by the compiler of the List. The Andover-Harvard Theological Library has vol. i of this edition. H. C. L. has the edition of 1640-50.

171 Phochenius.

PFOCHEN, SEBASTIAN. Diatribe de linguæ Græcæ Novi Testamenti puritate. Amstelodami: 1633. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has a copy of an edition of 1629.

172 Plautus.

PLAUTUS. Comœdiæ. Amstelodami. 1619. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

173 Porcensis orationes.

174 Pet. Martyr, in Epist. ad Rom. Loci Comūnes.

MARTYR, PETER. In Epistolam ad Romanos . . . commentarii. Basileæ: 1574. f°. (Cat. 1723)

MARTYR, PETER. Loci communes. London: 1583. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has Heidelberg, 1622.

175 Piccolominej Philos.

PICCOLOMINI, FRANCISCO. Universa philosophia de moribus. Venet.: 1594. f°. (Cat. 1723)

- 176 Patresius de Regni. & reg: Institutione
 PATRIZZI, FRANCESCO. De regno et regis institutione libri IX.
 Parisiis: 1582. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
- 177 Persij Satyræ.
 PERSIUS. *Satyræ sex. Londini: 1614. 12°.
 It is to be noted that over 260 editions of Persius had been printed before 1637; as the Catalogue of 1723 does not help us to identify the one in Harvard's library, the above has been selected almost at random as one likely to have been in his possession.
- 178 Politianj Epist.
 POLIZIANO, ANGELO. Epistolarum libri 13. Antverpiæ: 1567.
 8°. (Cat. 1723)
 H. C. L. has an edition of Basileæ, 1522.
- 179 Passoris Lexicon. Græc. Lat.
 PASOR, GEORG. Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum. Herbornæ: 1637. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
 Editions of 1644 and 1702 are in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.
- 180 Pellegronj Sylva.
 PELEGROMIUS, SIMON. Synonymorum sylva. London: 1619.
 8°. (Cat. 1723)
- 181 Poetarū flores.
 MIRANDULA, OCTAVIANUS. *Illustrium poetarum flores. Londini: 1598. 12°.
 This work, a thick little volume of over 800 pages, was probably used as a school reading book, and passed through many editions. It does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, and the edition noted above is quoted only as a probable conjecture.
- 182 Pars Workes.
 PARR, ELNATHAN. *Works. 3d ed. London: 1632. f°. (Cat. 1723)
- 183 Pemples workes. de origine formarū.
 PEMBLE, WILLIAM. Works. 3d ed. London: 1635. f°. (Cat. 1723)
 H. C. L. has an edition of 1659.
 PEMBLE, WILLIAM. *De formarum origine. Cantabrigiæ: [1631.] sm. 8°.
 There was also an edition of 1629.

184 Preston on ye Attributes. 4 Sermons.

PRESTON, JOHN. *Life eternall, or a treatise of the knowledge of the divine essence and attributes. 4th ed. London: 1634. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

PRESTON, JOHN. Sermons preached before his majestie. . . . The fourth impression corrected and amended. London: 1634. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1631.

185 Physick for y^e Soule.

See no. 3.

186 Pavenij Ethicæ.

PAVONE, FRANCESCO. Summa ethicae. Morgunt.: 1621. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has Oxford, 1633.

187 Quirbj cōment: in Psalmos & Prophetas.

QUIROS, AUGUSTIN DE. Commentarii exegetici litterales in postremum canticum Moysis . . . prophetas Nahum et Malachiam, etc. Lugduni: 1623. 4°.

The work does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723, and the above identification is by no means certain.

188 Quarles Poems.

QUARLES, FRANCIS. *Divine poems; containing the history of Jonah, Ester, etc. London: 1634. 8°.

There were also editions in 1630 and 1633; the work does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

189 Reinolds Vanity of y^e Creature. Conference wth y^e hart.

REYNOLDS, EDWARD. The vanitie of the creature, and vexation of spirit. London: 1637. 12°.

RAINOLDS, JOHN. *The summe of the conference betweene John Rainoldes and John Hart. London: 1609. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

190 Rogers on Luke y^e 15.

ROGERS, NEHEMIAH. *The true convert, or an exposition upon the XV. chapter of St. Lukes Gospell. London: 1632. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

191 Rami Græca Grām: Lat. Logica cū Talæj Rhetorica, Molinej Log. vno volum:

RAMUS, PETRUS. Grammatica græca. Parisiis: 1562. 8°.

RAMUS, PETRUS. *Grammaticæ, libri quatuor*. Avenion: 1559. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

The British Museum Catalogue describes this as a Latin grammar, and it is no doubt the work indicated in the List.

RAMUS, PETRUS. *Dialecticæ libro duo*. Parisiis: 1560. 8°.

Probably the work indicated in the List by the entry "Logica." There were several other editions.

TALÆUS, AUDORAMUS. *Rhetorica*. Lutetiæ: 1552. 8°.

There were several other editions of this work.

DU MOULIN, PIERRE. *Elementa logica*. 7th ed. Parisiis: 1618. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1622.

192 Robinsons Essayes.

ROBINSON, JOHN. *Essayes moral and divine*. n. p. 1628. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has edition of 1638.

193 Royardus in Epist: Domin.

ROYARDUS, JOANNES. *Homiliarum in Epistolas Dominicales Pars æstiva. — Pars hyemalis*. Anverpiæ: 1543. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

194 Rogers, his Divinity. On Loue.

ROGERS, RICHARD. **Seaven Treatises*, London: 1610. f°. (Cat. 1723)

Possibly this is the work indicated in the List under "his Divinity."

ROGERS, JOHN. *A treatise of love*. London: 1629. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

195 Roxanæ Tragedia.

ALABASTER, WILLIAM. *Roxana. Tragœdia olim Cantabrigiæ acta in Col. Trin. nunc primum in lucem edita*. Londini: 1632. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

This is a surreptitious edition; an authorized edition was published later in the same year. There is a copy of the latter in H. C. L. This play was acted at Trinity College while John Harvard was a student at Emmanuel. Its author, William Alabaster, was a first cousin of John Winthrop.

196 Reinoldi Liber de Idololatria.

RAINOLDS, JOHN. **De Romanæ ecclesiæ idololatria libri duo*. Oxoniæ: 1596. 8°.

197 Stola in Lucā.

ESTELLA, DIEGO DE. In Evangelium secundum Lucam enarrationum tomus primus [et secundus]. Antverpiæ: 1622. f°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has 1612 edition.

198 Scultetj opa.

SCULTETUS, ABRAHAM. Annalium Evangelii . . . per Europam xv salutis partæ seculo renovati decas prima (secunda). Heidelberg: 1628. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

SCULTETUS, ABRAHAM. *Ethicorum libri duo, tertium editi. Argentinae: 1614. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

SCULTETUS, ABRAHAM. Exercitationes Evangelicæ. Amstelodami: 1624. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

The Andover-Harvard Theological Library has a copy.

SCULTETUS, ABRAHAM. In Epistolam ad Hebræos concionum ideæ. Hanoviae: 1606. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

This title is somewhat doubtful; the Catalogue of 1723 gives merely "Conciones," with this place and date. The fuller title is taken from an edition of Franckfurt, 1616, in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

SCULTETUS, ABRAHAM. Medulla theologiæ patrum. Ambergæ: 1603-9. 2 v. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The List merely gives "Sculteti Opera," but as the above five works by this author all appear in the Catalogue of 1723, it is fairly probable that they were all in Harvard's library.

199 Schriblerj metaphoræ.

SCHIBLER, CHRISTOPH. Opus Metaphysicorum. Marpurgi: 1627. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

200 Schickardi gram. hæb.

SCHICKARD, WILHELM. *Horologium hebræum. Tubingæ: 1625. 24°.

The work went through many editions. The Catalogue of 1723 has only an edition of 1646.

201 Sibbs fontaine sealed.

SIBBES, RICHARD. *A fountain sealed; or, the Duty of the sealed to the spirit, and the work of the spirit in sealing. London: 1637. 12°

202 Spongia contra Jesuit. Goloniū cū alijs opibus vno vol. compressis.

Spongia qua abstergantur convitia et maledicta Equitis Poloni contra Jesuitas. Cracoviae: 1590. 4°.

203 Sphinx Philosophy.

HEIDFELD, JOHANN. *Octavum renata sphinx theologico-philosophica. Herbornæ: 1621. sm. 8°.

There was also an earlier edition.

204 Speeds clowde of wittnesses.

SPEED, JOHN. A clowd of witnesses, and they the holy genealogies of the Sacred Scriptures, confirming unto us the truth of the histories in Gods most holie word. London: n. d. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

Many editions were published. H. C. L. has several bound in editions of the Bible.

205 Scalliger de subtilitate.

SCALIGER, JULIUS CÆSAR. Exotericarum exercitationum Liber XV de subtilitate ad Hieronymum Cardanum. Francofurti: 1601. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition, Hanover, 1620.

206 Scheibleri philosoph. compend.

SCHIEBLER, CHRISTOPH. Philosophia compendiosa. Ed. 4^a. Oxonia: 1628. 8°.

H. C. L. has 6th edition, Oxford, 1639.

207 Sebati Phys:

208 Setonj Dialectica.

SETON, JOHN. Dialecta. Emendatissime excusa. Cantabrigiæ: 1631. 8°.

This work, first published in 1572, was issued in five or six editions; it does not appear in the Catalogue of 1723.

209 Sarcerj Postilla.

SARCERIUS, ERASMUS. In evangelia dominicalia postilla. Francofurti: 1561. (Cat. 1723)

210 Soules præparation.

[HOOKER, THOMAS.] The soules preparation for Christ; or, a Treatise of contrition. London: 1632. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has edition of 1638.

211 Schenblerj sententiæ.

SCHIEBLER, CHRISTOPH. Liber sententiarum. Giessæ: 1615. 8°.

There were several other editions besides that noted above.

212 Salustius.

SALLUST. Opera omnia quæ extant. London: 1601. 8°.
(Cat. 1723)

213 Smiths Logicke.

SMITH, SAMUEL. *Aditus ad logicam. Ed. 4^a. Oxoniæ: 1634.
24°.

214 Scarfij Symphonia.

SCHARP, JOHANN. *Symphonia prophetarum, et apostolarum,
Genevæ: 1625. 2 pts. in 1 v. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

215 Saluthij Schola.

CAMBI DA SALUZZO, BARTOLOMMEO. Schola divini amoris.
Coloniz: 1610. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

216 Sceiblerj Synopsis Philos.

SCHIEBLER, CHRISTOPH. Synopsis totius philosophiæ. Giessenæ:
1610.

217 Saints Legacyes.

F., A. The saints legacies, or A collection of certaine promisses
out of the word of God. Oxford: 1631. 16°.

This has been attributed to Anthony Farindon.

218 Test. N. Græc.

Testamentum Novum Græcum. n. p. n. d. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

219 Tossanj Diction. Hebr.

TOSSANUS, PAUL. Syllabus dictionum hebraicarum, in Psal-
terio occurrentium. Basiliæ: 1615. 12°.

220 Terentius.

TERENCE. Comœdiæ sex. Amstelodami: 1622. 8°. (Cat.
1723)

221 Touchstone of truth.

[WARRE, JAMES.] The touchstone of truth, wherein veritie by
scripture is plainly confirmed and error confuted. London: 1624.
8°.

Another edition appeared in 1630.



222 Thrapuntij rhetorica.

GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS. *Rhetoricorum libri quinque. Parisiis: 1532. 8°.

The Catalogue of 1723 gives the edition of Lugduni, 1647, — possibly a misprint in the date.

223 Thesaurus poeticus.

BUCHLER, JOANNES. Thesaurus poeticus. Antwerp: 1618. 8°.
(Cat. 1723)

224 Textoris Epitheta. Epist.

RAVISIUS TEXTOR, JOHANN. *Epithetorum epitome. London: 1617. 8°.

RAVISIUS TEXTOR, JOHANN. Epistolæ. Genevæ: 1623. 8°.
(Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition, London, 1683.

225 Test.

The rest of this entry is trimmed off; presumedly it is some edition of the New Testament.

226 Twissus de gratia, potestate & Providentia.

TWISSE, WILLIAM. *Vindiciæ gratiæ potestatis ac providentiæ Dei. Amstelodami: 1632. f°. (Cat. 1723)

227 Taylour on Titus. on Revel. 12.

TAYLOR, THOMAS. *Commentarie upon the epistle of S. Paul written to Titus. [London:] 1612. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

TAYLOR, THOMAS. *Christ's victorie over the dragon, or Satans downfall; exposition of the twelfth chapter of S. Johns Revelation. London: 1633. sm. 4°.

228 Trunesse of X^{an} religion.

MORNAY, PHILIPPE DE. *A worke concerning the trunesse of Christian religion. [4th ed.] London: 1617. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

229 Turnerj Orationes.

TURNER, ROBERT. Orationes et epistolæ. Colonix Agrippinæ: 1615. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

230 Terus in Exod. Num. Deut. Josh. Jud.

TIRIN, JACQUES. Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam. Antverpiæ: 1632. 3 vols. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The entry in the List is very blind, and the author's name has been read as "Terns," "Terus," and "Teius." The Catalogue of 1723 gives vols. 2 and 3 only. H. C. L. has an edition of 1702.

- 231 *Thesaurus linguæ rom: & Britannicæ in fol.*
 COOPER, THOMAS. *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ.*
 n. p. n. d. f°. (Cat. 1723)
 The first edition was 1565; H. C. L. has 1578.
- 232 *Thomæ Aquinatis opa:*
 See no. 6.
- 233 *Tullij opa in 2 Tomis. de officijs.*
 CICERO. *Operum omnium tom. 1-3.* Basileæ: 1528. 3 v. in 2.
 f°. (Cat. 1723)
 CICERO. *De officiis libri tres.* Lugduni: 1557. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
- 234 *Tyme well spent.*
 CULVERWELL, EZEKIEL. *Time well spent in sacred meditations, divine observations, and heavenly exhortations.* London: 1634. 8°. (Cat. 1723)
 H. C. L. has an edition of 1635.
- 235 *Treasury of God.*
 B., F. *Gods treasurie displayed: or, The promises and threatenings of Scripture &c. methodically composed for the help of weake memories: and contrived into question and answeare, etc.* [By F. B. With prefaces by J. Rogers and J. Dyke.] London: 1630. 12°.
 This title, taken from the British Museum Catalogue, may not be the one called for in the List. In its notice of John Rogers (1572-1636), the Dictionary of National Biography says that "He prefaced 'Gods Treasurie displayed,' &c., 1630, 12mo, by F. B. (Francis Bunny?);" but in its notice of Bunny that work is not listed.
- 236 *Vorsius de Deo.*
 VORST, CONRAD. *Tractatus theologicus de deo.* Steinfurt: 1610. 4°. (Cat. 1723)
- 237 *Vdalls Heb^r Gra^m:*
 UDALL, JOHN. *Key of the holy tongue, wherein is contained, first the Hebrew grammar (in a manner) woord for woord . . . out of P. M. Martinius. . . . All englished by I. Udall.* Leyden: 1593. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

238 VALERIUS MAX.:

VALERIUS MAXIMUS. *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri nouem. Francofurti: 1627, 8°. (Cat. 1723)

The Catalogue of 1723 has "Lib 10, tit. deest."

239 Vocatio Judæorū.

GOUGE, WILLIAM. Of the calling of the jews. London: 1621. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

This title, taken from the Catalogue of 1723, may not be the work indicated by the entry in the List.

240 Warwicks Meditations.

WARWICK, ARTHUR. Spare minutes, or Resolved meditations and premeditated resolutions. 4th ed. London: 1635. 12°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has the 6th edition, 1637.

241 Wall on Acts 18. V^a 28.

WALL, JOHN. The watering of Apollos. Delivered in a sermon on Acts xviii. 28. Oxford: 1625. 8°.

242 Withers.

WITHER, GEORGE. *Abuses stript and whipt. London: 1613. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

WITHER, GEORGE. The shepheards hunting. London: 1615. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has an edition of 1622.

Both the above works of George Wither are in the Catalogue of 1723, and presumedly it is one or both of them that John Harvard owned.

243 Weames 4th Vol. of y^e Image of God in man. on the Lawes morall, ceremoniall, Judiciall.

WEEMSE, JOHN. *A treatise of the foure degenerate sonnes . . . Being the fourth volume of his workes. London: 1636. 4°.

The Catalogue of 1723 has Weemse's Works in 4 volumes, 1636-37. An examination of the set now in H. C. L. shows it to have been made up of various books published from 1632 to 1636, each with its special title-page. It seems not improbable that the general title-pages were lacking in all but the fourth volume of Harvard's copy and that the compiler of the List therefore gave the separate titles.

WEEMSE, JOHN. *The portraiture of the image of God in man. London: 1632. 4°.

WEEMSE, JOHN. *An exposition of morall law. London: 1632. 2 v. 4°.

WEEMSE, JOHN. *An explanation of the ceremoniall lawes of Moses. London: 1632. 4°.

WEEMSE, JOHN. *An explication of the iudiciall lawes of Moses. London: 1632. 4°.

244 Willsons X^{aa} Dictionary.

WILSON, THOMAS. A Christian dictionary of the chief words in the Old and New Testament. n. p. n. d. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

The first edition was in 1612, and the second in 1616, both in quarto; the third edition was in 1622 and in folio. H. C. L. has a copy of the latter.

245 Watsonj animæ Gaudia.

WATSON, THOMAS. Amintæ gaudia. London: 1592. 4°.

246 Whakly his new birth.

WHATELY, WILLIAM. The new birth, or a treatise of regeneration. London: 1635. 4°. (Cat. 1723)

247 Wygandus de psec. piorū exilijs.

WIGAND, JOHANN. De persecutione piorum, exiliis piorum, . . . martyriis piorum. Francofurti: 1580. 8°.

248 Wandelinj Contemplatio Phys. Tom 3.

WENDELIN, MARCUS FRIEDRICH. Contemplationum physicarum sectiones tres. Hanovix: 1626-28. 8°. (Cat. 1723)

H. C. L. has sectio i in the edition of 1625 and an edition published at Cambridge (1648).

249 Wardes Sermons.

WARD, SAMUEL. *A collection of such sermons and treatises as have been written and published by Samuel Ward. London: 1636. 16°. (Cat. 1723)

250 Zanchij Opa.

ZANCHI, GIROLAMO. Operum omnium tomus primus-(octavus). Genevæ: 1619, '17, '18. 8 v. in 4. f°. (Cat. 1723)

The Andover-Harvard Theological Library has 2 volumes of an edition of 1613.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS, EDITORS, ETC.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Abernethy, John 3 185 | Broughton, Hugh 46
133 | Dickson, David 76 |
| Æsop 19 | Bucanus, Gulielmus 44 | Dort, Synod of 14 15
121 |
| Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius 62 | Buchler, Joannes 223 | Dove, John 81 |
| Ainsworth, Henry 7 | Bullinger, Heinrich 42 | Downname (Downham),
John 78 |
| Alabaster, William 195 | Buxtorf, Johann 27 | Draxe, Thomas 56 89 |
| Alciati, Andrea 18 | Bythner, Victorinus 25 | Du Laurens, André 140 |
| Alesius, Alexander 11 | Calepinus, Ambrosius 1 | Du Moulin, Pierre 12
144 191 |
| Alsted, Johann Heinrich
10 | Calvin, John 26 48 | Duns Scotus, Joannes 80 |
| Ames, William 8 | Cambi da Saluzzo, Bartolommeo 215 | Dyke, Daniel 82 |
| Anchoranus, Joannes 13 | Camden, William 52 | Dyke, Jeremiah 82 169
235 |
| Aquinas, St. Thomas 6
232 | Camerarius, Philipp 49 | Elton, Edward 84 |
| Arias Montanus, Benedictus 153 | Carleton, George 71 | Epictetus 85 |
| Ascham, Roger 16 | Cartwright, Thomas 68 | Erasmus, Desiderius 88 |
| Augustine, Saint 9 | Castaneus. <i>See</i> Chasteigner | Estella, Diego de 197 |
| B., F. 235 | Cato, Dionysius 74 | Estienne, Charles 77 |
| B., T. <i>See</i> Bowes,
Thomas | Chapman, George 112 | Estienne, Henri 110 |
| Bacon, Sir Francis 34
134 | Chasteigner, Henri Louis
55 | Eustachius 86 |
| Baker, Sir Richard 74 | Chrysostom, Saint 54 | Fabritius, Stephanus 95 |
| Balbani, Niccolo 73 | Church, Henry 51 | Faret, Nicolas 106 |
| Ball, John 31 | Chytræus, David 72 | Farindon, Anthony 217 |
| Bañez, Domingo 35 | Cicero 56 233 | Featley, Daniel 165 |
| Barclay, John 87 | Clenardus, Nicolaus 53 | Feltham, Owen 96 |
| Bastingius, Jeremias 32 | Colonna, Egidio 20 | Feu-ardent, François 99 |
| Bayley, Walter 47 | Comenius, Johann Amos
13 | Francklin, Richard 93 |
| Baynes, Paul 24 | Conradus, Alfonsus 70 | Georgius Trapezuntius
222 |
| Beard, Thomas 39 | Conti, Natale 159 | Golding, Arthur 48 |
| Becon, Thomas 28 | Cooper, Thomas 158
231 | Golius, Theophilus 101 |
| Bede 37 | Cornerus, Christophorus
59 | Goodwin, Thomas 103 |
| Bellarmino, Roberto 29 | Corradus, Joannes Baptistista 50 | Gouge, William 239 |
| Berchetus, Tussanus 26 | Cotton, Clement 66 | Graserus, Conradus 4 |
| Bèze, Théodore de 23
73 | Crashaw, William 73 | Grimstone, Edward 106 |
| Bolton, Robert 30 | Crooke, Samuel 83 | Gruterus, Janus 2 |
| Bovillus, Carolus 36 | Culverwell, Ezekiel 234 | Gryneus, Johann Jacob
36 102 |
| Bowes, Thomas 21 | Cumel, Franciscus 60 | Guild, William 154 |
| Bradshaw, William 45 | Daneau, Lambert 75 | Hall, Joseph 91 |
| Brentz, Johann 38 41 | Davenant, John 79 | Heidfeld, Johann 203 |
| Brerewood, Edward 33
40 | | Hemmingsen, Niels 111 |

- Henshaw, Joseph 117
 Hewes, John 89
 Heylyn, Peter 114
 Hildersam, Arthur 108
 Holland, Philemon 167
 Homer 112
 Hooker, Thomas 210
 Horace 110
 Humphrey, Laurence 135
 Hunnius, Egidius 107
 Hutton, Thomas 116

 Isocrates 120

 Jack, Gilbert 118
 James, Thomas 150
 James I 22
 Jerome, Stephen 17
 Junius, Francis 23 43
 Juvenal 119

 Keckermann, Bartholomäus 122 123

 La Faye, Antoine de 98
 Lambarde, William 137
 Lapide, Cornelius à 62
 La Primaudaye, Pierre de 21
 Leigh, Edward 136
 Lemnius, Levinus 131
 Lewis, Jeremiah 129
 Lightfoot, John 127
 Loss, Lucas 126 139
 Lubin, Eilhard 63
 Lucan 128
 Luther, Martin 124
 Lycosthenes, Conradus 138

 Magirus, Joannes 146
 Marlorat, Augustin 142 145
 Martinius, Petrus 151 237
 Martyr, Peter 174
 Maxey, Anthony 147
 Melancthon, Philipp 168
 Mignault, Claude 18

 Minois, Claudius. *See*
 Mignault, Claude
 Minsheu, John 149
 Mirandula, Octavianus 181
 Moller, Heinrich 141
 Montanus. *See* Arias Montanus
 Mornay, Philippe de 228
 Muret, Marc Antoine 2
 Musculus, Wolfgang 143
 Myconius, Oswald 152

 Niccols, Richard 156
 North, Sir Thomas 167

 Ocland, Christopher 5
 Osiander, Lucas 160
 Osorio, Jeronimo 109

 Pareus, David 170
 Parr, Elnathan 182
 Pasor, Georg 179
 Patrizzi, Francesco 176
 Pavone, Francesco 186
 Peacham, Henry 90
 Pelegromius, Simon 180
 Pemble, William 183
 Perceval (Percyvall), Richard 149
 Persius 119 177
 Pfochen, Sebastian 171
 Piccolomini, Francisco 175
 Piscator, Johann 164
 Plautus 172
 Pliny, the Younger 166
 Plutarch 167
 Polanus, Amandus 163
 Poliziano, Angelo 178
 Preston, John 184
 Prynne, William 165

 Quarles, Francis 188
 Quiros, Augustin de 187

 Rainolds, John 189 196
 Ramus, Petrus 191
 Ravisius Textor, Johann 224

 Reynolds, Edward 189
 Robinson, John 192
 Rogers, John 194 235
 Rogers, Nehemiah 190
 Rogers, Richard 194
 Rogers, Thomas 111
 Royardus, Joannes 193

 Sallust 212
 Sarcerius, Erasmus 209
 Scaliger, Julius Cæsar 205
 Scapula, Johann 130
 Scharp, Johann 214
 Scheibler, Christoph 199 206 211 216
 Schickard, Wilhelm 200
 Scott, Sir Michael 161
 Scultetus, Abraham 198
 Seneca 2
 Seton, John 208
 Sibbes, Richard 201
 Simson (Symson), Patrick 113
 Smith, Samuel 213
 Spangenberg, Johann 94
 Speed, John 204
 Spenser, Benjamin 132
 Stephanus. *See* Estienne

 Takeus, Auditoramus 191
 Taylor, Thomas 227
 Terence 220
 Tirin, Jacques 230
 Tossanus, Paul 219
 Tremellio, Immanuele 23 43
 Turner, Robert 229
 Tuvil, Daniel 92
 Twisse, William 226

 Udall, John 237

 Valerius Maximus 238
 Valla, Lorenzo 89
 Vaughan, Sir William 47
 Vorst, Conrad 236

 Wall, John 241
 Walther, Rudolph 100

Ward, Samuel 249	Wendelin, Marcus Fried- rich 248	Wolfius, Hieronymus 120
Warre, James 221	Whately, William 246	Zabarella, Jacopo 67
Warwick, Arthur 240	Wigand, Johann 247	Zacharias, Chrystopoli- tanus 57
Watson, Thomas 245	Wilson, Thomas 244	Zanchi, Girolamo 250
Weemse (Weemes, Wemyss), John 243	Wither, George 242	

THE FOLLOWING NUMBERS ARE UNIDENTIFIED, OR ARE
IMPERFECTLY IDENTIFIED

4 11 23 29 38 53 57 58 61 64 65 67 72 74 75 89 97 104 105 111 115
125 133 148 149 153 155 157 159 164 168 170 173 181 187 191 194
198 207 230 235 239

NOTE

Since the above paper was in type, an English bookseller, Mr. Alfred Bull, has identified two of the doubtful entries. *Chareus* (No. 61) should undoubtedly read *Pareus*. David Pareus, who also appears in the List under No. 170, was the author of commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Hebrews, to the Galatians, and to the Romans, published separately between 1609 and 1617. Which one of them John Harvard had, or if he had all of them, cannot be told, as none appear in the Catalogue of 1723. The Andover-Harvard Theological Library has "In divinam ad Hebræos S. Pauli Epistolam Commentarius. Genevæ. 1614. 8°." The other identification is No. 230: *Terus* should read *Ferus*, i. e. Joannes Ferus (*anglicè* Wild). His work "Annotationes in Exodum, Numeros, Deuteronomium, Librum Joshuæ, Librum Judicium. Coloniae Agrippini: 1571. 8°." was in the Catalogue of 1723, and a copy is now in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library.

ALFRED C. POTTER.

APRIL MEETING, 1919

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of the President, at his house in Longfellow Park, Cambridge, on Thursday, 24 April, 1919, at eight o'clock in the evening, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters accepting Resident Membership had been received from Mr. SAMUEL WILLISTON and Mr. MORRIS GRAY.

The Rev. Dr. HOWARD NICHOLSON BROWN of Boston, and Mr. JOHN LOWELL of Newton, were elected Resident Members.

The PRESIDENT appointed the following Committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — Messrs. CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH, HENRY ERNEST WOODS, and JAMES ATKINS NOYES.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. ROBERT GOULD SHAW and HENRY GODDARD PICKERING.

The PRESIDENT announced that he had been requested by the Council to appoint a Committee on Memorials, whose duty it shall be to identify interesting and important historical sites, especially in Boston, and to solicit the owners to mark them; and that accordingly he had appointed the following: Mr. CHARLES SEDGWICK RACKEMANN, Chairman, and Messrs. SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH, ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER, HENRY GODDARD PICKER-

ING, RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS, JOHN ELIOT THAYER, GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH, and JOHN WOODBURY.

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH read the following paper:

JOHN DUNTON AGAIN

Seven years ago, in a paper read before this Society,¹ I tried to vindicate John Dunton from the charge of attempting to write history. I now offer a short supplement to that earlier paper.

Dunton, it will be remembered, was a London bookseller, publisher, and miscellaneous writer, who at the age of twenty-seven came to Boston in January, 1686, and remained there or thereabouts until the following July. In 1705, as a part of his *Life and Errors*, he published a short account of his trip. In 1867 the Prince Society published a very much more extended account of Dunton's visit drawn from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, — the so-called *Letters from New England*. Of these letters, eight in all, six purport to be written from New England and were formerly regarded by some as "unique sketches of New England life, honestly drawn, and defective rather than erroneous."² Unique they not improbably are; but they come so far short of being honestly drawn or free from error that they cannot safely be used by anyone who fails to realize Dunton's extraordinary propensity for borrowing material. His accounts of people and of places are particularly untrustworthy, since for the latter he relies upon Josselyn and for the former upon various seventeenth century writers of "characters," from whom he copies almost verbatim, though he takes considerable pains to make his work seem original.

The second of Dunton's eight letters, supposedly written to his brother from Boston,³ and dated February 17, 1685-6, is an account of the voyage. In the course of this voyage Dunton either saw or just missed seeing a most remarkable variety of sea animals, — a whale, flying-fish, shark, tortoise, dolphin, musculus, torpedo, sea-calf, sea-horse, swordfish, thresher, sunfish, porpoise, and alligator.

¹ Publications, xiv. 213-257.

² William H. Whitmore, *Introduction to Dunton's Letters from New England*, p. xxiv.

³ "To my only Brother Mr. Lake Dunton. Lately Return'd from Surat in the East Indies." The letter occupies pp. 20-55 of the Prince Society edition.

Each of these he describes, usually to the length of about half a page.

In these descriptions there are several suspicious features. When, for example, we find Dunton writing of the captured whales, "When the victory is got over 'em, and the mighty victim lies at their Conquering Feet, they fearless then survey his huge and massy Body, and tell all his goodly Fins, which like so many Oars in a great Gally do serve to row his Carcase through the Seas at his own pleasure,"¹ we feel that the style is obviously unlike Dunton's. Then there are expressions which suggest either an earlier date than 1686 or a different kind of book from his: "equalizeth," for instance, in the sense of "is equal to," "chaps," for "jaws," and such forms as "swimmeth," "hath," "writeth," "saith," "massy," and such expressions as "in this his large dominion" and "except they be affrighted with the sound of Drums and Trumpets." Nor is one's confidence in Dunton increased by his references to DuBartas and Munster, for with him such apparent ingenuousness usually means not that he has used the originals, but that he has been reading someone who cites them. Moreover, the descriptions of the musculus, dolphin, flying-fish, sunfish, and sea-horse conclude with moral applications which suggest not only an earlier date than Dunton's, but also a more clerical point of view.² On the musculus for instance, which swims before the whale as a guide, Dunton moralizes thus: "Which office of that little Fish, may serve as a fit Emblem to teach Great Ones that they ought not to contemn their Inferiours; There may come a time when the meanest Person may do a Man some good." Then too the descriptions follow one another rather in the formal order of a treatise than in the casual manner to be expected in an epistolary account of a voyage. Again, the inclusion of the alligator in the fauna of the North Atlantic in January gives considerable ground for skepticism about the whole account; while the conclusion of Dunton's description of the Tortoise — "it is observable that if any of these Sea-Fowl be taken on the land, . . . they will never give

¹ P. 43.

² See Andrew D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, i, chap. 1, for a popular account, with many references, of the *Physiologus* and similar books. See also the article "Physiologus" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

over sighing, sobbing, and weeping, . . . ; yea, even Tears will trickle from their Eyes in great abundance" — certainly looks like one of those statements which caused Joseph Addison mildly to observe of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto that he was "a person of infinite adventure, and unbounded imagination."

Altogether, there seemed justification enough for suggesting, as, without conclusive proof, I did seven years ago, that the various sailors who told Dunton so much about the fish that they had met had managed to commit to memory large portions of some not very reliable work on natural history.

At any rate, such now appears to be the fact, and my confidence in Dunton was not in the least misplaced. In fact, I underestimated his powers, for he has woven together passages almost literally copied from three books.

The first of these books is a volume of travels, not to New England, but to the East Indies, containing the "familiar letters" concerning his travels which Pietro della Valle wrote to his friend Mario Schipano. They were published in folio at London in 1665, translated by one G. Havers.¹ To them is appended an account of Sir Thomas Roe's voyage to the East Indies, and it is from this part of the book that Dunton borrows.²

¹ The / Travels / Of / Sig. Pietro della Valle, / A Noble Roman, / Into / East-India / And / Arabia Deserta. / In which, the several Countries, together with the / Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites both / Religious and Civil, of those Oriental Princes / and Nations, are faithfully Described: / In Familiar Letters to his Friend / Signior Mario Schipano. / Whereunto is Added / A Relation of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage / into the East-Indies. / London, / Printed by J. Macock, for John Martin, and James Allestry; and / are to be sold at their Shop, at the Bell in S^t Paul's / Church-yard. 1665.

The Epistle Dedicatory to the Earl of Orrery, concludes thus concerning the relation of Sir Thomas Roe's voyage:

"The other Piece hath been judg'd fit to be adjoyned, as one of the Exactest Relations of the Eastern parts of the World that hitherto hath been publish'd by any Writer, either Domestick or Forreign; having been penn'd by one that attended Sir *Thomas Roe* in his Embassy to the Great *Mogol*; Than whom, 'tis acknowledg'd by one of that Country that trades most into those parts, none ever gave a more faithful Account thereof."

This dedication is signed by G. Havers.

For a life of Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) and a bibliographical account of his *Viaggi*, see Edward Grey's edition of *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2 vols., London, 1892 (Hakluyt Society Publications, Nos. 84 and 85).

² There is an account of Sir Thomas Roe (1580 or 1581-1644) in the Dic-

The second of Dunton's sources is a curious work called *Speculum Mundi*, by one John Swan.¹

The third and principal source of Dunton's borrowings is a most extraordinary work by Daniel Pell, which may be called for short *An Improvement of the Sea*.²

tionary of National Biography by Stanley Lane-Poole, who does not mention this relation. S. R. Gardiner mentions Roe frequently and with much respect: see the general index in the tenth volume of his *History of England, 1603-1642*.

¹ *Speculum / Mundi. / Or / A Glasse Re- / presenting The Face / Of The World; / Shevving both that it did begin, and must also end: / The manner Hovv, and time When, being / largely examined. / Whereunto Is / Joyned / an Hexameron, or a serious discourse of the causes, / continuance, and qualities of things in Nature; / occasioned as matter pertinent to the / vwork done in the six dayes of the / Worlds creation. / The second Edition enlarged. / Aug. in Ser. de Ascen. / Qui se dicit scire quod nescit, temerarius est. / Qui se negat scire quod scit, ingratus est. / Printed by Roger Daniel Printer to the / Universitie of Cambridge, 1643. / For Troylus Adkinson, Stationer in Cambridge.*

Swan's *Speculum Mundi* was rather popular: the British Museum catalogue has editions as follows, — Cambridge 1635, Cambridge 1643, London 1665, and London 1670. A recent bookseller's catalogue advertises a copy of the Cambridge edition of 1643 with a "fine frontispiece by W. Marshall." This is, of course, the well known William Marshall, on whom see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Possibly this frontispiece is the "second title-page, engraved" referred to by the British Museum cataloguer in describing their copy of the second edition.

The author of the *Speculum Mundi* may be the John Swan who entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as a sizar in the Lenten term of 1626-7 and proceeded A.B. in 1630-1 and A.M. in 1634. Another John Swan entered Queens College, Cambridge, as a pensioner in 1627 and was A.B. in 1630-1 and A.M. in 1634. Still another entered Trinity in 1622 and was A.B. in 1625-6 and A.M. in 1629. (Venn, *Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, 1913, p. 651.)

² The copy of Pell in the Harvard College Library is imperfect, the first six words of the title having been supplied in manuscript. The words so supplied are indicated below within square brackets. It appears, however, from the British Museum catalogue, Watt, the Thomason Catalogue, and other sources, that the first word of the title should be *Πέλαγος*, in part chosen, no doubt, for the sake of the pun upon the author's name. The full title of Pell's book should be, then, as follows:

[*Πέλαγος* Nec inter Vivos, nec inter Mortuos] Neither *Amongst the living*, nor *amongst the Dead. / Or, An / Improvement / of the Sea, / Upon the Nine Nautical Verses in the / 107. Psalm; / Wherein is handled / I. The several, great, and many hazards, that Ma / riners do meet withall, in Stormy and Tempestuous / Seas. II. Their many, several, miraculous, and stupen / dious deliverances out of all their helpless, and / shiftless distresses. / III. A very full, and delightful description of all those / many various, and multitudinous objects, which / they behold in their travels (through the Lords / Creation) both on Sea, in Sea, and on Land.*

The extent of these borrowings and the curious way in which passages from different authors are often combined make it seem worth while to reproduce in full Dunton's fourteen descriptions of sea animals and his sources, arranged in parallel columns. These follow.

THE FLYING FISH

DUNTON'S SOURCE

It hath wings like Reere-mice, but of a silver hue; they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they flie in flockes, like Stares, or Sparrowes. (A Treatise of Brasill, in Purchas his Pilgrims, Glasgow, 1906, xvi. 487.)

. . . the *Flying-fish*, whom God out of wisdom has given wings unto, (like a fowl) for the preservation of its life in the great waters. This poor creature is often hunted, chased, and pursued, by the *Boneto*, *Porpise*, and other ravenous fish, which follow it with as much violence as the hungry hound does the poor silly and shelterless *Hare*. Insomuch that it is forced one while to fly, and another while to swim; . . . It is observed by the Mariners, that this fish rather than it will bee taken by its enemies in the waters, it will

DUNTON

Here we saw great quantities of Sea-fowl flying, which seem'd strange to me so far off of Land, tho' not quite out of sight of it. But the Mariners told me, that was very ordinary, even when out of sight of Land; for that these Fowls live generally upon Fishes, and indeed they wou'd be often-times popping at 'em: While we were thus observing the Flying Fowles, one of the Seamen affirm'd that he had seen Flying Fishes, and that they had wings like a Rere-Mouse, but of a silver-colour; and that under the Tropick of Capricorn they fly in shoals like stares. Nature has given this fish Wings (as he affirm'd) for the preservation of its Life, for being often pursued by the Beneto, Porpoise, and other ravenous Fish, with the same Eagerness as the hungry Hound pursues the timorous Hare, it is oftentimes forced to save it self by flying. It is observed by the Mariners, That this fish will rather chuse to fly into a Ship or Boat, if any

viz. / *All sorts and kinds of Fish, Fowl, and Beasts, / Whether wilde, or tame; all sorts of Trees, and / Fruits; all sorts of People, Cities, Towns, and / Countries; / With many profitable, and useful rules, and / Instructions for them that use the Seas. / By Daniel Pell, Preacher of the Word. / London, Printed for Livewell Chapman, and are to be / sold at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. 1659.*

Pell dates his preface from his Study "at my Lady Hungerfords in Hungerford house upon the Strand, May 4, 1659." This was Lady Margaret Hungerford, wife of Sir Edward Hungerford. He died before 1659, as appears from Pell's separate dedicatory epistle to Lady Hungerford.

The publication of the book presumably occurred in November of 1659, according to the Thomason Catalogue, ii. 268.

A Daniel Pell, who may be our author, entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar, in Easter term 1651. (Venn, Book of Matriculations and Degrees, p. 520.)

many times betake it self in its flight into ships, or boats. And alas this makes the Proverb good, *Out of the frying-pan into the fire.* (Pell, p. 199.)

be near, than be taken by its Enemies; tho' this only makes good the Proverb, *Out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire.* (Dunton, p. 24.)

THE SEA-HOG

DUNTON'S SOURCE

The Sea-hog, or Swine. This creature is headed like an Hog, toothed, and tusked like a Boar, . . . These beasts take such delight in one anothers company, that they are to be seen in greater troops and herds, than the greatest land-herds of Swine that ever were seen, for they are not comparable unto the multitudes that bee of them, and are in the Seas. (Pell, p. 222.)

The *Porpisces* or *Hogfish* . . . are (as if they came of the race of the *Gadaren* Swine, that ran violently into the Sea) very swift in their motion, and like a company marching in rank and file; They leap or mount very nimbly over the waves, and so down and up again, making a melancholy noise, when they are above the water. These are usually, when they thus appear, certain presagers of very foul weather. (Roe, p. 329.)

I have observed, that when this fish hath been wounded by shot or Harping-iron, that hee is no sooner peirced, and mortally wounded, but every one of the same kinde will follow him with the greatest violence that can bee, striving and contending who should beat him first, and have their teeth and mouthes the deepest, and fastest in his carkass. (Pell, p. 223.)

DUNTON

The weather being a little clear, several Fishes were seen playing above-water, not far from our Ship, which made me do my utmost with the assistance of Palmer and another of the Passengers, to get above deck again; and indeed I did not lose my labour, for I saw a vast number of Fishes called Sea-hogs, or Porpoises. They were headed much like a Hog, and tooth'd and tusk'd much like a Boar; These Sea-hogs take such delight in one anothers Company, that they swim together in great Numbers, exceeding the largest herd of Swine I ever saw by Land, for those by Land are far inferior for multitude, to those that are in the Seas. These Porpoises, or Hogfish, are very swift in their motion (as if they came of the race of the *Gadaren* swine that ran violently into the sea) — and are like a company marching in rank and file; they leap or mount very nimbly over the waves and so down and up again, making a melancholy noyse when they are above the water: when they appear they are certain presagers of foul weather. There is one thing very remarkable about this Fish, and that is, That if one of them happen to be wounded, either by shott or Harping Iron; the whole Herd pursue him with the greatest fury and violence that may be, seeming to contend who shou'd fall upon him first, and have their Teeth deepest in his Carcase. (Dunton, p. 32.)

THE SHARK

DUNTON'S SOURCE

They have in the Salt-water a frequent aspect of the ravenous, feral, and preying sort of fish called a *Shark*, of whom the Mariner is more afraid than of all the fish in the Sea besides. This *Pickroon*, if hee can but take any of them bathing themselves . . . hee will tear them limb from limb, so great a lover hee is of the flesh of man. Some have observed of this fish, that they have not stuck to clammer up upon their ship sides, out of a greediness to feed upon the Sailors. . . . To describe you this creature, I must tell you, that he is of very great bulk, and of a double or treble set . . . of teeth, which are as sharp as needles, but God out of his infinite wisdom considering the fierceness, and violence of the creature, has so ordered him, that hee is forced to turn himself upon his back, before hee can have any power over his prey, or otherwise nothing would escape him. (Pell, p. 206.)

DUNTON

My constant indisposition would not suffer me to stay long upon the Deck at a time, and therefore having view'd those Sea-Hogs, I was forc'd to retire again into my Cabin: but Palmer afterwards brought me word that they had seen a Fish called Shark, a very dangerous and ravenous Fish, as the Mariners told me, of whom they are more afraid than of all the Fishes in the Sea beside; for if he chance to meet with any of them in the Water, he seldom suffers them to Escape without the loss of a Limb at least and many times devours the Whole Body; so great a Lover is this Fish of Humane Flesh; insomuch that some have observ'd that they have endeavour'd to clamber up the sides of the Ship, out of a greedy desire of Preying on the Sailors: This Fish, it seems, is of a very great Bulk, with a double or treble set of Teeth, as sharp as Needles: But Nature has so order'd it, that as an allay to his Devouring Nature, he is forc'd to turn himself upon his Back, before he can take his prey, by which means many escape him which else would fall into his Clutches. It is, my Brother, from the Devouring Nature of this Fish, that we call those Men Sharks; who having nothing of their own, make it their business to live upon other Men, and devour their Substance. (Dunton, p. 33.)

THE SUN-FISH

DUNTON'S SOURCE

. . . whose usual property is to come out of the depths in the sweetest and calmest weathers, to lye sleeping

DUNTON

Being a little better, I got upon the Deck again, and the weather being pretty clear, the mariners discovered a Fish called the Sun-fish, of a lovely bright and shining colour, whose property it is in Calm weather to come out of the Depths, and lie sleeping and

and beaking [*sic*] of himself upon the Surface of the Seas, . . . Mariners sometimes will hoise out their boats and take them up.

It brought into my mind, that it is a very perilous thing for a Christian to be found asleep (by that mortal and deadly enemy Satan) when and whilst hee is standing Sentinel upon his guard. The Devil is of an indefatigable spirit, *ὁ περιπάτων*, in the present tense, which reports him not to be lazy but busy, not a loyterer but a stickler, and a stirrer in his pernicious work; . . . (Pell, p. 202.)

basking itself upon the Surface of the Waters, by which means often-times the Mariners have an opportunity of taking them. This, my Brother, made me reflect how dangerous a thing it is for any one to sleep unguarded in the midst of Enemies, especially so industrious and indefatigable an Enemy as the Scripture represents the Great Enemy of our Souls to be, who goes about continually like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. (Dunton, p. 34.)

THE ALLIGATOR

DUNTON'S SOURCE

They have a frequent aspect of that wonderful and impenetrable sort of Beasts which the *Mariners* call an *Alligator*. . . . This Beast is of a vast longitude and magnitude (some say many yards in length) in colour, hee is of a dark brown, which makes him the more invisible, and indiscernable when hee lyes his *Trapan* in the waters. . . . Of such strength is this beast, that no creature is able to make his escape from him, if hee get but his chaps fastened in them. . . . This beast hath his three tyer of teeth in his chaps, and so firmly scaled and armed with coat of Male, that you may as well shoot, or strike upon or at a Rock and Iron, as offer to wound him. (Pell, pp. 228-229.)

DUNTON

Being laid down upon the Bed one Day to repose my self, Palmer comes down to me, and tells me, I had lost the sight of a very great and strange Creature, which our Captain call'd an Alligator; this Creature is of a vast length and breadth, (some say many yards in length;) in colour he is of a dark brown, which makes him the more imperceptable when he lies as a *Trapan* in the Waters. He is of so vast a strength that no Creature is able to make his Escape from him, if he gets but his Chaps fastened in them; for he has three Tere of Teeth in his Chaps and so firmly sealed [*sic*] and armed with Coat of Male, that you may as well shoot at a Rock, or strike against Bars of Iron, as offer to wound him. (Dunton, p. 35.)

THE DOLPHIN

DUNTON'S SOURCE

They oftentimes have a frequent sight of that sociable & companionable

DUNTON

I must acquaint you, That whilst I thus lay musing in my Cabin, one of the Seamen came, and told me that they had had a Dolphin swimming a pretty while by the Ship side, as if it did intend to vye with them in sailing:

Sea-fish, called the *Dolphin*. *Naturalists* tell us that these creatures do take great delight to accompany the swift-sailing ships that come through the Seas. . . . I have seen them accompanying of us for a long time together, . . . some swimming on head, some on stern, some on the *Starbord*-side of us, and othersome on the *Larbord*, like so many *Sea-pages*, or *Harbingers* runing before our wooden horses, as if they were resolved by the best language that fish could give us, to welcome us into and through the waters, and telling us that they would go along with us. (Pell, p. 203.)

. . . not so much I think 'for the love they bear unto man, (as some write,) as to feed themselves with what they find cast overboard: whence it comes to pass, that many times they feed us; for when they swim close to our ships, we often strike them with a broad instrument, full of barbs, called an *Harping-iron*, . . . This *Dolphin* may be a fit Emblem of an ill race of people, who under sweet countenances, carry sharp tongues. (Roe, pp. 328-329.)

I made what haste I cou'd upon the deck, but came too late to see it, for the sociable Fish had now withdrawn himself: But the account I had of it from them that saw it, was, This Fish takes great Delight in sailing along by those Ships that pass through the Seas; and one of the mariners affirm'd that in some voyages he had seen several of them accompanying their ship, for a long time together; some swimming a head, and some a stern, some on the Starboard, and others on the Larboard side, like so many *Sea-Pages* attending them, seeming to tell us we were welcome into their Territories; or as if they were resolved to be our safe-conduct thorow 'em. But this is not so much, I think, for the love they bear unto man, (as some write,) as to feed themselves with what they find cast overboard,¹ whence it comes to pass, that many times they feed us, for when they swim close to our ships we often strike them with a broad instrument, full of barbs, called an *Harping-iron*. The *Dolphin* may be a fit emblem of an ill race of people who under sweet countenances carry sharp tongues. As to their being generally represented as a Crooked Fish, I enquir'd about it, and am inform'd it is only a vulgar error of the Painters,² for 'tis a straight a Fish as any swims

¹ The contrary opinion is expressed in Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*, ii, No. 5, Question 5, where the question "Why a *Dolphin* follows a Ship until he is frightened away" is thus answered: "'Tis not from the same reason as *Sharks*, and other ravenous Fishes do, who expect a dead Body, or a Prey, but from the great love and kindness which these sort of Fishes bear unto Man."

² This passage may indicate that Dunton had looked into Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, bk. v. chap. 2 ("Of the Picture of *Dolphins*"), wherein we read: "That *dolphins* are crooked, is not only affirmed by the hand of the painter, but commonly conceived their natural and proper figure, which is not only the opinion of our times, but seems the belief of elder times before us. . . . Notwithstanding, to speak strictly, in their natural figure they are straight, nor have their spine convexed, or more considerably embowed, than *sharks*, *porpoises*, *whales*, and other cetaceous animals" (*Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Simon Wilkin, London, 1852, ii. 4-5).

Plinie hath written much of this fish, . . . affirming that he is not onely sociable and desirous of mans company, but delighted also in sweet and sense-charming musick.

*Amongst the fishes that did swiftly throng
To dance the measures of his mournfull
song,
There was a Dolphin did the best afford
His nimble motions to the trembling
chord.*

But whether that in the storie of *Arion* be true, I am not able to say. . . .

Howbeit this scruple may not take away the love of the Dolphin towards man. For besides those things related in *Plinie*, of a boy feeding a Dolphin, and carried on his back over the waters to school, . . . others also have in a manner written to the same purpose. And amongst the rest, *Ælian* tells a storie of a Dolphin and a boy: this boy being very fair, used with his companions to play by the sea side, and to wash with them in the water, practising likewise to swimme: which being perceived by a Dolphin frequenting that coast, the Dolphin fell into a great liking with this boy above the rest, and used very familiarly to swimme by him side by side: . . . sometimes the boy would get upon the Dolphins back, and ride through the waterie territories of Neptunes kindome, as upon some proud prancing horse, and the Dolphin at all times would bring him safely to the shore again. . . . At last it chanced that the boy, not carefull how he sat upon the fishes back, but unadvisedly laying his belly too close, was by the sharp pricks growing there, wounded to death. And now the Dolphin perceiving by the weight of his bodie, and by the bloud which stained

the Ocean: If I am in an Errour, Brother, I hope you'll rectifie me, for I am sure you must have seen of 'em in your Voyage to Suratt: Dubartas records of this Fish, that he's a great Delighter in Musick: on which he has these Verses:

Among the Fishes that did swiftly
through
To dance the measures of his Mourn-
ful Song,
There was a Dolphin that did best
afford
His Nimble Motions to the Trembling
Chord:

But whether that in the Story of *Arion* be true I cannot say: — However, very remarkable is the Story related by *Pliny*, of a Boy feeding a Dolphin, and carried on his back over the Waters to School: They did swim sometimes side by side, and at last, grew so familiar, that sometimes the Boy would get upon the Dolphin's Back, and ride in Triumph through Neptunes Wat'ry Kingdom, as upon some proud Prancing Horse: At last, it so unhappily fell out, that the Boy careless how he sat upon the Fishes Back, was by his Sharp and brisly Fins wounded to Death: which the commiserating Dolphin straight perceiving swam to the Land, and there laid down his wounded Burden, and for very sorrow Died. In memory whereof, a Poet writes,

The Fish would Live, but that the Boy
must Dye,
The Dying Boy, the Living Fish Tor-
ments:
The Fish tormented hath no time to
cry,
But with his Grief, his Life he sadly
vents.

(Dunton, pp. 37-39.)

the waters, that the boy was dead,
speedily swimmeth with all his force
to the land, and there laying him down,
for very sorrow died by him. In mem-
orie whereof, let these few lines be
added,

*The fish would live, but that the boy must
die:*

The dying boy the living fish torments.

The fish tormented hath no time to crie;

But with his grief his life he sadly vents.

(Swan, 372-373.)

THE SWORD-FISH AND THE THRESHER

DUNTON'S SOURCE

DUNTON

They have many times a frequent sight of that pleasurable, and most delightful fish-combat that is betwixt the *Sword-fish*, the *Whale*, and the *Thresher* . . . the *Sword-fish* is so weaponed, and well armed to encounter his enemy, that hee has upon his head a fish-bone that is as long, and as like to a two-edged sword, as any two things in the world resemble one another, save onely that there bee amany of sharp spikes . . . upon either edge of it, and the property of this Fish is to get underneath the *Whale*, and there to riple him, and rake him all over the belly, which will cause him to roar, and exclaim upon the *Theeves* that beset him, as if there were a dart in the heart of him, and the *Thresher* playes his part above table, for when his partner forces him upwards, hee layes on to purpose upon the *Whales* back, insomuch that his blows are audible

The Mariners discover'd two Fishes of a different sort and size, which they inform'd us were the *Sword-fish* and the *Thresher*: and told us they believ'd the *Whale* was not far off; and when I ask'd what reason they had to suppose so, they told me, That those two Fishes were always at a Truce between themselves, but always at open Wars with the *Leviathan*: And that nothing was more pleasant, than to see the combat between the *Three*, i.e. The *Sword-fish* and the *Thresher* upon one side, and the *Whale* on the other. For this *Sword-fish* is so well weapon'd, and arm'd for an Incourter with its mighty Enemy, that he has upon his Head a Fish-Bone, that's both as long and as like to a two-edged sword, as any two things can resemble one another, save onely that there are a great many sharp spikes on either edge of it: Nature has it seems instructed this Fish what use to make of it; for being thus arm'd the property of this Fish is to get underneath the *Whale*, and with his Two-edg'd *Sword* to rake and riple him all over's Belly, which causes him to roar and bellow at such a prodigious rate, as if a Thousand Darts were sticking in his heart, and then the *Thresher*, (when by the

two, or three miles in distance, and their rage and fury is so great against the *Whale*, that one would think they would cut him, and thrash him to peeces. (Pell, pp. 221-222.)

bellowing of the *Whale* he understands the *Sword-fish* is assaulting him below) straight get a top of him and there plays his part, assaulting him with such thick and massy blows, as may be plainly heard at two or three miles distance; and this rage and fury is so great against the *Whale*, that one wou'd think they'd cut and thrash him all to pieces. (Dunton, pp. 39-40.)

THE WHALE

DUNTON'S SOURCE

Verse 32. *Hee makes a path to shine after him, one would think the deep to bee hoary. . . . The Whale* puts as admirable a beauty upon that part of the *Sea* his body swims in, as the *Sun* does upon the *Rainbow*, by gilding of it with its golden, and irradiating beams. (Pell, p. 219.)

I have seen . . . them . . . sending forth such strange, and prodigious smoaks and fumes, as if there were some *Town* or *Village* of smoaking chimneys in the *Seas*. (Pell, p. 217.)

Now may they take a view of his head, in which are eyes as large as some

DUNTON

Whilst we all were walking up and down, it was my hap to fix my Eye on something I knew not what, which unto me seem'd like a moving Rock; and shewing of it to a Seaman, we soon discover'd it to be one of those floating Mountains of the *Sea*, the *Whale*: As we came nearer him, I saw his very Breath put all the *Water* round in such a ferment, as made the very sea boyl like a Pot. I do confess I had a very great desire to take a more particular view of him, because *GOD* gives him such an Elaborate and accurate Description in the 41st of *Job*: And this I particularly observ'd, That the *Sun* shining upon him, east a very orient Reflection upon the *Water*; which is also confirm'd by the Description given of him, *Job* 41:32. He maketh a path to shine after him, one wou'd think the *Deep* to be hoary: Another thing I observ'd was, That there was so great a smook where he was, that it seem'd to me as if there had been a *Town* full of Smoaking Chimneys in the midst of the *Sea*. I do confess I never saw so large and formidable Creature in my Life. He appear'd to me as big as either of the *Holmes's*, two little *Islands* that lie at the mouth of the *Severn*, near *Bristol* in *England*. It was impossible for me to take the True Dimensions of

pewter dishes, and room enough in his mouth for many people to sit in. Now may they look upon his terrible teeth, and handle his great and *tree-like* tongue, which is upwards of two yards in breadth, and in length longer and thicker than the tallest man that is upon the earth. Out of which part the Marines extract above an Hogs-head of Oyle. (Pell, p. 216.)

This creature is of such an incredible . . . strength . . . that in *Greenland* (that great *Whale*-slaughtering place of the world) when they come once to dart an Harping-Iron into him, hee will so rage, rend, and tear, that if there were an hundreded . . . *shallops* neare unto him, hee would make them fly in a thousand shivers into the skyes. (Pell, p. 214.)

When the victory is got over the *Whale*, then they may go round about him, and tell all his goodly fins, which are as so many *Oars* upon his sides, to row his great and corpulent carcass to and again in the Seas at his pleasure, which are reckoned to bee three hundreded and upwards, and by these hee goes at what rate hee pleases in the waters, as violently as an arrow out of a bow, or a bullet out of a peece of Ordnance. (Pell, p. 216.)

In smooth water, warm, and calm weather, they are now and then to bee seen sporting . . . of themselves, and shewing their great and massy bodies above the waters, unto the aspect of the ships that sail hard by them in the Seas. One while rising up, and another while falling down, one while appearing, and by and by disappearing. (Pell, p. 217.)

. . . Some *Whales* . . . in calm weather often arise and shew themselves on the top of the water, where they appear like unto great *Rocks*, in their rise spouting up into the Air with

him: His Eyes are as large as two great *Pewter-Dishes*, and there's room enough in his Mouth for many People to sit round in, as those that have been at the Taking of them affirm. His teeth are terrible, and his Tongue is above two yards in breadth, and in length exceeds the tallest man on Earth, out of which they extract above a Hogshead of Oyl. Ex pede Hercules. I have been told that the *Whale* is of such incredible strength, that in *Greenland* (where most of them are taken) when they come once to dart an Harping-iron into 'em, they rage and rend at so extravagant a rate, that if there were an hundred *Shallops* near him, he'd make 'em fly into a thousand shivers, and send 'em up into the Skies. When the victory is got over 'em, and the mighty victim lies at their Conquering Feet, they fearless then survey his huge and massy Body, and tell all his goodly Fins, which like so many *Oars* in a great Gally do serve to row his Carcase through the Seas at his own pleasure: and they are reckoned by the most curious Anatomists of him to be above three hundred, and by these he can go, if he pleases, with that swiftness and violence, as Arrows scarce fly swifter from a Bow, nor Bullet from a piece of Ordnance. The Seamen tell me, That in smooth Water and calm weather, they are often seen sporting of themselves, and shewing their great and massy Bodies upon the Surface of the Waters, easily discernible by Ships that sail hard by 'em in the Seas, one while rising up, and in a little time fall down again and disappear. Some whales in calm weather often arise and shew themselves on the top of the water, where they appear like unto great *Rocks*, in their rise, spouting up into the Ayr with noyse, a great quantity of water which falls down again about

noise, a great quantity of water, which falls down again about them like a showre. The Whale may well challenge the Principality of the Sea, yet I suppose that he hath many enemies in this his large Dominion; for instance, a little long Fish called a Thresher, often encounters with him; who by his agility vexeth him as much in the Sea, as a little Bee in Summer, doth a great Beast on the shore. (Roe, p. 327.)

Munster writeth, that near unto Ireland there be great whales whose bigness equalizeth the hills and mightie mountains, . . . and these (saith he) will drown and overthrow ships except they be affrighted with the sound of trumpets and drummes . . . (Swan, p. 360.)

them like a showr. The Whale may well challenge the Principalitie of the Sea, yet I suppose that he hath many enemies in this his large Dominion; for instance, a little long Fish called a Thresher often encounters with him, who by his agilite vexeth him as much in the Sea, as a little Bee in Summer, doth a great Beast on the shore. *Munster* writeth, That near unto Ireland, there be great Whales whose Bigness equalizeth the Hills and mighty Mountains; and these, saith he, will drown and overthrow the greatest ships, except they be affrighted with the sound of Drums and Trumpets. (Dunton, pp. 42-44.)

THE MUSCULUS

DUNTON'S SOURCE

Plinie writeth of a little fish called *Musculus*, which is a great friend to the whale: for the whale being big would many times endanger her self between rocks and narrow straits, were it not for this little fish, which swimmeth as a guide before her. Whereupon *Du Bartas* descants thus,

*A little fish that swimming still before
Directs him safe from rock, from shelf
and shore:*

*Much like a child that loving leads about
His aged father when his eyes be out;
Still wafting him through ev'ry way so
right,
That rest of eyes he seems not rest of sight.*

Which office of that little fish, may serve as a fit embleme to teach great ones and superiours, that they ought not to contemne their inferiours; for they are not alwayes able so to subsist of themselves, that they never stand

DUNTON

Pliny writes of a little Fish called *Musculus*, which is a great Friend to the Whale; for the Whale being big, wou'd many times endanger her self between Rocks and narrow straits, were it not for this little Fish which swimmeth as a Guide before her. Whereupon *Dubartus* descants thus:

A little Fish, that swimming still before,
Directs him safe, from Rock, from Shelf, from Shore:

Much like a Child, that living Leads about

His Aged Father when his eyes are out:
Still wafting him through every way so right,

That rest of Eyes, he seems not rest of sight.

Which office of that little Fish, may serve as a fit Emblem to teach Great Ones that they ought not to contemne their Inferiours: There may come a time when the meanest Person may do a Man some good; and therefore

in need of their helps who are but mean and base in the eyes of greatness: there may come a time when the meanest person may do some good, and therefore there is no time wherein we ought to scorn such a one, how mean soever he be. (Swan, p. 362.)

there is no time wherein we ought to scorn such a one. To conclude, my Brother, and sum up all I have to say of him in one word, That what the Spirit of God says of Behemoth, I may say of the Leviathan, as to the Sea at least, He is the Chief of the Ways of God. (Dunton, p. 44.)

THE CALAMORIE

DUNTON'S SOURCE

The *Calamarie* is sometimes called the *Sea-clerk*, having as it were a knife and a pen. Some call him the *Ink-horn-fish*, because he hath a black skinne like ink, which serveth him in stead of bloud. And of these fishes there be more kinds than one: for the *Cuttle* hath also an inkie juice in stead of bloud. . . . *Plinie*, . . . affirmeth that both male and female, when they find themselves so farre forth discovered, that if they cannot be hid they must be taken, do then cast this their ink into the water; and so by colouring it, they obscure and darken it: and the water being darkened, they escape.

*For through the clouds of this black inkie night,
They dazling passe the greedie fishers sight.*

(Swan, pp. 378-379.)

DUNTON

About this time we discover'd another Sea-Wonder, to wit, a Fish called a Calamorie; which some call the Ink-horn-Fish, because he hath a black Skin like Ink, which Serveth him instead of Blood; When they are like to be taken, they then cast their Ink into the Water, and so by colouring it, they obscure and darken it, and the Water being darken'd, they escape.

*For through the Clouds of this dark
Inky Night,
They dazling pass the greedy Fishers
Sight.*

(Dunton, pp. 45-46.)

THE TORPEDO

DUNTON'S SOURCE

The Torpedo, or the *Cramp-fish*, . . . is indued with a very prodigious & clandestine quality, if it be but touched, or handled, the body is presently stunned, and benumbed, as an hand or leg that is dead, and without all feeling. I have known some that have taken of this kinde at unawares . . . They have been for some hours in a

DUNTON

During the time that we were lolling and rowling thus upon the restless Ocean, our Mariners discover'd that admirable Wonder of the Torpedo, or Cramfish, a Fish much better to behold than handle, for it has this prodigious, yet clandestine quality, that if it be but touch'd or handled, the person touching it is presently benumbed, as a Hand or Leg, that is Dead, and without feeling: In which condition they

very desponding estate, whether they should ever recover their pristine constitution, and health again, or no? (Pell, p. 226.)

sometimes continue for two or three Days together; and with difficulty obtaining the use of their Limbs again. (Dunton, p. 46.)

THE SEA-HORSE

DUNTON'S SOURCE

In their voyages to *Greenland* . . . they have . . . hot disputes and skirmishes with the great and warlike *Horses* of the Seas, which . . . range upon the land, in great, and (almost) innumerable Troops. Sometimes by three or four hundred in a flock; sometimes more, and sometimes less. Their great desire is to roost themselves on land in the warm Sun; and whilst they adventure to fall asleep, by their appointment, they give orders out to one of the company to stand sentinel his hour, or such a certain time, and upon the expiration of it, another takes his turn upon the watch whilst the rest sleep, during such time till it goes

DUNTON

But that which brought us the first Dawning of Hope, with respect to the Discovery of Land, was the Discovery which one of the Seamen made, of three or four great Fishes, which he call'd Sea-Horses; and not without reason, for their fore-parts were the perfect figure of a Horse, but their hinder parts perfect Fish; when the rest of the Seamen saw these Creatures, they all rejoyc'd, and said we were not far from Land; the reason of which was, That these Sea-Horses were Creatures that took a great delight in sleeping on the Shore, and therefore were never seen but near the Shore: This was but a collateral Comfort, for tho' these Sea-Horses delight in Sleeping on the Shore, yet they might swim two or three hundred Leagues into the Sea for all that: But we that look'd upon our selves in a perishing Condition, were willing to lay hold on any little Twigg of Hope, to keep our Spirits up. One of the Seamen that had formerly made a *Greenland* Voyage for Whale-Fishing, told us that in that Country he had seen very great Troops of those Sea-Horses ranging upon Land, sometimes three or four hundred in a Troop: Their great desire, he says, is to roost themselves on Land in the Warm Sun; and Whilst they sleep, they appoint one to stand Centinel, and watch a certain time; and when that time's expir'd, another takes his place of Watching, and the first Centinel goes to sleep, &c. observing the strict Discipline, as a Body of Well-regulated Troops. And if it happen that at any time an Enemy

round amongst them. And provided any enemy approach them, the Sentinel will neigh, beat, kick, and strike upon their bodies, and never leave till he hath rowed them up out of their snorting slumbers to shift for themselves, and betake themselves to the Seas. But *Sailors* being too cunning for them, get betwixt them and the Sea, and fall a beating out the brains of the first that comes to hand . . . and . . . many . . . have averred that they have killed of them whilst they have been no longer able for want of breath and strength. And the reason why they kill so many of these creatures is, because their teeth is of great worth and value, and very vendable in the Southern parts of the world:

From this Creature I have learned to apply thus much unto my self in particular, That it is a very dangerous thing for a man to bee out of his general and particular Calling. (Pell, p. 209.)

approach, the Centinel will neigh, and beat, and kick, and strike upon their Bodies, and never leave till he has wak'd 'em; and then they run together into the Seas for shelter. But for all this Caution, the Sailors are, it seems too cunning for them; and get between them and the Sea, and beat out the Brains of the first that comes to hand; and so have done, till they have kill'd so long, that they have wanted strength to kill another; and that which moves the Seamen to this cruelty, is, because their Teeth are of great worth and value, and are a very vendible Commodity in the Southern parts of the World. And since it is the Shore on which these Creatures meet with this Destruction; and that if they had kept at Sea, they had been safe: I cou'd not but reflect, That those who leave their settled stations, whether out of Principles of Profit or of Pleasure, and will be trying New Experiments, and putting of New Projects on the Tenters, do often times make very poor Returns; and are convinc'd it had been better for 'em to have kept that station which Providence at first had put 'em in. (Dunton, pp. 47-48.)

THE SEA-CALF

DUNTON'S SOURCE

They are not without a frequent sight of that admirable fish called the *Sea-calf*, which is both headed and haired like a Calf, swimming oftentimes with his head above water. There be very many of this kinde, in, and about the several *Islands* in *Scotland* . . ., at night they will come on shore to sleep and rest themselves, and early in the morning, they will betake themselves to the Sea, not daring to stay on

DUNTON

The next day after our Codfishing was over, and they were all gone out of sight, I know not whither, we discover'd a Fish call'd the *Sea-calf*, whose Head and Hair's exactly like a Calf's: This Creature's an amphibious Animal, living sometimes at Sea, and sometimes on Land: I am told there are several of this kind of Creatures in the Islands about Scotland, (but more of that in my rambles thither,) and that at night they will come on Shore to sleep and rest themselves; and early in the morning return to

land for fear of surprizals. (Pell, p. 224.)

Sea, not daring to stay on Land, for fear of surprizals. This Fish was a further Inducement to our Sea-men to believe that we were upon the Coast of America, and very neer Land: And these distant Hopes we Emprov'd for our support the best we cou'd. (Dunton, p. 48.)

THE TORTOISE

DUNTON'S SOURCE

They are not destitute of a frequent aspect of that wonderful, and Jehovah-extolling-creature called the *Sea-Turtle*, or the *Tortoise*. This Bird-fish at the time of the year constantly leaves the Sea, and betakes her self to the shore, where shee will shoot an infinite number of Eggs, and cover them in the sand, and as soon as ever she hath done, shee departs the place, and makes for the Sea again, not daring to stay and brood them, as other birds will do, because shee hath no wings to flye withall, and to help her self, if in case shee should bee set at. And when her young ones are once hatched (which come to that maturity by reason of that warmth that is in the sand) they will go as directly towards the Sea, as if they had been in it many a time before they had their being, and although the Sea bee a mile or two from the place, the old one left her Eggs in, out of a natural instinct they will finde the Sea, although it bee out of sight.

It is observable, that if any of these Sea-fowl bee taken on land (as oftentimes they are by Sea-men) that they will never give over sighing, sobbing, weeping, and bewayling of their Captivity as long as life is in them, tears will drill, and trickle from their Eyes as from children, in great abundance. (Pell, pp. 224-225.)

DUNTON

This morning we saw a Sea-Turtle, or Tortoise, (which it seems are frequent on the New-England Coast:) And its flesh is a very delicious Food. It is the property of this Creature at one time in the year constantly to leave the Seas, and betake her self to the Shore, where she will lay an infinite number of Eggs, and cover them in the Sand; and as soon as she has done, she leaves them, and goes to Sea again, not daring to sit and hatch them, as other Birds will do, because she has no wings to fly away, in case of an attack. And when her young ones by the Heat of the Sun are hatch'd they'll all go as directly to the Sea, as if they had been there before, or that they had been bred in't; yea, tho' sometimes the old one leaves her eggs a mile or two from Sea, and quite out of sight on't; such is the mighty Power of Natural Instinct. It is observable, that if any of these Sea-fowl be taken on the Land, as oftentimes they are by Sea-Men, that they will never give over sighing, sobbing, and weeping, as long as Life is in them; yea, even Tears will trickle from their Eyes in great abundance. (Dunton, p. 52).

These borrowings amount in all to twenty-one, — one from Purchas, three from Roe, four from Swan, and thirteen from Pell. If

to these we add the eighty-four cases previously indicated,¹ John Dunton's total score of passages incorporating borrowed material reaches the not inconsiderable figure of one hundred and five. The relative proportions of original and borrowed matter in the passages referred to in this article are approximately as follows: of matter borrowed from Roe, seven per cent; from Swan, fourteen per cent; from Pell, fifty-eight per cent; and of matter apparently original, twenty-one per cent.²

The way in which these sources came to my notice prompts me to make two observations that may perhaps be of interest to those engaged in similar investigations. After having spent many hours in fruitless efforts to find these authors by turning over such books of voyages as I could think of, and after having with similar lack of success pursued the search from the point of view of zoölogy,³ I at length remembered that Dunton is a person who copies not merely ideas but also words. I accordingly made a short list of unusual words used by Dunton in these descriptions. Two of these words were "harping-iron" (i.e., harpoon) and "calamorie." Looking up the first of these in the invaluable Oxford Dictionary, I found, ascribed to Pietro della Valle, a sentence which I remembered in Dunton; and similarly the article on "calamorie" in the Oxford Dictionary led me to John Swan. To those, therefore, who deal with authors that are in the habit of borrowing without much change of phrasing, I recommend the Oxford Dictionary.

Pell was much harder to find. Indeed I should probably have missed Pell altogether if it had not been for the late Daniel Butler Fearing. There could hardly be a severer test of the range of Mr. Fearing's great collection of books on angling than to search in it for such a book as Pell's. Fortunately, the officials of the Harvard Library, to which Mr. Fearing's collection came in 1915,⁴ have arranged in chronological order some of the older angling books. As

¹ Our Publications, xiv. 253.

² I have not taken into account the single sentence borrowed from Purchas.

³ Here I received the most generous assistance from our associate Mr. Samuel Henshaw.

⁴ See an article on the Fearing Collection, by our associate Mr. George P. Winship, in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin of November 3, 1915, xviii. 92-94; and an article by Mr. Fearing in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1915, xxiv. 263-274.

a result I found Pell within an hour after the notion of looking through the Fearing Collection first occurred to me. This seems to me a striking illustration of the help that a great collection of "dead" books may give to workers in fields apparently remote from that of their collector.

These passages about the sea-animals in John Dunton — particularly since the more misleading parts of his letters have been cleared up — were perhaps not so likely to mislead historians of New England as to justify the labor of discovering their sources. Nor has any zoologist, so far as I know, ever been tempted to cite Dunton as evidence that alligators formerly abounded in the North Atlantic. But to trace Dunton's sources is at least an amusing pastime, and it throws some additional light on his methods. These methods are so extraordinary that I have long since ceased to be astonished at anything he does. Yet I do confess to some surprise, in view of these revelations concerning Dunton, at one sentence in his account of the whale: he was particularly glad to see a whale, he says, "because GOD gives him such an Elaborate and accurate Description in the 41st of Job." I must say that when Dunton ventures to comment on the accuracy of God, he seems to me to be going pretty strong, even for him.

Mr. SAMUEL C. CLOUGH exhibited a map of Boston in 1648, measuring nine by five feet, drawn by himself, and spoke as follows:

When I became interested in the history of Boston, some twenty years ago, my study fell naturally into line with that of my profession as an engineer, draughtsman, and cartographer. Although there was a great deal of published matter in the form of histories, guide books, pamphlets and brochures, very little had been done to visualize this information. The absence of such data and the reason for this absence so excited my curiosity that, in an effort to supply the deficiency, I at once became a willing and enthusiastic student of our topography. In Mr. Whitmore's Introduction to the second volume of the Boston Record Commissioners' Reports he thus refers to George Lamb's map of Boston founded on the Book of Possessions: "It is a very creditable beginning, but the boundary lines are purely imaginary, and will require almost entire revision. This must be the

work of years, if correctness is attainable at all." This challenge alone, at the outset of my work, acted as an incentive more powerful than any prize which might have been offered. Research of this kind had always appealed to me, and surveying and mapping became a hobby as well as a business; yet after a thorough investigation of what would constitute a reliable map of Boston at this early period, my ardor was somewhat cooled and for a time I abandoned all idea of producing one.

My estimate of the requirements was as follows:

(1) A good, dependable base-map as a starting-point.

(2) The correction of this base-map, by street changes, back to John G. Hales's survey of 1814, thence, further back, to Osgood Carleton's survey of 1795. From that date all the street changes would have to be gleaned from the numerous Reports of the Record Commissioners, and from such plans as were available in the office of the City Engineer.

(3) The copying or abstracting at the Suffolk Registry of Deeds of all such data as would verify and establish the street and property lines. My first intention was to abstract thirty volumes; the work has required the abstracting of more than seventy-six volumes.

(4) Abstracting all data affecting real estate found in the Town Records, the Suffolk Probate Office, the Note Books of Lechford and Aspinwall, and the Diaries of Chief-Justice Sewall and others. The Records of the First Church also would have to be copied.

(5) Aside from this copying or abstracting would be the systematic filing, sorting and arranging necessary to bring all this information into line for any particular date or period, which would also require a vast amount of indexing and cross-referencing. Truly, I felt that Whitmore had stated the case none too strongly when he said "this must be the work of years."

My interest in the study of the topography of Boston, however, was by no means lost, but merely arrested, and I soon began to plot, on a 50-foot scale, two-thirds of the estates listed in the United States Direct Tax of 1798.¹ This led to the harder task of making a set of yearly plans (from 1630 to 1800) of the district known as the Town Dock, embracing the area between the present North Street, Dock

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxii.

Square, Washington Street, State Street and the water. It was the success of this undertaking which impelled me to revert to my original project of treating the entire town in the same manner, and to-day I am happy to say that I have completed this task and have my information so systematized that I can not only exhibit this map of the town as it was in 1648, but can produce a similar map of Boston at any other date prior to 1800.

The work has entailed plottings of 50 feet to the inch, by decennial periods, of a good part of the town, in some instances using as large a scale as 20 feet to the inch.

Shortly before making this map I compiled a plan of the entire town in 1678 on a scale of 50 feet to an inch. This was done in sections, as there is no paper wide enough to plot the entire town on that scale, which would make a map twice the size of the one now exhibited.

The map before you is based entirely on information drawn from what are recognized as original and reliable sources and in no instance has any similar work been used in its production. Our knowledge of the size and location of the several buildings on the lots in 1648 is meagre, but such references as are found in the public records, and in notations in subsequent deeds wherein these properties have been divided or alienated, have been carefully followed in order to produce, as nearly as possible, a correct map of this period.

The irregularities which appear in many of the property lines are the result of plotting the actual dimensions recorded in deeds and proved by conveyances of the abutting properties: in fact, the plotting of the estates has been done by piecing together an enormous picture-puzzle in which each piece has a definite place, and all together form a perfect whole.

There are about 350 buildings shown on this map, 315 being dwellings; of the remainder, there are two churches, a schoolhouse, jail, three tide mills and two wind mills; the other buildings are stables, warehouses and shops.

In conclusion, let me say that it is through the plotting of such maps as this that one realizes under what a handicap some of our hard-working, conscientious historians have labored in the past. There are many instances where deeds and notations have been mislocated and I myself, in sorting my data, have been at times per-

plexed by the fact that some long-standing popular opinion did not fit the topographical conditions. These erroneous opinions, in many cases, were due to centering partial or inaccurate information around some specific landmark, — the mistake of treating separately some particular section of the town instead of dealing with the subject in its entirety. There are many reasons for these misplacements, which it would take too much time now to explain, among the principal ones being the numerous separate holdings by the same person, misinterpretation of street appellations, and in many instances mistakes or twists in the compass-points used in the deeds.

As already said, the plan before you is merely a rough, working, base-map to be used only in plotting the different sections of the town upon a larger scale, and upon this I am now engaged.

MR. JOHN W. FARWELL exhibited a charter party dated at Boston, 22 October, 1659, between John Jackson of Boston, master of the ketch Rebecca, and Mahalaleel Munnings of Boston, merchant, in behalf of John Allen of Barbados. As Munnings died before the completion of the voyage, and as Allen refused to pay the amount due in Barbados, a suit was brought against John Wiswall and Hannah Munnings (a daughter of Wiswall and the widow of Munnings), the administrators of Munnings's estate.¹ The document follows:

This Charter party Indentid of a freightment made the two and twentieth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and nine, Betweene John Jackson of Boston in the Massachusetts Colonie of New-England Master of the Catch Called or Knowne by the name of the Rebecca, now rideing at Anchor in the River of the said Boston burthen about sixty tuns, In behalfe of the owners of the said catch of the one part, And Mahalaleell Munnings of the said Boston

¹ Born in or about 1632, Munnings was brought to this country in 1635; married Hannah Wiswall in 1656; and was drowned in Boston on February 27, 1660. See Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts, Essex County, ii. 203-204; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, iii. 21, iv. 3, 15, 26, 29, 38, 80, 105, xxi. 5; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 132, vi. 73, vii. 273-274, x. 176-177, xiv. 316, xviii. 270, xxxvii. 378; Suffolk Deeds, iii. 298-299; Robbins, History of the Second Church, p. 265; History of Dorchester (1859), pp. 137-138; Orcutt, Good Old Dorchester, p. 60.

Merchant in the behalfe of M^r John Allen of Barbadoes Merchant on the other part, Witnesseth that the said John Jackson hath leaten the said catch with all her furniture, to fraight to the said Mahalalell Munnings And that the said Mahalalell Munnings in the behalfe of the said Allen, hath hired the said Catch for a voyage with her to be made by Gods grace from the said Boston to Puscataque, there to take in her full ladeing, and from thence to the Maderes, from the Maderes to the Barbadoes, and from hence to the Luard Islands (if the said merchant see cause), and so to the said Boston as her last port of discharge, which said Catch is to be ymployed in the service of the said merchant his factors agents or assignes for six months certayne and eight months vncertayne, from the twenty fourth Day of this present October. And that the said John Jackson the said master in behalfe of the said owners, doth covenant and grannt to and with the said Marchant, That they, the said owners shall and will sufficiently victuall and man the said Catch during the whole voyage, untill she com to her said last discharging Port. The Seamen belonging to the said Catch with the said Master to be eight in number, and one boy, And that the said Master and owners shall provide all other things necessary for the said Catch in all the said voyage from Port to Port as a foresaid. for and in consideration of which the said Mahalalell Munnings the said Merchant doe by these presents for himselfe his executors and administrators covenant and grannt to and with the said John Jackson the said Master his executors administrators and assignes, That he the said merchant his executors administrators agents or assignes, shall and will pay or cause to be paid vnto him the said Master in behalfe of the said owners their executors or assignes the sume of seauenty pounds p month at some convenient stoore house in S^t Michaells towne in the said Barbadoes in good drey well cured m^cchantable muscavadoe sugar at three pence per pound, within twenty days after the paid Catches arrivall at the said place in the Barbadoes aforesaid. And what is not paid at the said place of the Barbadoes, To be here paid in the said Boston as her last Port of Discharge within tenn Dayes after her arrivall and Discharge as aforesaid; vidett one third part thereof in money and coyne of New England, one third in merchantable provisions at currant price and the other third pte thereof in English goods, The said vessell to enter in pay on the said twenty fourth Day of this present October. And the said John Jackson the said Master in the behalfe of the said owners, doth by these presents covenant and grannt to and with the said Merchant his executors administrators Agents or assignes, That he the said Merchant his executors administrators agents or assignes, shall and may haue the said Catch

seamen and boate, ready vpon all occasions to serue the said m̄ch^t his executors administrators agents or assignes to and from land in any navigable river or rivers in any of the said Port or Ports During the whole tyme of the said voyage, according to the Custome of the said place or places aforesaid. And the said John Jackson the said Master in behalfe of the said owners of the said Catch, doth by these p^rsents for himselfe covenant promise grannt and warrant That the said Catch shalbe During the whole tyme of the said voyage as aforesaid strong and stanch and well and sufficiently tackled calked apparrelled and furnished, with masts sayles sayle yards Anchors cables ropes cords tackle apparrell boate and furniture meete and convenient for such a vessell and such a voyage And to all and singular the covenants grannts and agrement^s herein specified which on the part of the said John Jackson the said master in behalfe of the said owners ar to be kept and p^rformed in all things as aforesaid, he the said John Jackson doth bind the said Catch with all her furniture vnto the said merchant his executors and administrators in the penalty & sume of five hundred pounds sterling payable in Boston aforesaid, And in like manner the said Mahalaleell Munnings the said merchant to all the covenants and agrement^s herein specified which on his part ar to be p^rformed and kept, he binds himselfe his executors and administrators vnto the said John Jackson the said Master in the like sume of five hundred pounds sterling payable in Boston as aforesaid. In Witness whereof the said John Jackson the said Master in behalfe of the said owners on the one part and the said Mahalaleell Munnings the said merchant on the other part have herevnto interchangably put their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Signed sealed and deliued
in the p^rsence of
JOHN DAVIS
his O marke

MAHALALEEL MUNNINGS [Seal]

Ita Attest p ROBERT HOWARD Not: publ:
[On the back]

These p^rsents Witnesseth That I John Jackson of Boston the within mentioned Master of the Ketch Rebecca Doe assigne over this Charter ptie Writen one the other side my right & Title: the full extent thereof in all pticulers vnto M^r Christopher Chark in the behalfe of himself & owners: to be & remaine to them their executors & assignes To their sole vse & behoof forever Witnes my hand the one and twentie daye of Aprell Anno: one thousand six hundred & sixtie

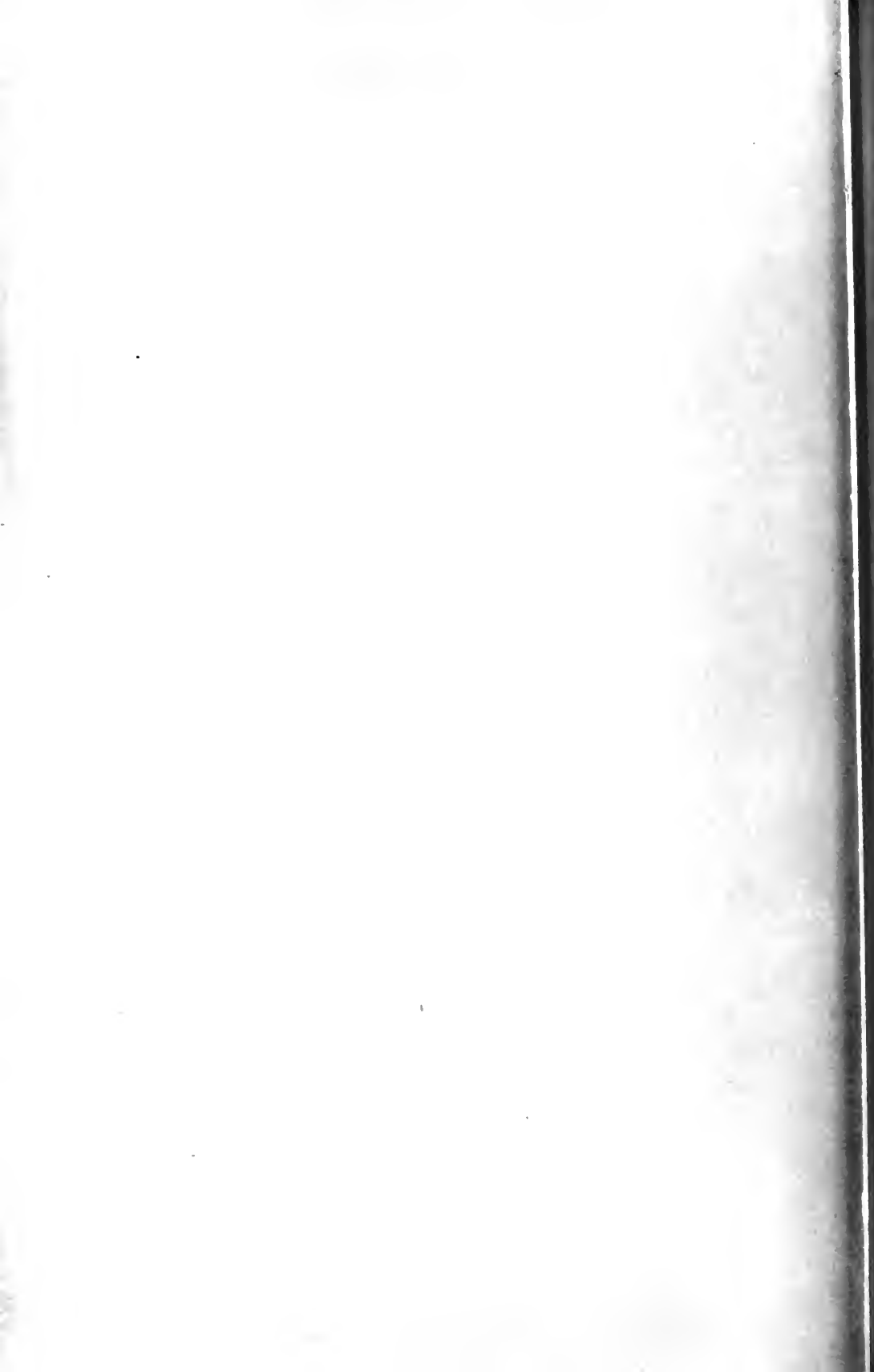
Witnes heereunto
WILLI^M HOWARD

JOHN JACKSON



View of Harvard College about 1807

*Engraved for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society*



June 11 1660

John Jackson did acknowledge this assignem^t and subscribed to the same his hand

Ri. BELLINGHAM dep^t gov^r

These p^resents Witnesseth That I Christopher Clark of Boston haueing this Instrument or Charter ptie assigned vnto mee by John Jackson now of Boston as is aboue sayd ffor & in Consideration that M^r Williã Browne of Salam is the Cheife & prinsiple owner of the ketch abouesayd, I doe therefore assign ouer this sayd Charter ptie written as one the other side the full extent thereof in all pticulers, as it was assigned vnto mee as aboue To be & remaine to him the sayd Williã Browne In the behalf of himself and the rest of the owners, their executors & assignes To his & their sole vse & behoof for ever Witness heerevnto my hand this eight of May Anno: one thousand six hundred and sixtie

Witness heereunto

JN^o PAINE

WM HOWARD

CHRISTOPHER CLARKE

June 11 1660

Christofer Clarke did acknowledge this his assignem^t affd y^t that he did subscribe the same

Ri. BELLINGHAM dep^t. gov^r

W^m Hayward came before me this 11^o. 4'. 1660 and did testife upon oath that he see the above named John Jackson and Christofer Clarke when each of them did subscribe their names to these several assignments

Ri. BELLINGHAM Dep^t Gov^r

[Endorsed]

The papers yt Conserens

M^r Browns Action

Charter pty Mahalaleel

Munnings to John Jackson

Mr. WALDO LINCOLN exhibited a water-color view of Harvard College, made about 1807, and remarked upon some features of the buildings portrayed. It belongs to the American Antiquarian Society, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced.

Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE has written the following comment:

In connection with this early view of Harvard University, it is interesting to note that a print of the same view has been in the possession of the Harvard Library since June, 1888, when it was

received from the "heirs of Eliza M. Judkins."¹ The Harvard copy of this print, which so far as is now known seems to be unique, has been colored and is much darkened by age. It is the same size as the original, and is a close copy except for a few small figures introduced in the foreground and for the inscription beneath—"VIEW OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS." Just below the margin, in small letters, and at the left, are the words "Painted by a Student," and at the right "Snyder, Sculp.," while the names of the several buildings—Stoughton Hall, Holden Chapel, Hollis Hall, Harvard Hall, Massachusetts Hall—are engraved beneath the respective buildings. Under the title, in script letters, is the line "This view is Respectfully Dedicated to the President² of the University."

Stauffer's American Engravers upon Copper and Steel speaks of H. W. Snyder as engraving in New York in 1797 to 1805, while in 1811 he made some good stipple portraits for the Polyanthos of Boston. He also made line illustrations for the American Builders' Companion, published in Boston in 1816.

The Harvard view could not have been made before 1805, when Stoughton Hall was built, nor later than 1812, the date of Holworthy Hall. No mention is made of it in the records of the Corporation or in the files of Harvard College Papers between 1805 and 1810, where some clue to the original artist might be expected. The Librarian's correspondence for 1888 also contains nothing that throws further light on the plate. The letter accompanying the plate in 1888 speaks of its being "published by Act of Congress June 17, 1807." I have not, however, myself found these words in the plate, but they give a clue to the date of publication. A search of the Boston papers for 1807 might perhaps reveal some advertisement and settle the date of the plate more accurately.

MR. JULIUS H. TUTTLE spoke as follows:

Many of the surnames found in early records of towns and churches in the Bay Colony are known to-day in their original forms, some

¹ Miss Judkins was of Cambridge, and was a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Hastings (H. C. 1730; College Steward, 1755-1779).

² Samuel Webber was President from May 6, 1806, to July 17, 1810. He succeeded Joseph Willard (1781-1804), and was succeeded by John Thornton Kirkland (1810-1828).

John of the month 1690.
Jane Damat daughter of one sister Elna of the water
house was received into the Church of same day.

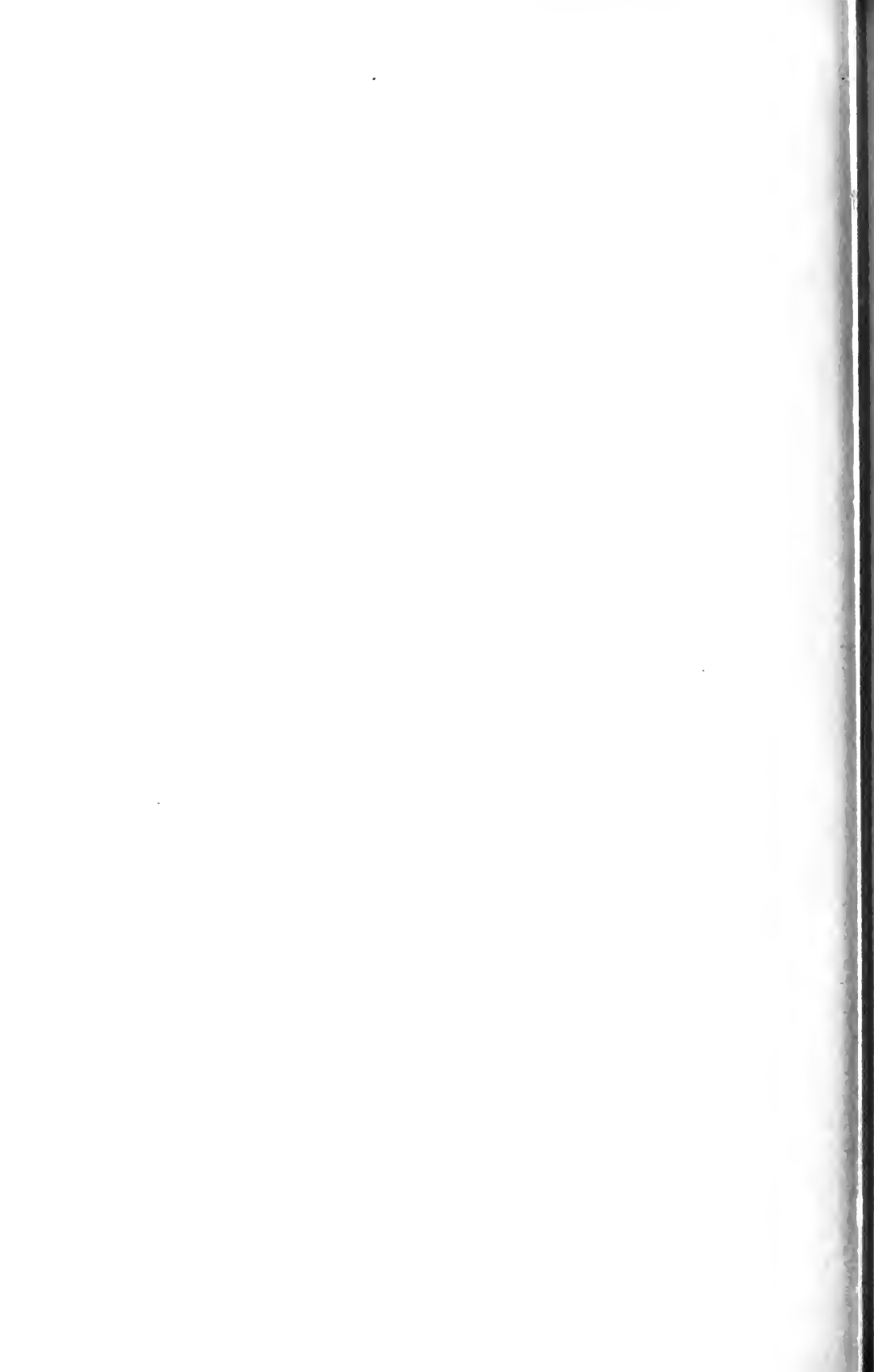
John Damat received into the fellowship of the Church
29. 10. 1695.

John the son of the brother John Damat
baptized 5. 6. 1699

Henry Chichey & his wife were received into the Church
same day with good satisfaction to the Church.

John Chichey was received into the Church 10. 2. 1695.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DEDHAM CHURCH RECORDS
ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS



have undergone a change, and others have disappeared. It may be of some interest to record in our Transactions the mention of two surnames among the early settlers of Dedham.

The records of the Church of Christ there were kept with great care by the Rev. John Allin, a graduate of Cambridge University, who settled in Dedham in July, 1637, and became the first minister. The records began with the gathering of the church in November, 1638, and were continued by him to the end of his pastorate at his death in 1671.

The names to which attention is called are "Daṁat" and "Checkery," which appear in the entries reproduced in facsimile facing page 258.

In 1648 and 1649 a "John Damant" was listed in the town rates, but no further trace is found of the "Dāmatt" family in Dedham or elsewhere, nor has the surname been found in any lists. However, the modern name of "Damant" is known.

"Henry Checkery" was later Henry Chickering, and became the first deacon of the church. He had a grant of land in Salem in 1640, but the fact that his grant in Dedham was next to the minister's leads to the supposition that he was won away from Salem by the desire for his church service in Dedham.¹

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated the following paper:

EARLY SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN BOSTON

Here and there can be found a bit of evidence that religious instruction was given in New England to children or others on Sunday in the seventeenth century. Thus on June 10, 1644, an order relating to Indians was passed by the Massachusetts General Court:

Whereas it is y^e earnest desire of this Courte, that these natiues . . . should come to y^e good knowledge of God, & bee brought on to subiect to y^e scepter of y^e Lord Jesvs, it is therefore ordred, that all such of y^e Indians as haue subjected themselues to o^r goūm^{to} bee henceforward enioyned (& y^t they fayle not) to meete att such seūall places of ap-
poyntm^{to} as shalbee most convenient on y^e Lords day, where they may

¹ In documents dated 1665, Henry Chickering's name appears as "Chickerol," "Chickrol," and "Chickerin:" see our Publications, xx. 260, 262, 263.

attend such instructiōn as shalbee giuen them by those whose harts God shall stirr vpp to y^t worke; and it is hereby further declared . . . y^t those townes that lye most conuenient to such places of meetinge of y^e Indians would make choyce of some of their brethren (whome God hath best quallified for y^t worke) to goe to them, . . . & instruct them, . . . y^t if possible God may haue y^e glory of y^e conūsiōn (at least) of some of them in y^e vse of such meanes God giues vs to afoard them.¹

To what extent religious instruction was actually given to Indians on Sunday in the early days here, I do not know; but at least it is certain that in 1660 a payment of £10 was made "To hiacoms an Indian Scolmaster and Teacher of them on the Lords day" at Martha's Vineyard.² Another early allusion to instruction on Sunday occurs in an entry made by the Apostle Eliot on Sunday, December 6, 1674, in reference to the First Church in Roxbury:

This day we restored o^r primitive practice for the training up o^r youth, first o^r male youth (in fitting season, stay every sab: after the evening exercize, in the Pub: meeting house, where the Elders will examine their remembrance y^t day, & any fit poynt of catechise. Secondly y^t o^r female youth should meet in one place, where the Elders

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 6-7.

² Plymouth Colony Records, x. 245. Hiacoms (Hiacombs, I-a-coomes, Jacomes, Jacoms, Sacomas) was a man of note. His son Joel was in the Harvard Class of 1665, but was murdered shortly before Commencement Day in that year: see pp. 187-189, above. Of Hiacoms Cotton Mather wrote:

The first *Indian* embracing the Motion of forsaking their gods, and praying to the true God, was called *I-a-coomes*; Esteemed by the *Indians* as a contemptible Person among themselves: Unto this Man, God who ordereth all things for his own Glory, gave so great a Measure of *Faith* and *Confidence* in his Power, that he is soon beyond the fear of concealing his Contempt of *their Gods*: The *Sachems* and *Powaws* being much inraged, threaten his Life; the *Powaws* or *Wizzards* told him (a thing publickly known) that he could not be ignorant, that they could kill such as displeas'd them, *viz.* by Witchcraft.

He answers for himself before the *Sachems*, *Witches*, and a great Assembly; acknowledges the god they worshipp'd had *great Power*, but limited, and was subservient to the God he now had chosen: Therefore although by their means many had suffer'd much, and some were killed, he despis'd their Power, as being himself a servant of *Him*, whose power over-ruled all Powers, and ordered all things: The Expecting Multitude wait the Event, which while they concluded to be *Sickness* or *Death*; the good Man remains wholly sound to their Astonishment (Magnalia, bk. vi. chap. vi. sect. ii. p. 53).

may examine y^m of their remembrance yesterday. & about catechise, or what else may be convenient.¹

Quoting this passage in 1899, the Rev. Dr. James De Normandie remarked:

While in such records and religious experiences these churches were, I take it, much the same, the First Church in Rockesburgh was distinguished from the others apparently by two interests. Its care for the young was most marked. Here, as far as any records can be found, was the first Sunday-school in the New World; but its work is hardly that which would commend itself to the members of our Young People's Religious Union.²

Eliot, it will be observed, stated that "our primitive practice" was restored. By "primitive practice" he may only have meant the practice of catechizing children. If he meant catechizing them on Sunday, it would be interesting to know exactly when it began, but until that is determined precedence must be given to the Indians of Martha's Vineyard for having established "the first Sunday-school in the New World."

On March 22, 1675-6, the Church in Norwich, Connecticut, declared:

We do therefore this Day Solemnly Covenant to Endeavour uprightly by dependance upon the Grace of God in Christ Jesus our only Saviour.

First, That our Children shall be brought up in the Admonition of the Lord, as in our Families, so in publick; that all the Males who are eight or nine years of age, shall be presented before the Lord in his Congregation every Lords Day to be Catechised, until they be about thirteen years in age.³

And in 1694 at the Church in Plymouth, —

¹ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vi. 191.

² The Second Church in Boston: Commemorative Services held on the completion of Two Hundred and Fifty Years since its Foundation (1900), p. 73.

³ "The Covenant Which was Solemnly Renewed by the Church in Norwich in Connecticut Colony in New-England, March 22. 1675," in the Rev. James Fitch's An Explanation of the Solemn Advice, Recommended by the Council in Connecticut Colony, to the Inhabitants in that Jurisdiction, Respecting the Reformation of those Evils, which have been the Procuring Cause of the late Judgments upon New-England (1683), p. 69.

Notice being before given of it, on May 13: the Pastor began againe to Catechise the children of the chh in the shorter Catechisme of the Assembly of Divines, in the publick meeting house between the morning & evening worship, the males one sabbath & the females another successively & then preached on each head of Divinity as they lye in order in that Catechisme; this course was constantly attended for more than 3 yeares, till August, 1697: from Sabath to Sabbath, only on Sacrament dayes & in the short winter dayes & very unseasonable weather, there was a necessary omission thereof. Many of the congregation did heare the sermons preached at the catechising; & God strengthned & encouraged in the work.¹

¹ Mayflower Descendant, xiv. 191. The extracts dated 1644, 1660, and 1694 have not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been cited. There are to be found, however, in several works on Sunday schools, two or three extracts which are either misleading or actually erroneous. In an address delivered before the Society of Alumni of Williams College, August 16, 1843, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Robbins remarked: "A distinguished gentleman in New York, not long since, said, without qualification, . . . that the first Sabbath school in the United States was established at Hanover, in Virginia, by Bishop Asbury, in the year 1785. There were Sabbath schools in New England before that Bishop or John Wesley were born." And in a footnote he added: "The earliest Sabbath school of which I have seen an authentic account, was at Plymouth, commenced in November, 1669" (pp. 39-40). Dr. Robbins gave no authority for that statement, but no doubt it was derived from John Cotton's "Account of the Church of Christ In Plymouth, The first Church in New England, From it's Establishment to the present Day," appended to the Rev. Philemon Robbins's Sermon Preached at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Chandler Robbins, To the Pastoral Office over the First Church and Congregation In Plymouth, January 30th 1760, Appendix, p. 17. Instead of quoting Cotton's words (which are substantially correct), I give the passage as it appears in the church records themselves, written by the then pastor, the Rev. John Cotton (H. C. 1657): "Also in November [1669], began the Catechizing of the children by the Pastor, (the Elder also accompanying him therein constantly) once a fortnight, the Males at one time & the females at the other: the catechisme then used was M^r: Perkins" (Mayflower Descendant, iv. 214). Mr. Cotton is silent as to the *day* of the week on which this catechizing took place, and Dr. Robbins was unwarranted in assuming that it was Sunday.

In his Dictionary of Congregational Usages and Principles, published in 1852, under the heading "INTERMISSIONS, *Sabbath, how spent in New England,*" Preston Cummings quoted a passage from Cotton Mather and remarked: "Thus they were in advance of Raikes in devising virtual Sabbath-schools" (p. 45). Mather's statement is as follows:

"The *Hours* taken from the two Meetings on the *Lord's Day*, are such as they Judge may most suit their Edification. Where any number of the *People* have their living very remote from the *Meeting-House*, the Time of Intermission between the two Meetings is usually shortened for their sake; and they stay

However, such Sunday schools — if, indeed, they can properly be called by that term — were occasional and sporadic, and there does *in or near it*. But how do they spend this Time? The more faithful and watchful *Pastors*, are put upon using their best Contrivances, that their Employments may be most agreeable, and most serviceable to the Interests of *Holl[i]ness*. It has been proposed That *Repetitions* of, or *Conferences* on, the *Word of Christ* may be some of the Employments” (*Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*, 1726, p. 45).

This passage does not warrant Cummings’s deduction about “virtual Sabbath-schools.”

In his *Rise and Progress of Sunday Schools*, published in 1863, John C. Power said:

“Many places in America claim the honor of having Sabbath schools prior to 1781. In fact, as early as 1680, (a century before their general introduction,) the records of the Pilgrim’s Church, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, then under the care of the Rev. John Robinson, show that a Sabbath School was organized at that time in connexion with the church.

“A vote of the church in the form of a request is as follows — ‘That the Deacons of the church be requested to assist the minister in teaching the children during the intermission on the Sabbath ’” (p. 22).

It is obvious at a glance that there is something wrong about this passage. First, the Plymouth Church was “under the care” not of a “minister” but of a “pastor.” Secondly, the only John Robinson who was ever connected with the Pilgrims was the famous English divine who died in 1625 and who, it is needless to add, never came to this country. Thirdly, the pastor of the Plymouth Church in 1680 was the Rev. John Cotton. And finally, the church records themselves for 1680 yield no such passage nor anything resembling it: see the *Mayflower Descendant*, xii. 28. Apparently the only Rev. John Robinson who flourished in New England in the early days was the one who graduated at Harvard College in 1695 and became pastor of the Duxbury Church in 1702.

The Rev. John Cotton was ordained pastor of the Plymouth Church on June 30, 1669, and during the nearly thirty years of his pastorate there are in the church records several allusions to the catechizing of children. The first of these is the one under date of 1669, already quoted in this note, though, as above stated, there is no evidence that this then took place on Sunday. A second is under the year 1678: “Catechizing was againe begun, December 4: in the Assemblies Catechisme” (*Mayflower Descendant*, xii. 27). Now December 4, 1678, was a Friday. A third is under the year 1693 (or possibly 1694): “At a chh-meeting Feb: 4: the chh voted to sing the spirituall songs in scripture as translated into meeter in our new Psalm-booke the chh was then desired to warne their children & servants not to depart the Assembly before the Blessing, as also to acquaint them, that the ordinance of catechizing them should shortly be revived, the chh unanimously agreed hereunto” (xiv. 189). A fourth is the one under date of May 13, 1694, quoted in our text. A fifth is under the year 1696: “July, 26: at the conclusion of the sacrament, the Pastor called upon the chh, desiring them after the example of Abraham, Gen: 18: 19: to command their children etc to attend more upon & not neglect the ordinance of publick catechizing, wherein

not appear to be any historical connection between them and the modern system of Sunday schools which, as is well known, began in England towards the end of the eighteenth century. With this movement the name of Robert Raikes is indissolubly connected, though there are other claimants to the honor of having established the first Sunday school in England.¹ The differences between the old system and the new system will be patent to every one who reads the extracts about to be presented. What pastors did here before 1790 was merely, so far as the evidence indicates, to catechize on Sunday (though more often on a week day) the children of their own parishes. Very different was the aim of Raikes, whose purpose was to give secular instruction on Sunday to poor children who otherwise would be running about the streets and who, because employed at work, were unable to go to school on week days.² That there was a Sunday school of the modern type in Philadelphia in 1791 is well authenticated,³ and that is generally regarded as the

of late there had bin some remisness, upon which followed a Reformation in that respect" (xv. 22).

For the references to the Plymouth Church Records taken from the *Mayflower Descendant*, I am indebted to Mr. George E. Bowman.

¹ Raikes's first school was opened in 1780 or 1781. Others had certainly been opened earlier. See the notices of Joseph Alleine (1634-1668), Hannah Ball (1734-1792), Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808), and Robert Raikes (1735-1811) in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² "Consequently," writes Marianna C. Brown, "the few Sunday-schools dating back to the seventeenth century, whose names have come down to us belong to an entirely different movement from the Sunday-schools started at the close of the eighteenth century" (*Sunday-School Movements in America*, 1901, p. 19. Though Miss Brown accepts without examination two or three doubtful statements, her account of early Sunday schools in this country is much more accurate than that found in the Rev. Dr. Edwin W. Rice's "The Sunday-School Movement, 1780-1917, and the American Sunday-School Union, 1817-1917," 1917, pp. 42-44, 153). Between 1791 and about 1819 a still further change took place in this country: instruction, at first secular, became religious; and the children of the wealthy as well as poor children attended. Finally, so far as Boston is concerned, between 1815 and about 1830 a Sunday school became attached to a particular parish and was attended by the children of that parish only.

³ "On recurring to the records it appears, that from the third month March, 1791, to the first month January 1800, there had been expended on the education of children 3968 dollars and 56 cents" (*Constitution of the Society for the Institution and Support of First-Day or Sunday Schools in the City of Philadelphia, and the Districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties*, 1810, p. 18). Preliminary meetings having been held on December 19 and 26, 1790, that soci-

earliest in this country.¹ It has been claimed that the first in New England was begun at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1791 or 1792, though the earliest certain date that can be assigned to it is 1797;² and that the earliest one in Massachusetts was started at Beverly in 1810.³ But these knotty matters are beyond the scope of this

ety was organized on January 11, 1791 (Marianna C. Brown, *Sunday-School Movements in America*, pp. 26-27).

¹ For other earlier or early schools in this country see, under the titles "First Sunday Schools" and "Sunday-School History, Middle Period of," the *Encyclopedia of Sunday Schools and Religious Education* (1915), ii. 411-416, iii. 1025-1033.

² Rev. Edward H. Randall, *A Discourse commemorative of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Consecration of St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket, R. I., delivered on Sunday, October 20th, A.D. 1867 (1868)*, pp. 18-27; Rev. Massena Goodrich, *Historical Sketch of the Town of Pawtucket (1876)*, pp. 128-129.

³ "The sabbath-school system originated by Robert Raikes in England, for the benefit of the neglected children of his neighborhood, now began to attract public notice, and one of the earliest trials of it in New England was made in this town. In 1810, two ladies of the first church (Miss Joanna Prince, now Mrs. Ebenezer Everett, of Brunswick, Me., and Miss Hannah Hill,) collected a number of children and commenced a Sunday-school. Their efforts were crowned with entire success, and they before long enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing the establishment of similar institutions in each of the religious societies in town" (E. M. Stone, *History of Beverly, 1843*, pp. 299-300). In some reminiscences written between 1848 and 1858, Robert Rantoul (1778-1858) spoke of this school: see *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vi. 89-90.

But three years before the Beverly school is supposed to have started, a Sunday school was certainly projected at Salem, though whether it actually came into existence I have been unable to ascertain. The following advertisement is copied from the *Salem Gazette* of September 4, 1807 (p. 3/4):

Sunday School.

THE subscriber respectfully advertises the public, that he proposes to open a SUNDAY SCHOOL for the benefit of any children who may wish to profit by such an establishment.

It is essential to the success of this plan to state, that the pupils will be exposed to no expence, except for bibles, blank-books, &c.

The exercises will commence at the subscriber's school-room, on Sabbath day next, the 6th inst.

Hours of instruction from half past 6 to 8, A.M. and from half past 4 to 6 P.M.

Salem, sept. 4.

S. Cleveland Blydon.

Stephen Cleveland Blyth was born at Salem on January 29, 1771; entered Harvard College in the class of 1790, but did not graduate; had a varied and interesting career in the West Indies and in Europe; in 1807 changed his name to Blydon; in 1809 became a Roman Catholic; later, but exactly when is not

paper, the purpose of which is to bring together some scattered notes on Sunday schools in Boston previous to 1819.

Four years ago the notice board in front of the Park Street Church contained this statement: "First Sunday School in Boston, 1817."¹ In 1918 this read "Sunday School Organized 1817." There is now no reference at all on the notice board to the Sunday School. From an historic sketch of the Park Street Church, printed in a volume published in 1861, is taken the following:

SABBATH SCHOOLS, in the Orthodox churches in Boston, it is supposed, originated in a meeting of members of Park Street Church, in the year 1817. . . .

A free conversation was held, in which *objections* were raised, viz: that it might be a desecration of the Sabbath; that children ought to be instructed at home by their parents; and that professing Christians ought to be at home, engaged in reading, meditation, and prayer, instead of going abroad to teach the children of other families, on the Sabbath.²

known, changed his name back to Blyth; and practised medicine at Boucherville, Canada, where he died in 1844.

¹ Boston Transcript, March 23, 1915, p. 12.

² "The first mention of Sabbath schools in this country, in the 'Boston Recorder,'" wrote the Rev. Asa Bullard in 1876, "so far as we can find, was in vol. xi., for 1817, in an article by Thomas Vose, Secretary of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor" (Fifty Years with the Sabbath Schools, p. 46). That article was printed in the issue of October 7, 1817, ii. 173 (not xi). This religious paper, first published under the name of The Recorder on January 3, 1816, contains many references to Sunday schools in this country before the article in question appeared. The paper was at first opposed to their establishment in New England, an editorial in the issue of September 4, 1816, reading in part as follows:

"It has been suggested, that the notices which we have occasionally published of the establishment and success of Sunday Schools in the southern and western States might induce the idea that similar institutions would be equally advantageous in this part of the country. This is far from our intention. — The design of Sunday Schools is, and ought to be, the gratuitous instruction of poor children whose parents are unable to spare them from labor or pay for their instruction during the week. In the populous manufacturing districts of Great-Britain, where large numbers of poor children are confined to manual labor for six days in the week, such schools are an invaluable blessing. . . . But in New-England, where Schools are brought to every man's door, and where the children of the poor may be educated without expence during the week, there are few cases where Sunday Schools would be attended with any solid advantage.

To this it was answered, that Sabbath-day teaching was a *missionary work*, designed to gather, from the streets and wharves, children who were neglected by their parents, and suffered to go abroad on the Sabbath, when they were generally engaged in play or mischief. It was for this purpose that they were established in England, by ROBERT RAIKES, and they had there been the means of doing great good.

It was finally determined, at that meeting, that a school of that description should be commenced; and WILLIAM THURSTON, Esq., (the first name attached to the covenant of Park Street Church,) . . . was requested to act as superintendent of the school. This school was established in the Town Schoolhouse, on Mason Street.

Schools similar to this were afterwards established in other sections of the town. The "Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor," being organized about that time, took the general superintendence of all the schools, appointed the superintendents when vacancies occurred, visited and examined the schools, by committees, quarterly, and contributed to their pecuniary wants. . . .

In the fall of 1829, two members of the Park Street Church, — a lady
They might even prove injurious, by inducing a neglect of common schools" (i. 143).

But in an editorial in the issue of October 14, 1817, Sunday schools were "vindicated" (ii. 177). In the *Columbian Centinel* of August 21, 1816, appeared the following:

Sunday Schools — are found, on experiment, to succeed in N. York, . . . We wish them success. In *Massachusetts*, we desire to be thankful, these institutions are not needed, and our youths can attend the public worship of God without any impediment to their education. Our laws — cheerfully obeyed — make ample provision for the education of all classes of the community, the children of the poor particularly. The teachers are liberally endowed — at least this is the case in Boston, and other places within the circuit of our knowledge; and the schools are kept constantly filled with pupils of both sexes, at separate times; and exhibitions are given in those schools of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, composition, and eloquence, which are not excelled at the best academies (p. 1/4-5).

The complacent view that the Boston schools furnished "ample provision for the education of all classes of the community" was not shared by others, and at a town meeting held May 25, 1818, "The application of a number of the Inhabitants for the establishment of Schools for the instruction of children under seven years of age" was read and the matter was placed in the hands of a committee. The report of this committee, dated June 3, was read at a town meeting held June 11, its recommendations were adopted, money was appropriated, and thus the primary schools were established: "Most of the Schools were opened in August, and all by the first week in September," 1818 (*Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, xxxvii. 100, 105-106, 124-126).

and a gentleman, — after conversation on the subject, determined to attempt the establishment of a Sabbath school in Park Street Lower Vestry, to be gathered principally from the congregation. . . . The first meeting of the school was held "Sunday, December 13, 1829." . . . At the time that Park Street School was established, many teachers and scholars belonging to Park Street congregation were engaged in other schools, from which they were not disposed to withdraw. It was stated at the time, that about one hundred members of Park Street Church, of both sexes, were thus engaged.¹

In 1890 Hamilton A. Hill, referring to the year 1817, said:

On Wednesday afternoon, October 8, Mr. Huntington preached at the Old South, in behalf of the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. A large number of Sunday-school children were present. This society . . . was founded in 1816, and, as its original name² indicates, began as a Sunday-school society; during the first year of its existence, it gathered five hundred children into its two schools, one of them in Mason Street, the other in School Street.³

The Rev. Joshua Huntington was at that time pastor of the Old South Church and also president of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, while William Thurston was its vice-president. In its first Report, presented October 8, 1817, we read:

The field to which we allude, and which we now earnestly recommend to the cultivation of all classes, is presented to us in the form of Sunday Schools. Two of these schools have been established by the Board in the town school houses, one in Mason and another in School Street, the use of which has been granted, on application for that purpose, by the selectmen and school committee.⁴ Into the first 336 children have

¹ Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Park Street Church and Society; held on the Lord's Day, February 27, 1859 (1861), pp. 162-164.

² The Seventeenth Annual Report (1834) was the last published by the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor under that name. The operations of the society were suspended from January, 1838, to January, 1841, when it began a new career under the name of the City Missionary Society.

³ History of the Old South Church, ii. 406.

⁴ June 4, 1817: "An application was made for the use of the school houses for the accommodation of Sunday schools. — referred to the School Committee" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxviii. 234).

March 18, 1818: "On the application of the Rev. M^r. Huntington & M^r.

been admitted, and into the latter 164—making together 500. The first mentioned school was opened on the 11th of May last, and has been constantly attended by about 20 instructors, besides a superintendant. The latter school was commenced on the 15th of June, and has one superintendant with ten teachers; the boys being taught by male, and the girls by female instructors. . . . All that apply above five years of age are admitted and equally entitled to this gratuitous instruction; . . .

The Board of Directors of this Society have published their intention of supplying with their books and papers any religious society or individuals in this town, that may hereafter think proper to establish Sunday Schools, and provide them with superintendants and teachers, and have aided in this way a Sunday School established at South Boston¹ upon the plan above described.

We have already observed, that into the two schools opened under the sanction of the Board, and supported by the funds of this society, 500 children have been admitted. Of 336 received into the Mason-street school, none of whom are under five years of age, not one fourth could read words of *one* syllable when admitted, and *most* of them did not know their letters.²

From subsequent Reports it is learned that a school was established in North Bennet Street about March 1, 1818,³ and another in Hawkins Street on April 5, 1818;⁴ that in 1828 no fewer than eighteen schools were under the society's patronage;⁵ and that in

Thurston leave was granted to occupy the North School house and the school house in Mason street for Sunday schools" (id. p. 279).

¹ An account of this was printed in the Boston Recorder of April 24, 1818, beginning as follows: "During the latter part of last summer, a Sabbath School was established in the Congregational Society at South Boston, under the superintendence of the Instructor of the public school there, assisted by the Sabbath School Society in Boston; into which about 60 children were received and instructed in the elements of Reading, and the Holy Scriptures, about three months" (iii. 67).

² Report of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, October 8, 1817, pp. 2-3, 4. This Report was also printed in the Boston Recorder of October 28, 1817, ii. 183.

³ "The School in North-Bennet street was opened about seven months since" (Second Annual Report of the Boston Society, etc., October 22, 1818, p. 8).

⁴ "The School in Hawkins-street was commenced on Sunday, April 5th" (Second Annual Report, etc., p. 9).

⁵ Twelfth Annual Report, etc., December 4, 1828, p. 21.

1829 its Sunday schools were "resigned to the care of an appropriate institution."¹

Very recently it has been claimed that the Park Street Church Sunday School was in existence at the outbreak of the War of 1812,²

¹ Thirteenth Annual Report, December 30, 1829, p. 4. In a footnote the name of the "appropriate institution" is given as "The Massachusetts Branch of the American Sabbath School Union." In the Fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, May 27, 1830, it is said: "These difficulties were foreseen by the Board and other friends of the Union, before the experiment was tried; but it was not then known, that each denomination was willing to be organized into Unions by themselves. As soon as this fact was ascertained, the Board were unanimous in the wish that all their schools might be formed into Auxiliary Unions, in connection with each Association of Ministers, or Conference of Churches, in the whole State" (p. 3). A long notice in the Boston Recorder of April 16, 1829, reads in part as follows: "It is well known that the Congregational Evangelical Sabbath Schools in this city have hitherto been under the care of the Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor. . . . Recently . . . it was determined that the management of these schools should be entrusted to those who were engaged as instructors in them. . . . The design of relinquishing the schools having been communicated to the Superintendents and teachers; they held a meeting, accepted the trust, formed themselves into a union under the style of the Boston Sabbath School Union, auxiliary to the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, adopted a constitution, and chose the following persons as officers" (xiv. 62). The first article of the new society's constitution, adopted March 10, 1829, reads: "This Society shall be known by the name of the BOSTON SABBATH SCHOOL UNION, and shall be auxiliary to the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union" (First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Boston Sabbath School Union, February 20, 1830, p. 28: cf. p. 5).

² Letter of Harry J. Jaquith dated December 30, 1918, in Boston Transcript of December 31, 1918. Mr. Jaquith says in part:

"The records of Park Street Church were in my possession in the early '70s and while in my possession I had frequent talks with original members of the church, one of them, my venerable friend Peter Hobart, in telling of the gathering of the church narrated that when the split came between the Trinitarian and Unitarian wings of the Congregational Church, many families withdrew from the Unitarian churches and for years maintained a Sunday school for their children and youth in Deacon Bumstead's house on Beacon Hill. Finally, out of the Sunday school grew the organization of Park Street Church and the erection of the present (altered) structure. Mr. Hobart was an original member of the Sunday school and later of the church. He told me of the boys of the Sunday school organizing a drum and fife corps and parading the streets upon the outbreak of the War of 1812; so it is easy to fix the date as five or six years earlier than the Christ Church School, and add to that the fact that its services were not discontinued but removed into the church edifice as soon as the building was ready for occupancy.

but the data presented above show conclusively that, as stated in the historic sketch of the Park Street Church published in 1861, it was not organized before 1817.

In 1899 the Rev. Nathan E. Wood wrote:

Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1816, a society was organized and called "The Sabbath School Society of the First Baptist Church and Congregation for the Instruction of Indigent Boys." They were to be instructed "in reading and spelling," and were to be "provided with books and Clothing." Within a year the range of instruction was increased, and "the instructors are to teach the children, spelling, reading, the catechism & the doctrines & duties of the christian Religion." This school was not intended for boys from families of the church, but for neglected and indigent boys. The officers and instructors were all men, and it was their duty to take these boys to the public worship on Lord's Days and sit with them (usually in the gallery) to preserve order. . . . The first Sunday-school organized in the vicinity of Boston, for the religious instruction of the young, seems to have been the one in Beverly, in 1810, in the First Parish Church.¹ The first one in Boston was begun in June, 1816, in the Third Baptist Church (afterward known as the Charles Street), and was in two divisions, a "Female Sabbath School" and a "Sabbath School for Indigent Boys." In the next month a "Female Sabbath School" was begun in the Second Baptist Church (Bald-

"There are no 'ifs, ands or buts' about these facts. I do not state them to claim 'first' for any Sunday school, indeed, Mr. Hobart did not speak of the school as anything new or novel and it is my impression that we would have to go back many years to correctly apply the label, 'first.'"

Mr. Peter Hobart was born on November 19, 1806, and, consequently, lacked five months of being six years old at the outbreak of the War of 1812 (June 18): see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxxiv. 107-108. Obviously, what he told Mr. Jaquith cannot be accepted as anything more than the hazy recollections one would naturally expect sixty years or more after the event. Moreover, the historic sketch printed in 1861 was "chiefly from copious statements prepared" by three persons, one of whom was Mr. Hobart (p. 131). "Of my first three or four years," a distinguished psychologist has recently written, ". . . I have managed to preserve only one dim fragmentary impression, that of mounted horsemen splashing through our street, on the occasion, without doubt, of an exceptionally high tide. But who can say what those first so-called impressions really mean: whether they are in part at least true memories of things seen by us refreshed from time to time, or merely reverberations of tales repeatedly told us by our elders?" (*James Sully, My Life and Friends*, 1918, p. 10).

¹ See p. 265 note 3, above.

win Place). It was soon after the settlement of Mr. Winchell that the question of organizing a Sunday-school in the First [Baptist] Church was agitated, but no decision was reached until August, 1816, when a "Female Sabbath School" was commenced in the vestry. It enrolled eighty-seven members, seventy-five of whom were in attendance in October, 1818. The records of this school cannot be found, but it was conducted by women exclusively. In the next month, September, 1816, "the Sabbath School for Indigent Boys" was begun, and more than one hundred boys were enrolled, seventy of whom remained in October, 1818. In November, 1816, the First African Baptist Church began a school with about fifty pupils.¹ Thus from June to November in 1816 all of the four Baptist churches in Boston equipped themselves with Sabbath-schools.²

In an historic sketch of the First Parish Sabbath School, Charlestown, published in 1867, we read:

A half century has passed since, in October, 1816, two societies were formed in connection with this our old and honored church. One, called "The Charlestown Sabbath-school Society," was composed of gentlemen; the other, composed of ladies, called "The Charlestown Female Society for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools."

The officers of the first named were chosen Oct. 25, 1816, . . . The officers of the female society, chosen the same year, but probably a little earlier, were . . .

The object of these societies, as designated by their "constitutions," was "to ascertain the situation of the children and youth of this town within the Neck, in regard to moral and religious instruction; to provide suitable places, where those of them who are disposed may meet on the Sabbath to receive such instruction; to provide a sufficient number of proper instructors; and to make the necessary arrangements for the decent, orderly attendance of the scholars on public worship." Also

¹ "An attempt was made to establish a Sunday School for children of color in the African Meeting-house in Belknap-street in the month of November, 1816" (Boston Recorder, November 25, 1817, ii. 200, from an account "furnished by the Rev. Thomas Paul, Pastor of the African Church, Belknap-street").

² History of the First Baptist Church of Boston, pp. 306-307, 353. "Extracts from the Report of the Union Committee of the Sabbath Schools in the three Baptist Societies in Boston" were printed in the Boston Recorder of November 25, 1817, ii. 200, where it is stated that "It was in June, 1816, that the females of the Third Baptist Church and Congregation, formed the first Sunday School in this town."

(as incorporated in the constitution of the Female Society), "to furnish the indigent with such clothing and books as may enable them to attend the schools and public worship in the house of God."

These societies resulted in the formation of *three* schools, — one for girls (first formed), one for boys, and another to be held at the Point.

The records of these two societies, written in a clear and beautiful hand by the secretaries, with the list of officers chosen, and the general minutes relating to their action, are in the possession of the school at the present time. We have also the names of the teachers and scholars of the girls' school. The record of the boys' school, and of the school at the Point, is either mislaid or wholly lost.¹

Charlestown was of course at that time a separate town, as it was not annexed to Boston until 1874.

The Christ Church Sunday school was begun on June 4, 1815. The following account was written in 1826 by Joseph W. Ingraham, then the superintendent of the school:

A school of this description was projected in 1808 or 1809, when it was contemplated by some of the proprietors of Christ Church to erect, on the land belonging to the church, a school house for the children of those who worshipped there. It was at that time a subject of conversation between the rector of the church² and the late Shubael Bell, Esq., a gentleman whose zealous exertions in the cause of benevolence entitle him to a high rank among the useful members of society, and whose memory should ever be retained by us in grateful remembrance. It was owing to his zealous co-operation with the Rector of the church that our school was commenced; and it is an interesting fact, in the history of these institutions, that these gentlemen were the founders of the first Sunday school opened in New England. They had long felt the importance of having a school on Sundays for the religious instruction of the children attending Christ Church; but as the vestry was not large enough, and it was not convenient to have the school in the body of the church, the execution of their plan was postponed till circumstances should be more propitious to the undertaking. And when Mr. Bell so zealously engaged in the design of erecting the academy, he was stimulated in a great measure by the hope of having a Sun-

¹ Semi-Centennial Celebration of the First Sabbath-School Society in Massachusetts, and the First Parish Sabbath School, Charlestown, held on the Lord's Day, October 14, 1866, at the First Church, Charlestown (1867), pp. 47, 48.

² Rev. Dr. Asa Eaton.

day school kept in the same building. But circumstances not proving favorable, the execution of the design was postponed till May, 1815, when Mr. John R. Cotting became preceptor of [the] academy, and consented to take charge of the Sunday school. It was opened on the Sunday after he commenced his duties as preceptor, being the first Sunday in June, 1815.

At this time no other Sunday school was known to have been opened in America;¹ and this was therefore modelled on the 'plan of those established by the Church in England. While the subject of the school was under discussion, the rector of the church prepared for publication a small tract entitled the *Youth's Manual*, which was enlarged in several editions, with a view to its introduction into the school whenever it should be established. The first edition of the *Manual* was published in 1808. . . .

As soon as the establishment of the school became known, children flocked from all parts of the town, to enjoy its privileges; and as there was no other institution of the kind in town, it was not thought expedient to confine its benefits to the children of those who worshipped at Christ Church. Its doors were therefore opened for the admission of all who might apply, and it was consequently soon filled. . . .

Early in 1816, a new edition of the *Youth's Manual* was printed for the use of the school; in which some alterations were made by Mr. Bell, who added "A Form of Prayer for Sunday Schools."²

In June, 1816, the second Sunday school in this town was established by the ladies of the third Baptist society; and soon after, others were opened, by other congregations. Our number of scholars consequently greatly diminished, as the parents of many of them naturally preferred sending their children to their own schools.

Previously to April, 1817, the school was supplied only with occasional teachers. At that time, however, it was thought advisable, for the benefit of the scholars, to devise some means to procure more regular assistance. A meeting of several members of the Church was accordingly held on the 17th April, 1817, which resulted in the organisation

¹ Evidently news about Sunday schools travelled with extreme slowness, but it is certainly surprising that an Episcopal parish in Boston in 1815 should have known nothing of the society that had been organized in Philadelphia twenty-four years before and of which William White, Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, was the first president. Cf. p. 264 note 3, above.

² The Boston Athenæum owns a copy, the title reading in part: "The *Youth's Manual*. Containing the Catechism, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. . . . To which is prefixed A Form of Prayer, for the Use of Sunday Schools. Boston: . . . 1816." It is a pamphlet of 54 pages, but "The Form of Prayer" is lacking.

of the *Salem Street Sunday School Society*.¹ This name was adopted for several reasons. As the school was not confined to members of Christ Church, but was open for the admission of children of all denominations, it was thought inexpedient to adopt a name which might have even the appearance of an exclusive spirit; and as the school was kept in Salem Street Academy, it was thought most convenient to adopt that title, particularly as it would designate its location to any person who might be seeking for it. These reasons not now existing, the name has been changed; and our school will hereafter be known as the *Christ Church Sunday School*.²

In a letter dated April 22, 1915, the Rev. Harold L. Hanson stated that "the Sunday school of the First Baptist Church in Charlestown has had a continuous existence since 1813. It celebrated its 102d anniversary last Sunday [April 18]." ³ The Rev.

¹ "Salem Street Sunday School. List of the Officers of the Society, and of the Scholars belonging to the School, Dec. 14, 1817," copied from a manuscript (now framed and hanging in the vestry of Christ Church), will be found in *Bostonian Society Publications* (1913), x. 119-125.

² Report of the Superintendent of the Christ Church Sunday School, [*Late Salem Street Sunday School*,] presented . . . April 6, 1826, pp. 10-12.

"In June, 1815, Dr. Eaton, with the concurrence and help of his Wardens Shubael Bell and Thomas Clark, established the first Sunday School in this region. . . . It was at first called the Salem street Sunday School. Its sessions . . . were held in the Academy that stood next to the Church on the north side" (Rev. Henry Burroughs, *Historical Account of Christ Church*, 1874, pp. 33-34).

"On June 14, 1815, the church organized the first Sunday-school known in this part of the world" (Charles Downer, *A Visit to the 'Old North Church'*, Boston, 1893, p. 18).

In a sermon preached on December 29, 1898, the Rev. Charles W. Duane stated that "In June, 1815, Dr. Eaton . . . established, as claimed by some, the first Sunday school in New England" (*Historical Sermon*, 1901, p. 12).

"The church was part owner of the [Salem Street] Academy, and on June 14, 1815, organized the first Sunday-school known in this part of the world, if we except Samuel Slater's private Sunday-school at Pawtucket, established in 1793" (Charles K. Bolton, *Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston*, 1912, p. 15). For the Pawtucket school, see p. 265 note 2, above.

The date June 14 is an error for June 4, since Mr. Ingraham states that Mr. Cotting became preceptor of the Salem Street Academy in May, 1815, and that the Sunday school was "opened on the first Sunday after he commenced his duties as preceptor, being the first Sunday in June, 1815" — that is, June 4th.

³ *Boston Transcript*, April 23, 1915, p. 12. In 1915, in 1917, and in 1918 discussions took place in the *Boston Transcript* as to the earliest Sunday school in Boston. See the editorial pages of the following issues: March 22, April 10,

William Collier became pastor of the church on April 15, 1804. In a sermon preached on April 15, 1888, the Rev. George E. Horr, Jr., said:

Mr. Collier . . . soon after his settlement here, gathered the children of the families connected with the church together at his house Saturday afternoons. He catechised the children and required them to recite verses of Scripture they had learned during the week. . . . The year the school, which met at the pastor's house Saturday afternoon, became a Sunday-school, is not certain. Sunday-school records were not kept until 1825. It was probably about 1809 or 1810, the year the meeting house was erected in Austin Street. But by general consent the year 1813 has been fixed upon as the time from which to date the anniversaries, a date which, however, is probably too late by a year or two. But 1813 makes this school the oldest hereabouts. The school connected with the First Parish of Charlestown was organized Oct. 25, 1816.¹ The First Sabbath-school in Boston was formed by the women of the Charles Street Baptist Church in June, 1816, . . . The school connected with the First Parish Church in Beverly, (now Unitarian), was probably organized in 1810, but it seems to have been without systematic organization and unconnected with the minister or parish, and was not held in the meeting house until 1819.² Our claim then is a fair one, even upon the basis of 1813, to be regarded as one of the oldest Sunday-schools in these parts, and perhaps the oldest.³

It thus appears that the date 1813 is conjectural.

16, 23, 26, 1915, and December 28, 31, 1918; and the Notes and Queries department, no. 3504, July 21, 28, August 4, September 8, 1917.

¹ See pp. 272-273, above.

² See p. 265 note 3, above.

³ Sermon on the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the First Baptist Sunday-School, Charlestown, . . . preached . . . April 15, 1888, pp. 8-9. Mr. Collier, a graduate of Brown University in 1797, had taught at the Pawtucket school: cf. p. 265 note 2, above. Mr. Hanson kindly sends me a pamphlet entitled, "Centennial of the First Baptist Sunday School of Charlestown, Mass. Historical address by Rev. Arthur Warren Smith, Librarian, New England Baptist Library. Sunday, April 27, 1913." Mr. Smith says:

"Like many important beginnings the exact date when there began to be a Baptist Sunday school in Charlestown can not be determined. The probable reason for this is that the pastor and deacons of that early day followed a natural impulse in gathering together a company of twenty persons for religious instruction. But their plan which proved so efficient probably had little organisation for some years, though, doubtless, carried on with consecrated energy. Then in 1813 other local occurrences in the interest of great moral influences gave

In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Ezra S. Gannett dated September 28, 1831, the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell wrote:

You request me to give you an account of the origin of the West Parish Sunday school, the oldest, as far as I know, in this city. In 1811, a charity school was established in the west part of Boston, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Bartlett, then chaplain at the almshouse, now one of the ministers of Marblehead. In October, 1812, the teacher of that school, Miss Lydia K. Adams, then a member of the West Parish, having learned, on a visit to Beverly, that some young ladies of that town were in the practice of giving religious instruction to poor children on the sabbath,¹ consulted her minister on the expediency of giving like instruction to the children of her school, and to those who had been members of it, on the same day. The project was decidedly approved, and immediately carried into effect. In December of the same year, Miss Adams was compelled by ill health to leave the school, and ladies of the West Church took charge of it, and, in turn, instructed the children, both on the week days and the sabbath, till a suitable permanent teacher could be obtained. On this event, they relinquished the immediate care of the week day school but continued the instruction of the Sunday school, till it was transferred to the church, and was enlarged by the addition of the children of a different description.²

larger significance to the school more or less informal hitherto. This probably explains how it was that leaders in the church years ago always spoke of this school as in operation as early as 1813. Consequently the long series of school anniversaries, which are known to have been a regular feature ever since as early as 1849, has fixed the above date as the latest which can be assigned for the founding of this school. But there is full reason to recognise the actual origin to have taken place years earlier. It is a question if there was ever a time after 1804, when Pastor Collier, with his [definite Sunday school experience in Pawtucket and New York, had not a practical interest in the religious instruction of the youth of his parish. Therefore, in [this observance you have a reasonable right to think of this school as more than a hundred full years old" (pp. 3-4).

¹ See p. 265 note 3, above.

² E. S. Gannett, Address delivered before the Boston Sunday School Society, on the celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sunday School Institution, at the Federal Street Church, September 14, 1831, p. 40. Dr. Lowell says that the "ladies of the West Church . . . continued the instruction of the Sunday school, till it was transferred to the church," but does not state when that transference took place. It must have been between May 26 and November 6, 1822. The Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor contemplated "the establishment of another [Sunday school] at West Boston" in 1820, but had been obliged to defer it "from want of . . . a sufficient number of suitable Teachers" (Fourth Annual Report, October 11, 1820, p. 6). The Fifth Annual Report, October 17, 1821, stated that "No new School has been founded

A more detailed account was given by the Rev. Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol in 1856:

For some time prior to the year 1811, a society of young ladies had been formed, under the name of the "Gleaning Circle," for the purposes of mutual entertainment and improvement by literary exercises, and of contributing, by their needles and otherwise, to the relief of the poor, consisting of members from various religious societies, but chiefly from that under Dr. Lowell's pastoral charge, . . . Early in that year, the Rev. John Bartlett, afterwards settled at Marblehead, was chaplain of the almshouse in Leverett Street; and . . . perceiving the destitution of all means of education for the very young children of the poor to prepare them for entering the public schools, he established by subscriptions two charity-schools — one at the North End, and one at the western part of the town — for that purpose, and also for the instruction of the female children in sewing, there being then no primary schools; . . . The one last named, of course, soon attracted the attention and interest of Dr. Lowell, . . . who commended it to the benevolence of the "Gleaning Circle." Several of its members immediately took the school under their patronage; became themselves, and afterwards procured others to become, contributors for its support; and assisted in the instruction of the children, and in the clothing of those the most destitute. In a short time, it fell entirely into the hands of the ladies of the West-Boston Society, including many besides the members of the Circle, and was wholly maintained and managed by them. In the year 1813, while Miss Lydia Adams was the matron of the school, she, being on a visit in Beverly, saw the children of the Society then

the past year, although two more might be established with every prospect of doing good — the one to accommodate *adults* at the Seamen's meeting, and the children, who attend there — and the other at West Boston, where it has been so long needed. Hitherto, however, the want of suitable Teachers in sufficient numbers has prevented these *labours of love*" (p. 14). But in the Sixth Annual Report, November 6, 1822, we read: "The subject of a new Sabbath School at West Boston, in connection with the Society's place of worship there, has been repeatedly mentioned in preceding Reports. The Directors have now the pleasure to state, that one is at length established, and is . . . conducted under the superintendence of Mr. *William G. Lambert*, . . . who observes in his Report: 'The Sabbath School in the Mission-house was organized the 26th of May last. . . . Soon after we commenced, a school was opened in a neighboring congregation, and as a number of our scholars belonged to that society, they have generally gone from this to that school'" (p. 14). And a footnote states that the "neighboring congregation" was "The Rev. Mr. *Lowell's*," which was also alluded to on pp. 5-6 of the same Report.

under the charge of Rev. Dr. Abbot,¹ and now under that of the Rev. Mr. Thayer,² assembled after service for religious instruction by members of the Society; thus constituting, as is believed, the first Sunday school in America. Being greatly impressed with the utility and effect of such a school as there exhibited, upon her return she communicated her views to the ladies then in charge of her school, who, uniting in sentiment with her, immediately made arrangements for the religious instruction of the children under her care, on Sunday, by the attendance of two of them, in regular rotation, for that service. At that time there were about fifteen children in the school, all of whom were girls, and who attended church, and were seated together in the gallery. The number, however, was gradually increased by the accession of children of members of the Society, who had become sensible of its great utility; and the name was changed, from being the "West-Boston Charity School," to that of the "West-Parish Sewing School." It continued to flourish until the establishment of the public primary schools for the same ends entirely superseded its necessity, when it was given up. . . . It was the parent of the Sunday school of the West-Boston Society, the first established in Boston. . . . The ladies who had thus undertaken the religious instruction of the children on Sunday became so deeply interested in their work, and rendered their ministrations so attractive, that other children, not connected with the school, were induced to partake of the benefits of them, until the number, at the time of its dissolution, amounted to about fifty, with a complement of about eight teachers, who were accustomed to assemble, in mild weather, in the room under the belfry, and, in winter, in the galleries, and subsequently, as the school increased, at the Derne-street Schoolhouse. And thus was formed the first of those institutions in this city, which are now esteemed an essential department in most of the religious societies throughout the United States.³

Writing in October, 1794, Thomas Pemberton said:

Whatever plan may appear, on deliberate examination, to be of publick utility, should be undertaken and promoted. It is worthy of consideration whether Sunday schools would not be a very beneficial institution in this town. Many children are kept from attending publick worship through the inability of their parents suitably to clothe them; and their parents not being able to keep them within doors, they

¹ Rev. Abiel Abbot (H. C. 1792).

² Rev. Christopher Toppan Thayer (H. C. 1824).

³ The West Church and its Ministers, pp. 214-219, 221.

repair to the wharves and alleys to recreate themselves as on other days, to the great disturbance of the families in the vicinity of such places, and the profanation of the day. If Sunday schools were instituted, both these evils might be prevented. The only requisites for attending the schools are clean hands and faces and combed hair. The master or mistress should refuse none who are sent to them; and the school committee might appoint such hours for the children to attend, as they may think proper. Portions of scripture should be read by those scholars who can read, and those who cannot should be taught to read. A catechism suitable for their ages, should also be a part of their employment at these schools. . . . In 1790 Sunday schools were established in Philadelphia; and in 1791, some patriotick gentlemen of this town, by a liberal subscription, enabled the late Mr. Oliver Lane to open a Sunday school. It embraced in its object both sexes under a certain age. The writer hopes such an establishment will not be wholly laid aside; and if it cannot be continued by voluntary subscription, that the publick will take it into consideration, as perhaps publick monies cannot be appropriated to a more useful design.¹

The school mentioned by Pemberton was opened on Sunday, April 17, 1791, as appears from a notice printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of Wednesday, April 20, 1791:

A SUNDAY SCHOOL,

Established by the liberal subscription of a number of patriotick Gentlemen of this Metropolis, was opened on Sunday last. It is under the management of Mr. OLIVER W. LANE, and embraces in its object, those of both sexes, under a certain age, whom habits of industry or other causes, debar from instruction on week-days (xv. 43).

Under date of April 25, 1791, is found this passage:

On a letter received from the Gentlemen Proprietors of the Duck Manufactory requesting the approbation of the Selectmen for their opening a Sunday School and their Opinion on the subject — The Selectmen are of opinion that however eligible the measure may be the Law respecting Schools had not in contemplation such as is requested and therefore does not authorise them to approbate it.²

Whether the "Gentlemen Proprietors of the Duck Manufactory" were identical with the "patriotick Gentlemen of this Metropolis"

¹ *1 Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii. 266-267.

² *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, xxvii. 147.

who liberally subscribed to Mr. Lane's school, as seems not improbable, or whether they desired to establish still another Sunday school, I have been unable to ascertain. Nor do I know exactly how long Mr. Lane's Sunday school, assuming that it survived the adverse decision of the selectmen, remained in existence, though certainly this could not have been for a longer period than about two years and a half. A brief sketch of (so far as now known) the first Sunday school teacher in Boston will not be out of place, especially as Oliver Wellington Lane¹ was a man of some local repute in his day. The son of James and Mary (Wellington²) Lane of Bedford, he was born there on October 27, 1751;³ in 1768 he entered Harvard College, graduating in 1772; at the outbreak of the Revolution he entered the army, and in May, 1775, was "reported recruiting"⁴ — facts no doubt accounting for his not taking that year his A.M., which was given him out of course in 1779. On October 23, 1784, he married Susanna Newman,⁵ who survived him, and was then — or soon after became — a schoolmaster. In the Boston Directory of 1789 he is entered as "Lane Oliver Willington, school-master, Staniford-street."⁶ Glimpses of him are obtained about that time from two pupils — General William H. Sumner and Lucius Manlius Sargent, the noted temperance writer. In "Some Recollections of Washington's Visit to Boston" in October, 1789, written sixty-one years later, General Sumner said: "I will remark that I, then a boy of between nine and ten years of age, was a pupil at Master Lane's West Boston writing-school. . . . Master Lane's boys were placed in front of Mr. Jonathan Mason's hardware store, near the bend in Washington Street (then Cornhill) opposite Williams Court. I well remember the laugh which our salute created, when, as the General passed us, we rolled in our

¹ His middle name sometimes occurs as "Willington."

² O. W. Lane's mother was presumably that Mary Wellington who was born at Lexington on October 20, 1732 (Lexington Vital Records, p. 84; C. Hudson, *History of the Town of Lexington*, ii. 728).

³ Bedford Vital Records, p. 36. The Faculty Records (iii. 119) give his name as "Oliver Lane," the date of his birth as November 7, 1752, and his age as "16-8" — that is, sixteen years and eight months — on June 7, 1769, "about" which time the Freshman class was placed.

⁴ Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, ix. 482.

⁵ Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxx. 90.

⁶ x. 190.

hands our quills with the longest feathers we could get.”¹ Mr. Sargent, according to his biographer, “was then sent to Master Lane’s school, in West Boston, which he reached by going up Hancock Street and round by the Beacon monument, on the sides of which were four historic tablets. He says that in 1793 it was ‘a lonely spot to travel.’ The master was ‘harsh;’ he did not like him. One mode of his punishment was to make a boy stand on a very narrow log, with scarcely any foothold, with a large chip in his mouth, for an example; yet if any urchin lifted up his eyes to look at him, he was condemned to a similar punishment.”² Such a whimsical and tantalizing punishment naturally seemed “harsh” to a boy of seven. Mr. Lane was an ardent Universalist, and when the noted John Murray was installed pastor of the First Universalist Church on October 23, 1793, it was Deacon Lane who “introduced” him and delivered an address.³ That must have been one of Mr. Lane’s last appearances in public, for he died on November 3d following, as appears from an obituary:

On Sunday evening, at half past 9 o’clock, Master OLIVER WILLINGTON LANE, one of the Deacons of the first Universal Church, departed this life, aged 42.

The Religious Society, in which he had attained unto a good degree, have met with an afflictive bereavement by the death of Mr. LANE. The Civil Community, of which he was a valuable and useful member, will long regret the loss of an excellent Preceptor, whose modes of instruction gained the confidence of the Parent, and won the affections of the child. A widow, a widow indeed, whose husband is dead, and six small children, lament the kindest of husbands and the best of fathers.

☞ Mr. LANE’S funeral will move from his late dwelling house at West-Boston, to-morrow afternoon, at three o’clock. The Church, Congregation and Society are respectfully invited to attend. The pupils of the now departed are requested to pay the last tribute of regard; and all the relatives and numerous friends of the deceased, are called to the house of mourning.

How blest, is our BROTHER bereft
Of all that could burthen his mind!
How easy the soul that hath left
This wearisome body behind!

¹ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 261, 262.

² John H. Sheppard, Reminiscences of Lucius Manlius Sargent, id. xxv. 211.

³ See the Columbian Centinel of October 23, p. 2/3, and October 26, p. 3/1.

This earth is affected no more
 With sickness, or shaken with pain:
 The war in the members is o'er,
 And never shall vex him again.¹

Our extracts may appropriately end with what is, so far as I am aware, the earliest known allusion to Sunday schools in a Boston newspaper, taken from the Massachusetts Centinel of August 27, 1785 (p. 4):

Preparation for SUNDAY.

IT has been before observed, that the "want of Piety arises from the want of sensibility" — That the vulgar, when arrived at a state of manhood, are either infidels or bigots, experience has reduced to a certainty — But asks the judicious observer, what remedy is there for the fault — Ignorance is the attendant on poverty; and the poor form a large proportion of the people? The Preparationalist cannot answer the enquiry but with the proposal for the institution of SUNDAY SCHOOLS. This benevolent measure has been lately adopted in England and Ireland, and is highly worthy of imitation here — Fas est etiam ab hoste doceri. Experience has fully evinced that the more enlightened nations are, the more amenable are they to the laws, to order, and to police; and the less frequently do they perpetrate those species of violence and barbarity, which reduce humanity to a level with the brute creation. What good can be reasonably expected, from that part of the community, whose infancy and youth are consumed in one uninterrupted scene of idleness, villainy, and all kinds of low craft and theft (in which they are but too often countenanced and encouraged by their parents) untinged by the very elements of cultivation and knowledge; and who, of course, can hardly, when arrived at maturity, be supposed capable of a relish but for dissipation, drunkenness, blasphemy, and debauchery? That this is the case with too many in all countries, their prison calendars will afford irrefragable proofs.

To various sources may this evil be traced. Of these perhaps the following is not the least: The lower classes of people, generally speaking, can hardly afford their children an education; and it frequently happens, that, from the most mercenary motives, they debar them of schooling, if they can hope to derive any emolument, however paltry, from employing them in the vilest drudgery. Now, if Sunday Schools were established, where children would be instructed gratis, — both the foregoing part to the improvement of the

¹ Mercury, Tuesday, November 5, 1793, p. 3/3. The inscription on his tombstone in the Granary Burying Ground is given in T. Bridgman's *Pilgrims of Boston* (1856), p. 118.

people would be removed, — and we might entertain a well founded hope that the rising generation (of the above classes,) would prove very different from their fathers.

But should this institution take place — a consummation devoutly to be wished — great caution will be requisite to guard against the abuses it is liable to from party, civil and religious. Bigotry, superstition, fanaticism, and intolerance, have too long lorded it over mankind, who bent a suppliant knee to the demons. Should Sunday schools be opened here, it is to be hoped they will steer clear of them. If religion be made a part of instruction, let it be confined to those points in which the various professors of christianity agree, whether of credence or practice — such as, the creation, the fall of man, the flood, the election of the Jews, the redemption, that the base on which christianity has been founded, is “Love of God above all things — and love of our neighbour similar to what we feel for ourselves,” — the last judgment, — a future state of rewards and punishments, &c. &c. But let those speculative points, wherein they differ, and which have for centuries past, drenched the earth with the gore of her children, be taught by the various pastors to their respective flocks. Would to Heaven, that they exerted themselves to instil therewith that universal benevolence, which embraces all mankind in the bands of brotherhood, and which truly fulfils the law and the gospel!

A chronological list of Boston Sunday schools before 1819 is appended:

1791	April 17	Oliver W. Lane's school, p. 280.
1812?		West Church, p. 277.
1813?		First Baptist Church, Charlestown, p. 275.
1815	June 4	Christ Church, p. 273.
1816	June	Third Baptist Church, p. 271.
	July	Second Baptist Church, p. 271.
	August	First Baptist Church, p. 272.
	Oct.	First Church, Charlestown, p. 272.
	Nov.	First African Baptist Church, p. 272.
1817	May 11	Mason Street, p. 269.
	June 15	School Street, p. 269.
	Summer	South Boston, p. 269.
		Park Street Church, p. 266.
1818	March	North Bennet Street, p. 269.
	April 5	Hawkins Street, p. 269.

With two exceptions, the dates here given are either exact or approximately so, having been drawn from contemporary or nearly

contemporary sources. But the dates assigned to the West Church and to the First Baptist Church of Charlestown require further inquiry before they can be accepted.

These notes are submitted in the belief that they will afford a useful summary of facts as at present known, and in the hope that they will bring out further information on an obscure but interesting subject. It will perhaps be objected that some of the extracts are quoted at too great length, but this seems justifiable in view of the extraordinarily conflicting statements and of the difficulty in obtaining exact data.

Dr. CHARLES L. NICHOLS communicated the following paper:

IS THERE A MARK BASKETT BIBLE OF 1752?

In 1810 Isaiah Thomas wrote:

Kneeland and Green printed, principally for Daniel Henchman, an edition of the Bible in small 4to. This was the first Bible printed, in the English language, in America. It was carried through the press as privately as possible, and had the London imprint of the copy from which it was reprinted, viz: "London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," in order to prevent a prosecution from those, in England and Scotland, who published the Bible by a patent from the crown; or, *Cum privilegio*, as did the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. When I was an apprentice, I often heard those who had assisted at the case and press in printing this Bible, make mention of the fact. The late governor Hancock was related to Henchman,¹ and knew the particulars of the transaction. He possessed a copy of this impression. As it has a London imprint, at this day it can be distinguished from an English edition, of the same date, only by those who are acquainted with the niceties of typography. This Bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired. The edition was not large; I have been informed that it did not exceed seven or eight hundred copies.²

This statement of Thomas has been given in full as it contains, in detail, all that is known of this important alleged fact, that a Bible

¹ John Hancock (1737-1793) was the nephew of Thomas Hancock (1704-1764), who married Lydia Henchman, a daughter of Daniel Henchman (1689-1761), the Boston bookseller. Cf. our Publications, vi. 321.

² History of Printing in America, 1810, i. 305; 1874, i. 107-108.

was printed in Boston in the English language about the year 1752. No public interest seems to have been awakened to this until 1852, when George Bancroft wrote: "And yet to print that Bible in British America was prohibited as a piracy; and the Bible, except in the native savage dialects, was never printed there till the land became free."¹ In a note on the same page is the following: "My friends, Mr. James Lenox and Mr. J. G. Cogswell, agree with me, that no trace of an American edition of the Bible, surreptitious or otherwise, previous to the Declaration of Independence, has been found." In a later statement Bancroft said: "Till a copy of the pretended American edition is produced, no credit can be given to the second-hand story."²

At this time, 1852, there were already a number of eager collectors of Americana, like James Lenox, John Carter Brown, George Brinley, and George Livermore, who would have gladly added a copy of this Bible to their libraries but who searched in vain for it. George Livermore, however, manifested his disagreement with Mr. Bancroft's conclusions;³ yet he wrote Mr. Lenox on March 4, 1853, that careful search by the Hancock family failed to find the Governor's copy, thus destroying one more hope of success.

At the sale of the Thomas J. McKee library in 1902, appeared a Bible with the imprint as described by Thomas and with date 1752.⁴

¹ History of the United States, 1852, v. 266.

² History of the United States, 1855, v. 266.

³ On January 13, 1853, Livermore "read a series of remarks pointing out sundry errors in the fifth volume of Mr. Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' in relation to the printing of the Bible in this country before the Revolution" (1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, ii. 510-511: cf. x. 450-451). Presumably the remarks were identical with those printed, under the heading "The Bible before the Revolution. Mr. Bancroft and his Authorities," in the Boston Daily Advertiser of January 18, 1853, p. 1/8. Livermore pointed out that the Bible had been printed here in the German language before 1776, and in later editions of his History of the United States Bancroft's sentence reads: "And yet to print that Bible in British America would have been a piracy; and the Bible, though printed in German and in a native savage dialect, was never printed there in English till the land became free" (Centenary Ed., 1876, iii. 464). With regard to the alleged Bible printed by Kneeland & Green, Livermore could only quote Thomas at length — a clear begging of the question.

⁴ Catalogue of the Library of the late Thomas Jefferson McKee, pt. vi, May 12-13, 1902, no. 4714, pp. 881-882. Cf. E. B. O'Callaghan, List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts thereof, printed in America previous to 1860 (1861),



T H E

HOLY BIBLE,

Containing the OLD and NEW

TESTAMENTS:

Newly Translated out of the

ORIGINAL TONGUES:

I N A I N S L A I I O I N S
Diligently COMPARED and REVISED,

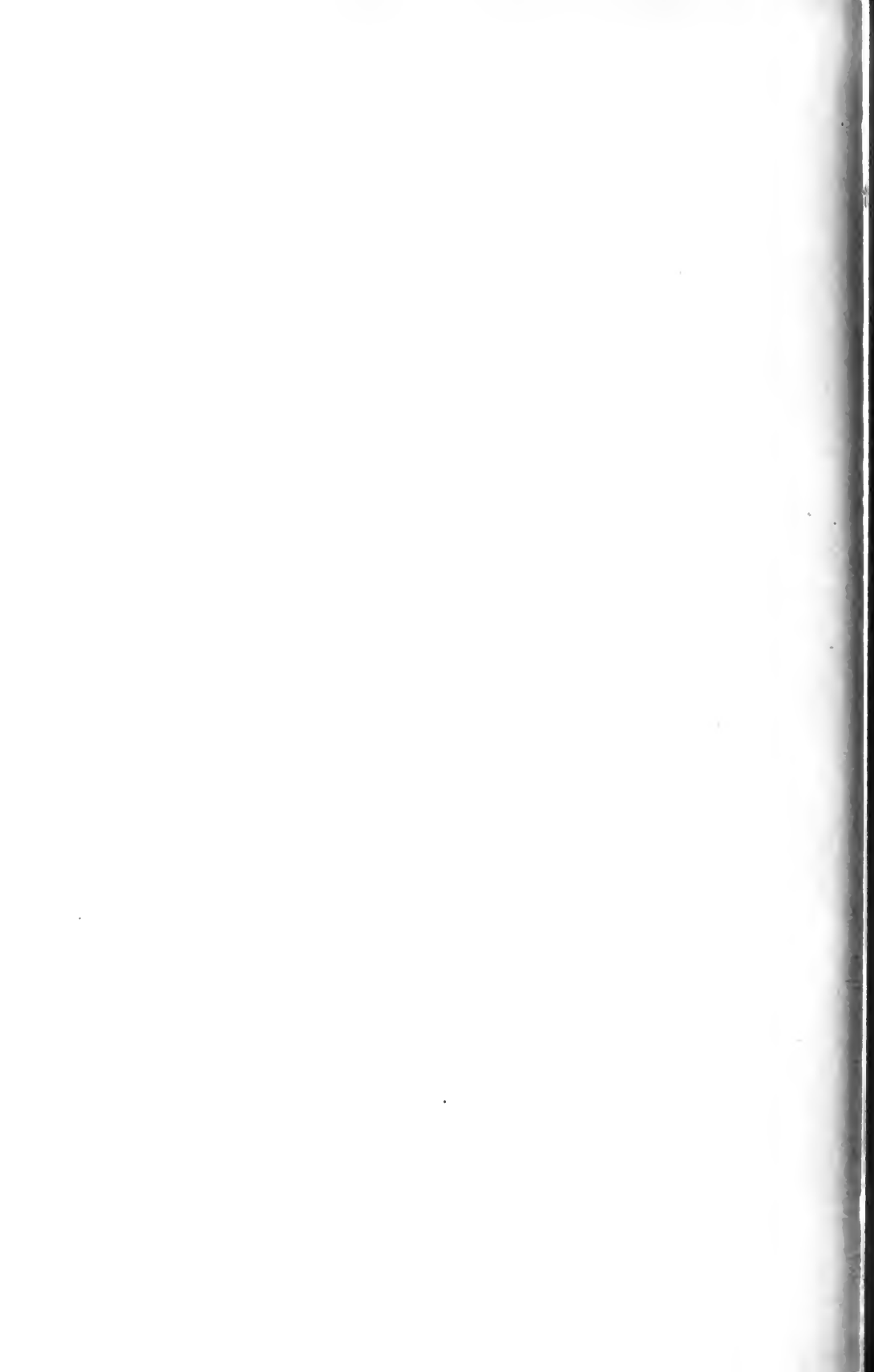
By His Majesty's Special Command.

Appointed to be Read in CHURCHES.

L O N D O N :

Printed by MARK BASKETT, Printer to the King's most
Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of ROBERT BASKETT.

M.DCC.LXI.



This Bible was claimed to be a copy and the only known copy of that issue and advanced as proof positive of the truth of Thomas's statement. It was bought by Mr. McKee several years before, of George P. Philes, a bookseller of New York. This claim was first made by John Anderson, Jr., but there is no record of any publicity to it until the statement in the sale catalogue of 1902. The Bible was purchased by George C. Thomas of Philadelphia for \$2025, and held a prominent position in his choice library. In 1910, after the death of George C. Thomas, the Bible was advertised for sale in the catalogue of George H. Richmond, and later in that of the Rosenbach Company in 1913 and again in 1917.

If this Bible is genuine, it holds an important position in the history of Americana because its evidence confirms the truth of the statement of Isaiah Thomas. If, on the contrary, this evidence is not worthy of credence, it should not be allowed to stand and the Bible should be relegated to a place where it can no longer mislead us in our search for the solution of this problem.

An opportunity of examining this Bible was courteously afforded the writer in 1910 by Mr. Richmond and again in 1917 by Dr. Rosenbach, and it is with regret that my conclusions oblige me to set aside its value in the evidence towards which my prejudice in favor of the Isaiah Thomas story had led me to investigate the book.

In 1907 a careful study was made by me of the Mark Baskett Bibles in the Bodleian Library, in the British Museum, and in the British and Foreign Bible Society, with the hope that familiarity with the English editions of this Bible would enable me to confirm the statements in the McKee catalogue and to recognize other copies of the Boston edition if any such should come into the market. When the opportunity was offered me in 1910 by Mr. Richmond of examining the Bible, it appeared to me that the date was not as clear as it should be, but a decision upon such an important matter seemed outside my province. In 1917, however, a careful study of the text was made by me in comparison with several other Baskett Bibles; notably a copy of the 1763 edition in the Harvard College Library, one dated 1761 in my own possession, and a 1766 edition belonging to the American Antiquarian Society.

pp. xiii-xvi; J. Wright, *Early Bibles of America* (1892), pp. 55-58 (1894), pp. 60-63; J. Wright, *Historical Bibles in America* (1905), pp. 69-72.

In looking over the New Testament a curious typographical error was discovered in St. Matthew, Chapter 17. In the second line of the chapter heading the letter *f* in the word *foretelleth* had fallen down because of loss or misplacement of a lead. In verse 1 the letter *e* in the second word, *after*, was misplaced upward. In verse 3, second line, the letter *l* in *Elias* had fallen down and had separated the letters of the word *then* in the next line and verse. Such a typographical error would be practically impossible of duplication and would be positive proof that all copies in which it occurred were of the same edition, although it might not be found in the whole edition as it could have been discovered and rectified during printing.¹ See the facsimile, facing this page. Examination of three copies of the New Testament with title-page dated 1763 revealed the same error in each, which had been found in the 1752 copy, the New Testament of which lacked title-page, and seemed to prove conclusively that this part of this Bible was dated 1763 also.

This fact did not, however, prove the date of the Old Testament part to be of this date, as it was customary to bind different editions together.

A somewhat careful study of the typography of the Old Testament of this 1752 Bible was made with the discovery of a number of interesting facts.

In Exodus, Chapter 14, verse 18, the word *Egyptians* is spelled *Epyptians*. See the facsimile, facing this page.

In Genesis, Chapter 4, verse 6, the letter *t* in *thou* has fallen out into the space at the side. See the facsimile, facing this page.

In Leviticus, Chapter 5, verse 6, the letter *i* in *his* is missing.

In Psalms, Chapter 21, verse 7, the letter *i* in *high* is missing.

In Psalms, Chapter 33, verse 3, the letter *s* in *noise* is missing.

More than two dozen cases of broken letters, irregularities of type or of line were found, in addition to the above noted omissions.

In all these cases, these omissions, errors and broken letters were identical in the 1752 copy and in the copy dated 1763 belonging to the Harvard College Library. In addition to this positive evidence, none of these errors occurred in the 1761 edition or in that of 1766, the inference being that the 1761 edition had been correct and the errors

¹ The New York Public Library owns a copy in which this error has been rectified.

C H A P. XVII.

1 The transfiguration of Christ: 14 He bealeth the lunatick, 22 foretelleth his own passion, 24 and payeth tribute.

1 Mark 9.

2 Luke 9. 28.

AND ^a after six days, Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart,

² And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

³ And behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.

⁴ Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

ST. MATTHEW. XVII. 1-4

¹⁷ And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

¹⁸ And the Egyptians shall know that I am the LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

EXODUS. XIV. 17-18

⁵ But unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. ^a Hebr. 11.

⁶ And the LORD said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen?

⁷ If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And **¶** unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him. [¶] Or, have the ascendency. [¶] Or, subj-ct unto thee.

GENESIS. IV. 5-7

EXTRACTS FROM THE ALLEGED 1752 BIBLE
ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS



in the 1763 edition had been rectified in the 1766 edition by new type.

Turning to the title-page, the word TESTAMENTS on the fourth line contains two letters S of a different font and they are put in with the wide end at the top. In addition the first S has the hair line of that upper part broken near the serif. This applies to the 1761 edition, but the two letters S in the 1752 and the 1763 copies have been turned so that their position is correct and the broken hair line, still present, is at the bottom. In the 1766 edition new letters are used in this word.

The letter D in the ninth line of the title-page in the last word has an imperfection in the 1761, 1763, and 1752 copies, but new type is found in the 1766 copy.

These typographical similarities between the 1752 and the 1763 Bibles seem to be sufficient evidence that by some error the date of the McKee-Thomas Bible was misprinted or changed and should be 1763. In corroboration of this suggestion, it is to be noted that the date M.DCC.LXIII is not exactly centered, being about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch too far to the left; and that in the alleged 1752 edition the date, though containing two figures less, begins at precisely the same point and so is still more out of centre, being about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch too far to the left.

The watermarks in the paper used in both, indeed all, of the Mark Baskett Bibles seen, are identical, showing that the paper came from the same manufacturer. This, however, cannot be used as positive evidence of the identity in edition of these books because the same paper might have been imported by Kneeland & Green for this special work, although no such watermarks have been found in the books of this firm which have been examined.

If from this examination of the 1752 Bible and comparison with the editions of 1761, 1763, and 1766 it is proved, as it seems to be, that this Bible is not what it was supposed to be, then the inference is that it cannot be used as positive evidence of the truth of the story printed by Isaiah Thomas. Because of the removal of this evidence, we can go one step further and show that the imprint could not have been "Mark Baskett."

Thomas wrote, "This bible issued from the press about the time that the partnership of Kneeland and Green expired" (which was

the year 1752¹); and again, "As it has a London imprint, at this day, it can be distinguished from the English edition of the same date only by those who are acquainted with the niceties of typography." Mark Baskett printed Bibles in London from 1761 to 1769 and then sold the family patent to print Bibles to Charles Eyre,² whose firm continues to print them at the present day. It is certain that Mark Baskett did not print Bibles in 1752 and it is improbable that the Boston printers would have used the name of a man who had not printed such books. It is also certain that if they had used the name of another printer, in the Boston Bible, the officers of the Crown would have discovered the fact. Moreover, Thomas expressly states that the authorized and the unauthorized editions could only be distinguished from each other by one skilled in the niceties of typography, the change in name not requiring such skill.

How, then, did Thomas make the mistake of using the name "Mark"? It can be said, with strong probability, it was because he had at hand to consult only a copy of the Mark Baskett Bible. It must be remembered that the *History of Printing* was written in 1810, forty years after the Baskett Bibles had ceased to be printed and before either any study of printers or any collection of Bibles had been undertaken, so that he had few data for reference and few books for examination.

Like all pioneer works it was impossible for such a history to be written without errors of detail due to the fact that it was the first in that field of investigation. As an illustration, let me cite the following mistake in the *History of Printing*. Thomas states³ that the *New Hampshire Gazette*, Number 1, was published "Friday, August, 1756." Examination of the only known copy of the first

¹ The partnership between Samuel Kneeland (*d.* 1769) and Timothy Green (*d.* 1763) was dissolved on or a few days after December 26, 1752: cf. our *Publications*, ix. 443.

² "He [John Baskett] received afterwards a new grant from George II. for sixty years, with the additional privilege of serving Parliament with stationary. In this manner Baskett's right would have endured from 1709 to 1799; but the last thirty years of this patent were conveyed to Charles Eyre and his heirs for £10,000. Eyre took possession of his reversion in 1769, and assumed William Strahan as his partner. When the term of this patent expired, a new one was granted to the same family" (John Lee, *Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland*, 1824, p. 180 note).

³ *History of Printing in America*, 1810, ii. 280; 1874, ii. 93.



T H E

HOLY BIBLE,

Containing the OLD and NEW

TESTAMENTS:

Newly Translated out of the

ORIGINAL TONGUES:

And with the Former

TRANSLATIONS

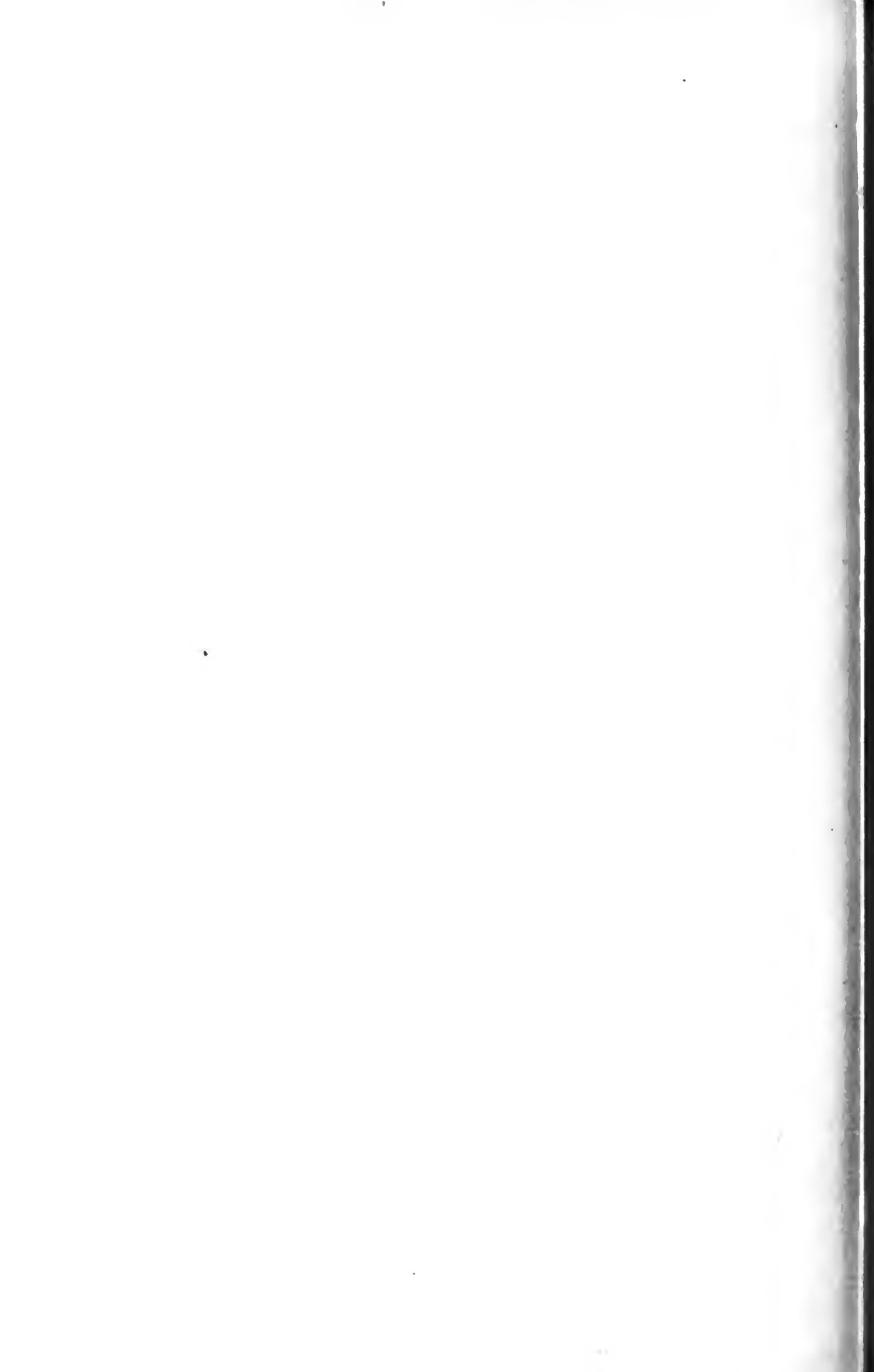
Diligently COMPARED and REVISED,

By His Majesty's Special Command.

Appointed to be Read in CHURCHES.

L O N D O N :

Printed by MARK BASKETT, Printer to the King's most
Excellent Majesty; and by the Affigns of ROBERT BASKETT.
M.DCC.LXIII.



number shows that it was published on Thursday, October 7th, and continued to be published on Thursday for several months and then the day of publication was changed to Friday. Thomas had in his possession a copy of this newspaper after the day of issue had been changed to Friday and had evidently never seen an earlier number. This error, unfortunate though it was, does not prove that the New Hampshire Gazette was never printed but that the change in the day of printing had escaped him. So in the case of the Baskett Bible, Thomas was evidently ignorant of the fact that Thomas Baskett printed the Oxford and London Bibles from 1742 to 1761 and that Mark Baskett did not print them until the last date. This ignorance, however, while throwing doubt on the Boston imprint, does not militate against the fact that a Bible was printed there. It would seem, therefore, that the name of Mark Baskett should be eliminated from this question and that Thomas Baskett, the bible printer of that period, whose death occurred in 1763, was the one whose name will be found in the imprint of the Kneeland & Green Bible.¹

While Isaiah Thomas made errors of detail in his descriptions because of circumstances beyond his control, he has not been found at fault in his essential facts, and no chance of error can exist in regard

¹ Apparently the only Bible published by Thomas Baskett in 1752 was printed not at London but at Oxford (T. D. Darlow and H. F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903, i. 280, 285-286). The title-page of that edition, taken from a copy in the Boston Public Library, is as follows, the capital, small capital, and italic letters being as here given:

THE HOLY
BIBLE,
Containing the OLD and NEW
TESTAMENTS:
Newly Translated out of the
Original Tongues,
And with the former
TRANSLATIONS
Diligently COMPARED and REVISED.
By His Majesty's Special Command.
Appointed to be read in CHURCHES.
OXFORD:
Printed by THOMAS BASKETT, Printer to the
UNIVERSITY. M DCC LII.

to the Kneeland & Green Bible because of his circumstantial description.

It would seem to me that the solution of this important problem can only be attained by an extensive examination and comparison of copies known to have been in this country at that time with the same imprints from England by a person skilled in the study of the ornaments, types, and style of printing found in the books of Kneeland & Green.

Mr. TUTTLE also made the following communication:

LAND WARRANTS ISSUED UNDER ANDROS, 1687-1688

The State Archives contain a volume bearing on a fly-leaf the words, "S^r Edmund Andros, Once a Governor, and rascally petty Tyrant, under the King, and grand Tyrant of Britain." It contains 118 warrants to survey lands, issued by Andros from June 17, 1687, to July 28, 1688.¹ In the name of the King he claimed the title in all our lands, and obliged the payment of a quit rent to secure a new survey and grant to confirm all former titles. During his short administration he had only time to make a beginning in his new order of government. While light charges were at first made, the way was opened for great extortion later.

These warrants are but the expression of one feature of the oppressive rule of Andros, and they furnish some interesting information as to the ownership of property in various places. The Colony charter had been vacated in 1684, and, following the presidency of Joseph Dudley in 1686, the King had granted commissions to Andros on June 3, 1686, and again on April 7, 1688, as Governor of the Territory and Dominion of New England. These warrants, here printed for the first time, do not cover the closing months of his

¹ The volume is labelled on the back of the cover (which is not old): "Sir Ed^d Andros Land Warrants. 1687 and 1688." The pages containing the warrants are numbered from 2 to 137, and at the beginning there is an alphabetical list of names. Many documents relating to the warrants are in vols. cxxvi-cxxix of the Massachusetts Archives, and other information will be found in vol. ii of the Council Records, in the Dudley Records (2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 226-286), in the Andros Records (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xiii. 239-268), and in Toppan's Edward Randolph (Prince Society). The handwriting, which appears to be that of two clerks, is singularly legible for that period, though occasionally a proper name is obscure.



THE

HOLY BIBLE,

Containing the OLD and NEW

TESTAMENTS:

Newly Translated out of the

ORIGINAL TONGUES:

And with the former

TRANSLATIONS

Diligently COMPARED and REVISED,

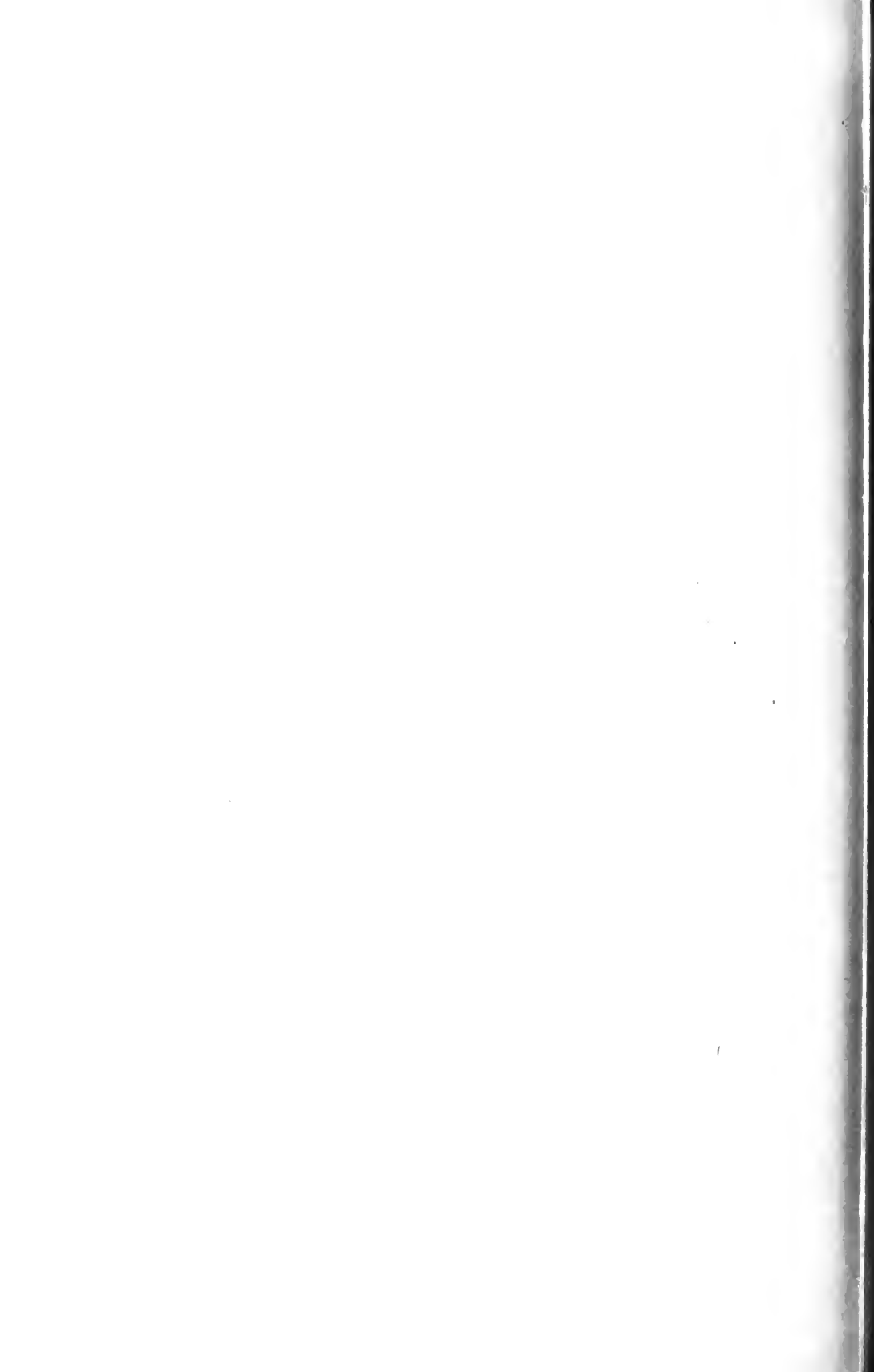
By His Majesty's Special Command.

Appointed to be Read in CHURCHES.

L O N D O N :

Printed by MARK BASKETT, Printer to the King's most
Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of ROBERT BASKETT.

M.DCC.LII.



administration. The disturbance caused by his arbitrary methods ended with his seizure on April 18, 1689, and his subsequent departure for England.

Appended to the warrants is an alphabetical list of grantees and of locations, containing 129 names of persons. Some of the grantees were distinguished men like Dudley, Sewall, Stoughton, and various members of Andros's Council. Others were men of note, but difficult to identify with certainty either because their places of residence are not given, or because there were several of the same name. Others, however, were settlers in the towns of Falmouth, North Yarmouth (now Freeport), Saco, and Scarborough, many of whom it is quite out of the question to identify, and a few of whom are not even mentioned by Savage in his *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*. For these, the reader should consult Willis's *History of Portland*,¹ Gould's *Portland in the Past*, Russell's *History of North Yarmouth*,² Folsom's *History of Saco and Biddeford*, and Southgate's *History of Scarborough*.³

Finally, a word should be said in regard to the locations of grants. It will be remembered that the Narragansett Country or King's Province is now that part of Rhode Island west of Narragansett Bay; that the Nipmug (Nipmuck) Country was in the neighborhood of Worcester, Mendon, Sutton, Oxford, etc., then in Massachusetts but now partly in Connecticut; that in 1658 Black Point and Blue Point were established as a town under the name of Scarborough;⁴ and that in the same year Casco Bay and Spurwink were established as a town under the name of Falmouth, now Portland, Maine.⁴ The frequent changes in English names; the conflicting claims of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in the matter of jurisdiction, claims which about the middle of the eighteenth century were invariably settled by the Privy Council adversely to Massachusetts; the extraordinary variety of forms in which Indian names occur, and the reduplication of such names throughout New England — all combine to make exact

¹ Facing p. 94 is a map of "Ancient Falmouth, from 1630 to 1690," which shows the locations of most of the grants mentioned in the warrants.

² *Collections Maine Historical Society* (1847), ii. 165-188.

³ *Collections Maine Historical Society* (1853), iii. 1-237. At the beginning of the volume are maps of Black Point and of Blue Point.

⁴ *Massachusetts Colony Records*, iv. i. 359.

identification of localities difficult. Hence infallibility in this respect is not claimed.

LAND WARRANTS ISSUED UNDER ANDROS, 1687-1688

1

Warrant to lay out Land for M^r Symon Lynde¹ at Paucatuck neck.²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles³ Surveyor Whereas Symon Lynds of Boston Merchant hath by his Petiçon desired a grant & Confirmaçon of a certaine parcell of Land upon Paucatuck or Squamacack neck neer Paucatuck River conteining Eight hundred seventy four Acres whereon he hath already settled and improved with a further addiçon thereunto These are therefore to authorize & require yow forthwith to survey and lay out the said parcell of Lands with an addiçon thereto adjoyneing if vacant to make in y^e whole One thousand Acres and that yow make due returne thereof to the Sec^ryes Office accordingly. And for so doing this shall be yo^r warr^t Given und^r my hand and seale at Boston the 17th day of June in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

2

Warrant to survey the Land of Narraganset

By His Excellency

Yow are with the first Conveniency to make a generall survey and draught of the Narraganset Countrey or Kings Province and therein to

¹ Though nominated a Councillor on November 4, 1687, Simon Lynde did not serve, as he died on the 22d of the same month.

² Pawcatuck River separates Westerly, R. I., from Stonington, Ct. Pawcatuck Neck is the neck of land at Watch Hill, Westerly. "Squamacack" occurs in various forms: Ascomicutt, Misquamicoke, Misquamicuck, Misquamicuk, Misquamicut, Squamicut, Squamocuck, etc.

³ Philip Wells had been Andros's steward, and may have come with him to New York in 1674 or in 1678. At all events, he was there on October 16, 1680, and on December 2 following a lot was surveyed for him in New York City. On August 30, 1683, he was appointed deputy-surveyor in New Jersey, and in June, 1686, he was one of the surveyors who ran the line between New Jersey and New York. On June 17, 1687, then described as of Boston, he was appointed by Andros to the "Office of Surveyor within y^e Territory and Dominion" of New England. In March, 1700, he was one of the commissioners to run the line between New York and Connecticut. (New York Colonial Documents, iii. 302, 312 note, iv. 630; Calendar of Council Minutes, 1668-1783 [1902], pp. 40, 45, 49, 50, 61, 86, 122; Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, i. 87; New Jersey Archives, i. 517, 518, 521, ii. 22, 23, 24, iv. 412, 413, 414, vi. 148, 149, viii. 205, 227, 247, 249, xiii. 105, 111; Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 341.)

observe and marke the severall settlements Claimes and pretençons made by any person or persons to the same or any parte or parcells thereof of which to make Returne to me with all possible speed And for so doing this shall be yo^r Warrant Dated at Boston the 22th day of June 1687

To M^r John Smith¹ D. Survey^r

3

Warrant to survey the Lands at ffeversham.²

By His Excellency the Govern^r

Whereas John Maxson³ and William Champlain⁴ have in behalfe of themselves and the Town of ffeversham in the Kings Province by their Petiçon⁵ prayed that A survey may be made of the Lands in sd^t Towne and that the same may be granted and confirmed to them These are

¹ On June 22, 1687, John Smith, described as of "New Bristoll in y^e County of Bristoll," was appointed by Andros "Deputy Surveyor of Land within this his Ma^{ties} Territory and Dominion" of New England (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 341).

² At that time there were three townships in the Narragansett Country — Kingston, Westerly, and Greenwich. On May 25, 1686, Joseph Dudley was inaugurated President of the Council for New England, and on June 23 following a court was held at Kingston by "his Majesty's Commissioners and Justices . . . in the King's Province," Dudley himself and three other members of the Council being present. The names of Kingston, Westerly, and Greenwich were changed respectively to Rochester, Feversham, and Deptford — doubtless after the three places so called in Kent, England. A curious error is sometimes made in regard to the name of Feversham. In the document printed in our text; in documents dated July 18, 1687, and July 15, 1688 (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 392, cxxix. 51-52); and in a letter dated September 13, 1687, from John Rodman to John Usher (in the Jeffries Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society), the name is clearly "Feversham." But the old spelling "ff," merely of course a capital F, has misled some copyists, and in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 247; in the Rhode Island Colonial Records, iii. 201, 202; in Arnold's History of the State of Rhode Island (1878), 1-485; and in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxv. 182, the name is wrongly given as "Haversham." Similarly the name Deptford, sometimes in the old documents written "Dedford," has in the Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1685-1688, no. 925, p. 261, been misread as "Bedford."

³ The Rev. John Maxson died December 17, 1720.

⁴ William Champlin died December 1, 1713.

⁵ The petition, dated July 18, 1687, of "the subscribers for our seluels and in behalfe of the Towne westerle alias ffeversham in Kings Province," is in Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 392-393. It is signed by five persons, among them John Maxson and William Champlin.

therefore to authorize & Impower yow to survey the Lands whereon the inhabitants of the said Towne are settled & have improved and likewise such Lands as are conveniently adjoining to them and thereof to make a due returne that right may be done to the Petiōners therein accordingly Dated at Boston the 24th day of June 1687

To M^r Jn^o Smith D Survey^r

4

Warrant to lay out 50 Acres of Land for Jn^o Swarton¹ in Northyarmouth in Caskobay

By His Excellency

Whereas John Swarton hath by his Petiōn Desired to have a parcell of Land surveyed and layd out to him in the Towne of Northyarmouth in Casco bay for his p^rsent settlement & improvem^t These are therefore to authorize & impower yow to Lay out for the sd John Swarton the quantity of fifty acres of Land in some Convenient place within the sd Towne and thereof to make returne to the Sec^ryes Office that the same may be Patented to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given und^r my hand at Boston the 29th day of June 1687

To Cap^t Walter Gendall

5

Warrant to survey a farme at Charlestoune for Charles Ledgett²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To Phillip Welles Esq Surveyo^r of the Territory & Dominion aforesaid Whereas Charles Ledgett Esq hath by his Petiōn desired a grant & confirmācon of a certaine farme or parcell of Land lyeing in Charlestoune and to have an addiōn of some vacant land adjoining to the same These are therefore to authorize and require yow forthwith to make a survey and draft of the sd farme or parcell of Land and of the Lands adjoining to or about the same and thereof to make due Returne that such grant & confirmācon may be given to the Petiōner as shall be thought requisite and for so doing this shall be yo^r warr^t Given und^r my hand and seale

¹ John Swarton's name is wrongly printed "Swanton" in Toppan's *Edward Randolph* (Prince Society), ii. 33 note 70. In his own petition, dated June 16, 1687 (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 358), in other documents (id. cxxvi. 375, cxxvii. 132), and in the present warrant, the name is clearly "Swarton," though the "r" is of the old fashioned kind that might easily be mistaken by a careless copyist for "n."

² Charles Lidgett died in 1698.

at Boston the 5th day of July in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

6

Warrant to lay out Lands in Charlestowne for Jn^o Cutler Jun^r¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas John Cutle Jun^r of Charlestowne hath desired his Majestyes Patent of confirmacon for severall peeces and parcells of land within the Bounds of Charlestowne aforesd whereon he hath built planted and improved and being herein possessed that is to say a peece of wharfe Land containing fifteene pooles another peece of ground containing seven poole and three quarters Eleven Acres of meadow at wormers point two acres and halfe of Land in y^e westfield two Orchards in the Eastfield containing twenty five Acres of Land in the Comon called the stinted pasture and sixty four acres of woodland in the Comon behinde Cap^t Wades² farme these are therefore to Authorize and require yow to survey & lay out for the said John Cutler the beforemencioned severall peeces & parcells of Land and p^rmisses according to the severall Ord^{rs} Deeds & conveyances for the same & inclosures and to make due Returne with a platt or Draft thereof into the Sec^ryes office that the sd Lands may be confirmed to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warr^t Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 20th Day of July 1687

7

Warrant to lay out Land at Charlestowne for Samuell Ballatt³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r Whereas Samuell Ballatt of Charlestowne shipwright hath by his Peticoⁿ Desired his Majestyes Confirmacon of severall peeces or parcells of ground within Charlestowne aforesd on which are severall houses warehouses and wharfes built & Erected and which for many yeares he hath peaceably possessed and Enjoyed These are therefore to authorize & require yow forthwith to survey and lay out for the said Samuell Ballatt the sd severall Deeds & Conveyances for the same buildings & improvem^{ts} made and to make Due Returne with a platt or Draft thereof into the Sec^ryes Office that the said ground may be Confirmed

¹ John Cutler, Jr., died August 12, 1708.

² Probably Jonathan Wade, who died November 24, 1689.

³ Samuel Ballatt died November 12, 1708.

to him by Patent accordingly and for so Doeing this shall be yo^r warr^t
Given und^r my hand and seale at Boston the 20th day of July 1687

8

Warrant to survey Land for Joseph Dudley Esq in Roxbury

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l & Governour in Chiefe of his
Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip
Welles Surveyor Whereas Co^l Joseph Dudley hath Desired his Majes-
tyes Patent of Confirmacon for severall houses & parcells of Land within
the towneship of Roxbury (that is to say) for his mansion house and
Land thereunto belonging Containing about seven Acres the Greyhound
inn with the Land & Orchard thereunto adjoyneing Containing about
four Acres About Eight acres of meadow by the Land of Thomas Weld
about seven Acres of pasture by the schoolland about nine Acres more of
pasture by the highway About One Acre of salt marsh by the sea, a
farme called Smithfield containing about One hundred & forty Acres
About four Acres more of salt marsh by Jacob Pepper about twenty
Acres of woodland by Samuell Weld a parcell of land Containing about
One hundred & thirty Acres by Nathaneel Garey¹ A tenem^t and about
thirteene Acres of Land in the Road to Dedham and the halfe of a house
barne & thirty Acres of Land by Gyles Payson² And alsoe One other
peece of woodland at Muddy River³ being about sixteene Acres all
which he hath long beene and now is in the actual possession and en-
joyment off, These are therefore to Authorize and require yow to survey
and lay out for the said Joseph Dudley the beforemencōned severall
houses & parcells of Land according to the severall Deeds made and
given for the same and inclosures and to make due returne with a Platt or
Draft thereof into the Secryes office that the sd Lands may be con-
firmed to him by Patent Accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r
warr^t Given und^r my hand & seale at Boston the 22th day of July in
the third year of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

9

Warrant to lay out for Charles Ledgett Esq 150 Acres of Land as an
addicon to his farme at Charlestoune

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his
Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip
Welles Surveyor Whereas by the survey and draft by yow made of the

¹ Nathaniel Gary was one of the Roxbury men to whom New Roxbury in the
Nipmug Country was granted.

² Giles Payson died January 28, 1689.

³ Now Brookline.

farme belonging to Lieu^t Coff Charles Ledgett in Charlestowne and of the vacant lands adjoyneing Pursueant to warrant of the fifth of July past there appears to be a parcell of of Common vacant & unimproved land part of which the sd Charles Ledgett hath desired may be granted to him as an addicōn to the said farme these are therefore to authorize & require yow to survey and stake out for the sd Charles Ledgett the Quantity of One hundred & fifty Acres of the sd Common vacant & unimproved land as an addicōn to his sd farme to beginn at the Corner of the sd farme by Mistick bridge and to runn a streight line to the road or way that goes to Monotomes bridge as will include about the Quantity of Acres which Road yow are likewise to survey and lay out as straight to the sd bridge as the Land will permitt and thereof to make Returne into the Sec̄ryes Office that a Patent may be Given for the same accordingly Dated at Boston the first day of August 1687

10

Warrant to Survey 210 Acres of Land for Daniel Wilcock.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gener^{ll} and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To John Smith Deputy Surveyor Whereas Daniel Wilcock of Litle Campton² in y^e County of Bristoll hath by his Peticōn desired a graunt & Confirmaōn for One hundred & sixty Acres of Land on seconet³ and for fifty Acres of Land on a small neck thereto adjoyneing Called Nasinnah⁴ for

¹ In 1680 the "lands att Pocassett and places adjacent," in the Plymouth Colony, were bought by eight persons, among them Benjamin Church "of Puncatest," Daniel Wilcox of "Portsmouth, in the Colony of Rhode Island," and Thomas Waite "of Puncatest" (O. Fowler, *History of Fall River*, 1862, p. 61: cf. *Plymouth Colony Records*, vi. 29-30).

² On June 6, 1682, Sakonnet (Seaconet, Seconet, etc.) was incorporated as Little Compton (*Plymouth Colony Records*, vi. 88).

³ The clerk's error for "Seconet:" see the next note.

⁴ Perhaps "Natinnah." It should be "Natimnah." In a petition undated but referred to John Walley and Nathaniel Byfield on June 6, 1687 (*Massachusetts Archives*, cxxvi. 339-340), Daniel Wilcox said: "That in Julij 1679; There was granted by the seūall Courts holden att Plymouth vnto Samuēll Leonard and John Lennard in right of their father Solomon Lennard the Quantity of One Hundred and fifty Acres of Land And that the second day of July 1686 Yo^r Pet^r for a Valuable Consideraōn purchased of the said Samuēll and John all their right and title in and to the said grant and Whereas yo^r Pet^r the Three & Twenty-eth of June 1683 [altered from 1686, or 1686 altered from 1683] Did for a valuable Consideraōn Likewise purchase of Mamanewatt Cheife Sachem of Seconett and the Lands Adjacent; One Hundred acres of Land being part of a Large Neck of Land called Seconett butted and bounded as in the Deed thereof is Expressed

which he hath satisfied the Indians p'tences and on parte thereof settled and improved These are therefore to Authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Daniel Wilcock the sd Parcells of Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office at Boston with all convenient speed that the same may be Graunted and Confirmed to him accordingly and for so Doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 17th day of August 1687

11

Warrant to survey Land on Boston neck¹ for Francis Brinley²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England To M^r John Smith Deputy Surveyor Whereas ffrancis Brinley of Road Island Merchant Hath by his Peticōn sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath beene possessed of a certaine tract of Land or farme on the southermost end of Boston neck in the Narragansett Countrey which according to its knowne bounds conteines about Eight or nine hundred Acres whereon he hath made Considerable settlement & improvement praying that the same may be Granted & confirmed to him These are therefore to authorize & require yow to survey and lay out for the said ffrancis Brinley the sd Tract of Land or farme according according to its knowne bounds and Contents with an Addicōn of ninety acres more And to make a Platt or Draft thereof and the same to Returne into the Secryes Office with all Convenient speed that A Pattennt may be Granted therefore accordingly And for so doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 18th day of August 1687

12

Warrant to Lay out Lands at Pocassett³ for Tho: Waite⁴

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory And Dominion of New England To M^r John Smith

And Likewise the 21th of June 1686 Hath also purchased of another Indian called Kewegue als Chackamuck brother to the said Mamanewatt for a Like Valuable Conracon fifty acres of Land Lying on a Small neck within the s^d Large Neck called Natimnah butted and bounded as in the deed thereof is sett forth." Cf. Plymouth Colony Records, vi. 18, 202, 245.

¹ Boston Neck is still so called, lying between Wickford and Narragansett Pier, R. I.

² Francis Brinley (1632-1719).

³ In June, 1694, Pocasset was incorporated as Tiverton (Massachusetts Province Laws, i. 174), but in January, 1747, was reincorporated by Rhode Island (Rhode Island Colonial Records, v. 204).

⁴ Cf. p. 299 note 1, above.

Deputy Surveyor Whereas Thomas Waite of Little Compton hath by his Petición sett forth that he being One of the Purchasers of the Lands called Pocassett in the County of Bristoll hath layd out a Considerable Estate In building & improvement on parte thereof, & thereby praying that the same may be confirmed to him with an Addicōn of so much Land adjoyneing thereto as will make up in the whole the Quantity of three hundred Acres with Eight Acres of meadow now in his possession lyeing on the southward end of Punckatest neck¹ These are therefore to Authorize & require yow to survey and Lay out for the said Thomas Waite the said Quantity of three hundred Acres of land in manner aforesd together with the said Eight Acres of meadow And to make a Platt or Draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office Att Boston with all convenient speed that a Pattent may be Granted therefore accordingly Given under my hand & seale at Boston the 18th day of August 1687

13

Warrant to Lay out Land at Shawomett² for Ralph Chapman.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r John Smith Deputy Surveyor Whereas Ralph Chapman of Newport in Road Island Shipwright hath for the Conveniency & Accomodaçōn of building of ships and other Vessells prayed that about two hundred Acres of Land might be granted to him on a certaine neck of Land called Shawwomett a^s wickopinsett on the westside of Taunton River These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow (in Case yow in case yow shall finde the sd neck of Land to be vacant & unappropriated) to survey and lay out for the said Ralph Chapman in some Convenient place there the said Quantity of two hundred Acres of Land and to make a platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston with all convenient speed that A Pattent may be Granted therefore Accordingly Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 18th day of August 1687

14

Warrant to Survey severall houses and Ground in Boston for Cap^t Benjamin Davies³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} And Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New Engl^d To M^r Phillip Welles

¹ Puncatest Neck was in Sakonnet now Little Compton, R. I. See p. 299 note 1, above.

² Now Somerset.

³ Benjamin Davis died November 26, 1704.

Surveyor Whereas Benjamin Davies of Boston Merchant hath by his Peticōn sett forth that for many yeares past he and those under whome he Claymes have beene possessed of a Certaine house Outhouses & Garden wherein he now dwelleth a house & Garden thereto adjoyneing two Warehouses joyneing to M^r Parsons & M^r Eyers and two more joyneing to M^r Shippen and some Ground and wharfe by him made out of the sea within the Towne of Boston aforesd praying that the same may be Granted and Confirmed to him These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to measure & survey for the said Benjamin Davies the said severall houses outhouses Gardens warehouse Ground and wharfe before menconed and to make platts or Drafts thereof and the same to Returne into the Sec̄ryes Office with all Convenient speed that a Patten̄t may be Granted therefore Accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 4th day of Sep^r 1687

15

Warrant to Survey 2000 Acres of Land neere Punkeponge in Dorchester

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas Richard Thair hath by his Peticōn sett forth that by vertue of a lease from Wompatuck Josias and Indian Sachem he is possessed of a certaine tract of Land lyeing neere Punkapange pond on the south side thereof conteyneing about two thousand Acres thereby praying that the same may be surveyed & Graunted unto him which lyeing within the bounds of Dorchester and Constable of sd towne having upon my Order to view the same reported that the sd Land is vacant & unimproved These are therefore to authorize and require yow to make a survey and draft of the sd Tract or parcell of Land And Whereas Rodger Clap¹ layes Clayme to five hundred Acres of Land and meadow which is parte of or adjoyneing to the Land before menconed for which he hath likewise prayed a Graunt Yow are therefore to make a particular survey and draft thereof And the same to Returne into the Sec̄ryes office with all convenient speed that such further ord^{rs} may be Given therein as may be necessary and for so Doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 12th day of Sep^r 1687

¹ Roger Clap died February 2, 1691.

Warrant to survey severall houses & Land in Boston for Edward Shippen¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas Edward Shippen of Boston Merchant hath by his Petitiō sett forth that for many yeares past he and those under whome he Claymes have beene possessed of a certaine house and Ground wherein he now liveth One other house & Ground in y^e Occupa^cōn of Thomas Savage One other house and ground in the occupa^cōn of George Dansen severall warehouse and ground belonging thereto and about four acres of ground in pasture all within the Towne of Boston aforesaid praying that the same may be Granted and confirmed to him These are therefore to Authorize and Require yow to measure and survey for the said Edward Shippen the sd severall houses warehouses and ground be-foremen^cōned and to make platts or Drafts thereof and the same to return into the Secryes Office with all convenient speed that a Pattent may be Granted therefore accordingly and for so Doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the 12th day of Sep^r 1687

Warrant to lay out Land in Worcester² for George Danson³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Governour in Chiefe of of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r John Gore⁴ Deputy Surveyor whereas George Danson of Boston Baker hath by his Petitiō prayed my confirma^cōn of a certaine pcell of Land lyeing within the bounds of Worcester whereon he hath settled & improved conteyneing about two hundred & forty Acres with fiteene Acres of meadow and that as an addicon to the same I would grant unto him one hundred and fifty Acres more out of the vacant lands that lye to the Eastward thereof & adjoyneing To the same These are therefore to Authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out the said two hundred and forty acres

¹ Edward Shippen moved to Philadelphia about 1693 and died October 2, 1712. Cf. our Publications, xx. 266.

² On October 15, 1684, it was ordered that the "plantation at Quansigamond be called Worcester" (Massachusetts Colony Records, v. 460).

³ The will of George Danson was dated December 10, 1689, and proved July 29, 1696. (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 1956). The name sometimes wrongly appears as Dawson.

⁴ John Gore of Roxbury died June 26, 1705. Cf. p. 306 note 1, below.

of upland & fifteen acres of meadow with the Addicōn of One hundred and fifty Acres more to the Eastward thereof & adjoyneing to the same of which yow are to make due Returne with a platt or Draft into the Secryes Office that such further Order may be Given therein for accomodating the Peticōner as may be proper and for so doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the 19th day of Sep^r 1687

18

Warrant to lay out Lands in the Nipmuge Country for Joseph Dudley Esq & at.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England To M^r John Gore Deputy Surveyor Whereas Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton Esqrs have in behalfe of themselves Major Robert Thompson¹ and Doctor Daniel Cox² Desired a grant and confirmacon for a certaine tract of land In the Nipmuge Country of the Contents of Eight myles square which was granted to them in the yeare 1683,³ by the Gen^{tt} Assembly of the late Massathussetts Collony These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Joseph Dudley William Stoughton Robert Thompson & Daniell Cox the said tract of Land conteyneing Eight myles square in the Nipmuge Country aforesd neere Worcester and to make returne thereof with a platt or Draft Describing the same into the Secryes Office that the same may be Granted and Confirmed to them Accordingly and for so Doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston this 19th day of Sep^t 1687

19

Warrant to lay out Lands in Worcester for Charles Crossthwaite

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tt} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England to M^r John Gore Deputy Surveyor Whereas Charles Crossthwaite of Road Island hath by his

¹ Major Robert Thompson was of London.

² For Dr. Daniel Coxe (1640-1730) of London, see *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vii. 317-337.

³ On May 16, 1683, the General Court, "having information that some gentlemen in England are desirous to remooove themselues into this colony, & (if it may be) to settle themselues vnder the Massachusetts; for the incouragement of such persons, . . . this Court doth grant to Major Robert Thompson, Willjam Stoughton, & Joseph Dudley, Esq, and such others as they shall associate to them," the tract mentioned in the warrant (*Massachusetts Colony Records*, v. 408).

Peticōn prayed my confirmacōn for a certaine Parcell of Land lyeing within the bounds of Worcester at a place there called and knowne by the name of Burntcoat Playne conteyneing one hundred Acres And that as an Addicōn to the same I would Grant unto him One hundred and fifty acres more adjoyneing These are therefore to Authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out the sd One hundred acres of land with the Addicōn of One hundred & fifty acres more adjoyneing to the same if, so much vacant & unappropriated And to make a due Returne thereof with a platt or Draft into the Surveyors Office that such further order may be given therein as shall be thought propper for the accomodacōn of the Peticōners and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 19th day of Sep^t 1687

20

Warrant to survey the vacant Land about Worcester.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England to M^r John Gore Deputy Surveyor Yow having finished the severall surveyes of Land in the Nepmuge Country & within the bounds of Worcester according to the particular Warrants for the same These are to Authorize & Require yow to make a Generall survey of the Lands lyeing to the Eastward of Worcester & Oxford & betweene these places and the severall townes of Malborough Wrensham & Mendham And likewise to the westward of the towne of Worcester and betweene that and Quinnebague River and to import as well the Quality as Quantity of the sd Lands And to Returne the particular platt or Draft thereof in the performance of which all Officers and persons whatsoever are hereby required to be ayding assisting & helpfull to Yow therein as yow shall have occacōn or see cause to Require the same and for so Doeing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 20th day of Sept 1687

21

Warrant to Survey nonsuch farme¹ in the Province of Mayne Claymed by Sarah Jourden² & John Hincks.³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Richard

¹ Nonsuch farm was in Scarborough.

² Sarah Jordan was the daughter of John Winter and the widow of the Rev. Robert Jordan, who had died in 1679.

³ John Hinckes was a member of the Council: cf. our Publications, xvii. 39.

Clements¹ Deputy Surveyor Whereas Sarah Jorden widdow and John Hincks have by their Peticōn sett forth that the Predecessors of the said Sarah Jorden now the first possessors of a certaine farme or neck of Land lyeing about six myles from the water side in the Province of Mayne Comonly called and knowne by the name of Jordens or nonsuch farme on which in the life time of her husband severall improvements were made and that since his Decease the sd John Hincks for a valuable consideraōn is become Intituled to one moyety of the same which they desire joyntly to improve praying the same may be confirmed to them by Pattentt under his Majestye These are therefore to authorize & Require yow to make a survey & draft of the sd ffarme or neck of Land and the same to Returne to the surveyors Office at Boston that Orders may be given therein for accomodateing Of the Peticōners And for so doeing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 6th day of October 1687

22 .

Warrant to survey severall parcells of Land, in Cascobay for Cap^t Silvanus Davies.²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Sylvanus Davies of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine Gent^l and James English of Boston Marriner have by their Peticōn sett forth that for severall yeares past they have been possessed of severall messuages or Tenements Mills Lands & Islands in the sd Province of Maine (that is to say,) A mossuage and lott of Ground in which the said Davies now liveth neer the ffort³ being about One Acre Another lott belonging to the sd messuage Qt about six Acres and a small Island Called Little Chabawk⁴ Qt. about sixty acres Alsoe another house lot on the west side the Cove neer the ffort about One Acre A lott on the neck q^t six Acres and sixty Acres of Outland neer their great saw mill Alsoe sixty Acres of Land lyeing to the Westward of M^r Thaddeus Clarke Alsoe another parcell of Land at Kippisick⁵ being a myle square whereon is a dwelling house & sawmill and

¹ Richard Clement (Clemente, Clements) was appointed deputy surveyor September 16-19, 1687 (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvii. 106). On the order is written "The like warr^t for Jn^o Gore to be Deputy Surveyor."

² Silvanus Davis died in 1703.

³ Fort Loyal, Falmouth.

⁴ Little Chebeag.

⁵ Capisick, a small stream flowing into Casco River.

six or Eight Acres of meadow adjoyneing thereto Alsoe another parcell of Land about three hundred Acres and about six Acres of fresh meadow in nonsuch meadowes with a streame of water on which is a house sawmill and Gristmill, Alsoe another parcell of land att Long Creeke about two hundred Acres with a streame whereon is two houses & a sawmill and another parcell of Land att nonsuch point and neere adjoyneing to it with about fiteene Acres of fresh meadow att nonsuch mashes whereon is severall buildings and other improvem^{ts} praying that the same may be Granted and confirmed to them These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Sylvanus Davies And James English the said severall lotts peeces and parcells of Land meadow & p^rmisses and to make Platts or Drafts thereof and the same forthwith to Returne into the Surveyors Office att Boston that the same may be Granted & Confirmed to them accordingly and for so doeing this shall be y^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 6th day of October 1687

23

Warrant to survey severall parcells of Claymed by Walter Barefoot¹ in Kittery.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Walter Barefoot Esq hath by his Peti^{ti}on sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath been possessed of a parcell of upland and swamp in Kittery in the Province of Maine att a place there called spruce Creeke Conteyning two hundred and sixteene Acres Alsoe another parcell of Land adjoyneing in length upon the Bath Conteyning five hundred Acres Alsoe another parcell of Land att a place Called the mill Creeke or point conteyning about one thousand Acres And alsoe one other parcell of Land lyeing by the harbours mouth on the Eastside of Piscataqua River Conteyning five hundred Acres upon which he hath made considerable settlem^{ts} and improvements And praying to have confirma^{ti}on for the same under his Majestye These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to make a survey and Draft of the said severall parcells & quantityes of Land and the same to Returne to the Surveyors Office att Boston that Orders may be given therein for accomodateing the Peti^{ti}oner as Desired And for so doeing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 6th day of October 1687

¹ Walter Barefoot, Deputy-Governor of New Hampshire, died late in 1688 or early in 1689.

24

Warrant to Survey the Lands claymed By Robert Lawrence¹ in Cascobay

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tt} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory And Dominion of New England to M^r Rich^d Clements Deputy Surveyor ¶Whereas Rob^t Lawrence of ffalmouth in Cascobay hath by his Peticōn sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath beene possessed of a Certaine tract of Land & marsh lyeing at sapissick² on the northerne side of the River to Extend to the River side of Amencongen³ whereon he now lives and hath made considerable settlement & improvement Praying to have confirmacon for the same under his Majestye (Excepting therout a parcell of Land about a myle square where on Cap^t Silvanus Davies hath built a sawmill) These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to make a survey and Draft of the sd tract of land & marsh (Except before Excepted) and the same to Returne to the Surveyors Office att Boston That further Orders may be given therein for accomodateing of the Peticoner And for so doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the 6th day of October 1687

25

Warrant to survey severall parcells of Land at Cascobay for Edward Ting⁴ Esq

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Edward Tyng Esq hath by his Peticōn sett forth that in his own Right and by severall grants from diverse persons and from the towne of ffalmouth he is possessed of a messuage or Tenement and halfe an Acre of Land lyeing neere ffort Loyall As alsoe three Acres of upland belonging to the said Tenement And alsoe another house & barne with forty two Acres of upland And one hundred Acres of Land lyeing betweene the Land of Thaddeus Clarke and Ralph Turner & four Acres of marsh adjoining to the sd Land being Divided from the marsh of the sd Thaddeus Clarke by a

¹ Robert Lawrence was killed by Indians in May, 1690.

² Capisick.

³ Ammoncongin (variously spelled), "now universally called Congin, was applied to a portion of Presumpscot river around the falls next below Saccarappa" (Willis, History of Portland, p. 242 note).

⁴ Edward Tyng, a member of the Council, died about 1701.

certaine Creeke called Buck Creeke And alsoe one halfe of Barbary Creeke marsh the whole conteyning Eight Acres next adjoyneing to the Land of Peter Bodwin¹ all in the Province of Maine praying that the same may be Granted and Confirmed to him These are therefore to Authorize and Require Yow to Survey & lay out for the said Edward Tyng the said severall peeces & parcells of land meadow & premisses and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same forthwith to Returne into the Surveyors Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted to the sd Edward Tyng accordingly and for soe Doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 6th day of October 1687

26

Warrant to Survey 110 Acres of Land in Cascobay for Richard Sacombe²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Richard Sacombe hath by his Peticōn sett forth that he is possessed of a certaine parcell of Land or farme lyeing in the back Cove in ffalmouth in Cascobay Conteyneing One hundred Acres of upland and tenne Acres of marsh where he Hath beene at Great Charge in building ffenceing and improvement the same being betweene the Land of John Smeath³ and the Land of James Rosse⁴ praying the same may be Granted & Confirmed to him under his Majestye These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the said Richard Sacombe the said hundred Acres of land and tenne Acres of marsh in the ffresh marsh at the Easterne End belonging to the sd ffarme and to make a Draft thereof and Returne the same to the Surveyors Office Att Boston That a confirmaçōn may be Granted thereupon to the Peticōner as Desired and for soe doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 6th day of October 1687

27

Warrant to survey 100 Acres of Land in Caskobay for David Phippen.⁵

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Richard

¹ Peter Bowdoin: see no. 29.

² Richard Seacomb (Seecomb, etc.) died in 1694.

³ John Smith: see no. 41.

⁴ See no. 39. ⁵ David Phippen was killed by Indians in August, 1703.

Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas David Phippen of Salem in the County of Essex shipwright hath by his Peticōn sett forth that his father Joseph Phippen¹ sen^r about thirty seven yeares since purchased of George Cleve² a parcell of Land in Caskobay Conteyneing One hundred Acres the which by himsele & Children was quietly possessed and buildings and other improvements made thereon untill disturbed and Destroyed by the late Indian warr And that the fifth day of August last past his said father did by Deed Give and Grant the same to the peticōner And praying a confirmāon for the same under his Majestye These are therefore to Authorize and Require yow to survey & lay out for the said David Phippen the said One hundred Acres of Land and to make a Platt or Draft thereof and the same to Returne to the Surveyors Office at Boston that a Confirmāon may be there upon granted to the Peticōner as Desired and for so Doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the 8th day of October 1687

28

Warrant to Survey 200 Acres of land at Blackpoint for Joshua Scottow.³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Joshua Schottow Esq hath by his Peticōn sett forth that about twenty seven yeares since He did purchase of Abraham Josseline⁴ a parcell of upland and marsh conteyneing about two hundred Acres lyeing in the Towne of Scarborough a^s Black point praying to have a confirmāon for the same under his Majestye These are therefore to authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out the sd parcell and quantity of upland & marsh and to make a platt and draft thereof And the same to returne to the surveyors office att Boston That a Confirmāon may be thereupon Granted to the Peticōner accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 8th day of October 1687

29

Warrant to Survey 100 Acres of Land in Cascobay for Pierre Baudouin⁵

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Richard

¹ Joseph Phippen made his will July 21, 1687, and died soon after.

² George Cleeves died between 1666 and 1671.

³ Joshua Scottow died January 20, 1698.

⁴ Abraham Jocelyn was a brother of Henry Jocelyn and of John Josselyn.

⁵ Peter Bowdoin died in September, 1716.

Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Pierre Baudouin hath by his Petition Desired a Grant of One hundred Acres of vacant Land in Casco-bay for his present settlement & improvement these are therefore to authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Pierre Baudouin the sd Quantity of one hundred Acres of vacant Land in Casco-bay aforesaid in such place there as yow shall be directed to by Edward Wing¹ Esq One of his Majestyes Council and to make a Platt or Draft thereof & Returne the same into the Surveyors office att Boston that a Pattent may be Granted to him Accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 8th day of October 1687

30

Warrant to survey severall parcells of Land in Caskobay for Walter Gendall²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Matyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Richard Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Walter Gendall of North Yarmouth hath by his Petition sett forth That by Purchase and Allottment he is possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in North Yarmouth conteyneing about four hundred Acres whereon he now Liveth and hath made Considerable improvement and likewise of another parcell of Land in the Towne of Scarborough conteyneing One hundred And fifty Acres Praying a Grant & confirmacon for the same These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the said Walter Gendall the said parcells of Land and to make platts or Drafts thereof and the same forthwith to Returne into the Surveyors Office att Boston that the same may be Granted & Confirmed to the Petitioner accordingly and for so doing this shall be Your warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the Eight day of October 1687

31

Warrant to Survey 1000 Acres of Land in Watertowne.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tt} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas Mary Sherman the widdow of John Sherman³

¹ Error for "Tyng."

² Walter Gendall was killed by Indians in September, 1688.

³ The Rev. John Sherman, who died July 8, 1685, married for his second wife Mary Launce.

late of watertowne Deceased hath by her Peti^on sett forth that the said Towne Granted to her husband who was Minister there for about forty yeares a certaine Remainder of Land after a Division made which amounted to about one thousand Acres which when surveyed was by some of the Towne thought too much for him and difference arising about the same for A Peaceable Issue the Peticoners husband was by a Committee psuaded to content himselfe with One third parte thereof to be forthwith divided which being hitherto refused to be Done she prayed a Grant for the whole One thousand Acres of which Peti^on notice being Given to the Inhabitants of Watertowne aforesd severall appeared before the Councill the seven & twentyeth july past & acknowledged that there was about One thousand Acres of vacant Land within the said Towne of which the Peti^oners husband was to have a third parte but not the whole as Desired whereupon after full hearing and Debate of the matter It was Ordered that the sd vacant Tract of Land be surveyed and that the Peticoner have about a third parte thereof Granted to her accordingly These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey the said Vacant tract of Land in Watertowne aforesd and to make a Platt or Draft thereof having regard to the Quality as well as Quantity of the same And thereof to make returne to the Sec^ryes Office that a parte may be granted to the sd Peti^oner And for so doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 12th day of Sep^r 1687

32

Warrant to survey 107 Acres of Land at Saco for Thomas Sheppard

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Rich^d Clements Deputy Surveyor Whereas Thomas Sheppard Gent^l hath by his Peti^on prayed a Grant & Confirmacon for seven Acres of land at Saco River in the Province of Maine which he hath lately purchased and One hundred Acres more of upland lyeing between Little River & Goose faire adjoyneing to the said Land These are therefore to authorize & Require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Thomas Shippard the said seven Acres and one hundred Acres of Upland and meadow proportionable if vacant there and to make a Platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the surveyors Office att Boston That a Grant may be Given to the Peti^oner Accordingly Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 13th day of October 1687

33

Warrant to Survey & lay out 300 Acres of Land to Humphrey Johnson
 S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his
 Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles
 Surveyor Whereas Att a Council held the two & twentyeth of
 June last past it was Resolved that Humphrey Johnson had three
 Rights of Land in the towne of scituate to be ascertained to him accord-
 ingly These are therefore to Authorize & Require yow to survey and lay
 out for the said Humphrey Johnson for his said three Rights the Quan-
 tity of three hundred Acres of vacant Land within the bounds of the sd
 Towne in three severall parcells or places where he shall direct and yow
 shall finde it convenient and not prejudiciall to other settlements and
 to make a Platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the
 Sec^{ryes} office att Boston that a Pattent may be Granted thereupon
 and for so Doeing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand &
 seale att Boston the 25th day of November 1687

34

Warrant to survey and lay out Mayanexit farme in the Nipmug
 Country in the County of Suffolke for Joseph Dudley and W^m Stoughton
 Esqrs

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Gov^r in Chiefe of his
 Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles
 Surveyor Whereas Coll^t Joseph Dudley and W^m Stoughton Esqrs have
 desired his Majestyes Pattent of confirmacon for a certaine tract of
 Land or farme called or knowne by the name of Mayanexit¹ lyeing
 and being in the Nipmug Country within the County of Suffolke Con-
 teineing three thousand Acres These are therefore to authorize and Re-
 quire yow to survey and lay out for them the said Joseph Dudley and
 William Stoughton the said tract of Land and to make due Returne
 with a platt or draft thereof into the Sec^{ryes} Office that the same may
 be confirmed to them by Pattent accordingly and for so doing this shall
 be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale Att Boston the second
 day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom
 1687

E ANDROS

By his Excell^t comand
 JOHN WEST D:Sec^{ry}

¹ The source of Mayanexit River is now in Leicester.

35

Warrant to survey and lay out Manchaog farme for Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton Esqrs

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas Coll Joseph Dudley and Wilt^m Stoughton Esqrs have desired his Majestyes Pattent of confirmacon for a certaine tract of Land or farme called or knowne by the name of Manchaog¹ lyeing and being in the Nipmug Country within the County of Suffolke conteineing two thousand acres These are therefore to authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for them the sd Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton the said tract of Land and to make due returne with a platt or draft thereof into the Sec^ryes Office that the same may be confirmed to them by Pattent accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 2^d day of January in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq 1687

By Comand of his Excell^t
JOHN WEST D Scry

E ANDROS

36

Warrant to survey and lay out a farme in Sherborne and 4½ Acres of meadow in Midd^x County for Coll Joseph Dudley

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor Whereas Coll Joseph Dudley hath desired his Majestyes Pattent of confirmacon for a certaine farme lyeing in Sherborne within the County of Midd^x conteineing about two hundred and thirty Acres with four acres and a halfe of meadow lyeing distinct from the said farme in Medfield bounds within the Lands of George ffayerbanke These are therefore to authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Joseph Dudley the said farme and meadow and to make due returne with a platt or draft thereof into the Sec^ryes office that the same may be confirmed to him by Pattent according and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Second day of January in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

By his Excell^t Comand
JOHN WEST D Scry

E ANDROS

¹ Probably in Sutton.

37

Warrant to survey the great bay Called the Narrogansett Bay &c:

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r John Smith Deputy Surveyor Whereas by my warrant of the two and twentyeth June last past I did order and appoint yow to make a Generall survey and draft of the Narrogansett Country or Kings Province These are further to appoint and Authorize yow forthwith to make the like survey & Draft of the Lands and shoare round y^e great Bay Called Narrogansett Bay & of all the Necks of Lands Islands & Isletts within or neere the same and of all the Land and shoare along to Cape Codd therein observing and markeing the severall settlements Claymes & ptencons made by any person or persons to any parte or parcell thereof of which yow are to make returne to me with all possible speed and for so doing this shall be yo^r Warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the 18th day of January in the third year of his Matyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

38

Warrant to Survey Land at Spurwinck for Dominicus Jourden¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas Dominicus Jourden of Spurwinck in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that Robert Jourden his late father Deced did by his Last will and testament bequeath unto him One thousand Acres of Land besides meadow thereto belonging lyeing upon the river of Spurwinck aforesaid And that By virtue thereof he hath possessed the same for the space of tenne yeares past and hath built and improved a considerable parte thereof and settled five or six tennants thereon praying his Majestyes confirma^{co}n for the same I do therefore hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Dominicus Jourden the said One thousand Acres of land and meadow thereto belonging and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

¹ Dominicus Jordan, a son of the Rev. Robert Jordan, was killed by Indians in 1703.

Warrant to Survey Land in Falmouth for John Rosse¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas John Ross of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticon sett forth that for about thirty yeares past his father and himselfe have been possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne lyeing att the Back Cove Betweene the Land Claymed By Richard Sacombe and Edmund Gale containing One hundred and forty Acres and about tenne Acres of marsh att the westward end of the great marsh adjoyning to the said Land and have beene at great Charge in the improvement thereof praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said John Ross the said Land and marsh and to make a platt or draft thereof and to returne the Same into the Secryes office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Matyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth for Thomas Sanford et al

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Thomas Sanford and Robert Sanford² of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine have by their Peticōn sett forth that for about five and thirty yeares past they have beene and now are possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne on the Southward side of Casco River over against the fforte conteining about two hundred and forty Acres with about twenty Acres of meadow lyeing att the great marsh on that side the said River and thereon have made very large improvement Praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Thomas Sanford and Robert Sanford the said Land and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted to them accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r war-

¹ John Ross was a son of James Ross.

² This name appears variously as Samford, Stamford, Standford, Stanfort, and Staniford. The last form is the one usually employed by Willis.

rant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

41

Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth for John Smith

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tt} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas John Smith of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene and now is possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne lyeing neere the Back Cove Containing fifty Acres whereof he hath made considerable improvement praying his Majestyes confirmaⁿ for the same and grant of an Addicoⁿ of fifty Acres more of vacant Land adjoyning with four Acres of marsh att the great fresh marsh I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said John Smith the said fifty Acres of Land and if there be vacant Land adjoyning to enlarge the same to One hundred Acres with the said four Acres of marsh if vacant and to make a platt or draft thereof and to returne the same into The Sec^ryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

42

Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth for Samuel Ingersell.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tt} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Samuel Ingersell of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that for severall yeares he hath beene and now is possessed of severall parcells of Land in the said Towne that is to say a house lott neere the fforte a three acre lot upon the neck and about two hundred acres of Land on the north side of Stroudwater River adjoyning to the Land of Cap^t Davyes whereon he hath beene att great charge in improvement Praying his Majestyes confirmaⁿ for the same I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Samuel Ingersell the said severall pcells of Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^ryes Office att Boston that a Pattent

¹ Samuel Ingersoll was a son of George Ingersoll, Sr.

may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the Eighteenth day of Jan^{ry} in the third yeare of his Matyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

43

Warrant to survey Land in Scarborough for John Howell

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas John Howell of Scarborough Plantor hath by his peti^{con} sett forth that for about thirty yeares past he hath beene possessed of a parcell of upland and meadow to the quantity of about fifty acres lyeing in Scarborough aforesaid adjoining to land Claymed by Joshua Scottow thereby praying his Majestyes Confirma^{con} for the same I do therefore Require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said John Howell the said upland and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} office att Boston that a P^{atent} may be granted to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

44

Warrant to survey Land att Scarborough for Richard Humwell¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas Richard Humwell of Scarborough hath by his peti^{con} sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene and now is possessed of about sixty Acres of Land and about tenne Acres of salt and fresh marsh in the said Towne and thereon hath built a very fair house thereby praying his Majestyes Confirma^{con} for the same with the grant of an Addi^{con} of One hundred Acres more I do therefore require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Richard Humwell the said sixty acres of Land and tenne Acres of marsh and if there be vacant Land sufficient adjoining yow are to enlarge the same to the Quantity of One hundred and fifty acres and to make a Platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} Office att Boston that a P^{atent} may be granted to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my

¹ Richard Hunnewell was killed by Indians in 1703 or 1713.

hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reign Annoq Dom 1687

45

Warrant to survey Land in Scarborough for William Burrage

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{ll} and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas William Burrage of Scarborough Planter hath by his peti^on sett forth that for many yeares before and since the late indian warr he hath beene possessed of a small peece of Land containing about fifty acres with some addi^on of meadow which he purchased of One Henry Watts thereby praying his Majestyes Confirma^on for the same I do therefore require and Authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said William Burrage the said peece of Land and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to Returne into the Sec^ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

46

Warrant to Survey houses & Land in Boston and att Rumley Marsh for Liev^t Coll. Nich: Page¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{ll} & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas Liev^t Coll Nicholas Page and Anna his wife have by their peti^on sett forth that they Are seized of certaine houses and Lands in Boston and Rumley Marsh² as rightly descended to the said Anna from Cap^t Robert Keayne³ her Grandfather she being the only child descended from him that is to say their dwelling house in Boston with some tenements and outhouses about it and the ground thereto belonging a Certaine farme in the occupa^on of Benja: Mosey att Rumley marsh Containing about seven or Eight hundred acres and a small farme in the occupa^on of Isaac Luwes att the same place containing about One hundred and fifty Acres Praying that they may have a Patent of Confirma^on for the same These are

¹ Nicholas Paige died in 1717.

² Rumley or Rumney Marsh, now Chelsea.

³ Anna (Keayne) Paige was a daughter of Benjamin Keayne, a son of Robert Keayne.

therefore to require and authorize yow to survey for the said Nicholas Page and Anna his wife the said dwelling house tenements and out-houses about it and ground thereto belonging and also the said farmes att Rumley marsh aforesaid and to make a Platt or draft thereof and returne the same into the Sec̄ryes office att Boston that Confirmacon may be granted accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

47

Warrant To Survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine. for John Spencer.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Terrytory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillipp Wells Surveyor or any of the Deputy Surveyo^rs Whereas John Spencer of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticō desired a grant of One Hundred Acres of Vacant Land for his p^rsent Settlem^t and Improvement adjoining to Stroud water River and fronting to Cascoe River over against Cape Sick¹ with Six or Eight Acres of Swamp or meadow neere the same if to be had These are Therefore to require and Authorize you to Survey and lay out for the said John Spencer y^e s^d 100 Acres of Land wth and Addicō of 100 Acres more if to be had in y^e Said place & Twelve acres of Swamp or Meadow neere the same if to be had And to make a platt or Draft thereof and y^e Same to returne into the Sec^ry's Office att Boston y^t a Pattent maybe Granted to him accordingly And for soe Doing this shall be your Warrant Given vnd^r my hand & Seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of Jan^y in y^e 3^d year of his Majesties Raigne Annoq Dñi 1687

48

Warrant to Survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for Richard Powsley²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t G^rall and Governour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillipp Wells Surveyor Or to any of the Deputy Surveyo^rs Whereas Richard Powsley of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticō sett forth that for this Thirteen or foureteene yeares past hee hath bene in

¹ Capisick.

² Richard Powsland.

possession of about Seaventy Acres of Land and Marsh within the said Towne and hath made Considerable Improvement thereon by building fenceing and planting thereby praying his Majesties Confirmacon for the same according to the bounds already Settled I Doe therefore require and Authorize you to Survey and lay Out for the said Richard Powsley the said Land and Marsh according to the bounds already Settled and to make a platt or Draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec'ys Office att Boston that a Pattennt may be granted to him accordingly and for soe doing this shall be your Warrant Given vnder my hand & Seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January In the Third yeare of his Ma^{ties} Raigne Annoq Dni 1687

49

Warrant to Survey Land in ffalmouth in the Province of Maine for M^r George Ingersold Jun^r¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t G^rall and Governour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillipp Wells Surveyor Or to any of the Deputy Surveyo^rs Whereas George Ingersold Jun^r of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticon Sett forth that for many yeares past hee hath bene and now is possessed of Seūall peeces & pcells of Land in y^e s^d Towne (that is to say) A house Lott neere the ffort of about two acres a three acre Lott vpon y^e Neck neere the back Cove fourty acres of Land att the head of Barbary Creeke abovt a hundred acres of Land adjoining to Stroudwater River next the Land of Cap^t Silvanus Davis and about Tenn acres of Marsh In Nonsuch Marshes whereon he hath made greate Improvement praying his Ma^{ties} Confirmacon for the same I Doe hereby require and Authorize you to Survey & lay out for y^e S^d George Ingersoll y^e s^d seūall peeces of Land and Marsh and to make a platt or Draft thereof and the same to returne into y^e Sec^ry's Office att Boston y^t a Pattennt may be granted to him accordingly and for soe doing this shall be your Warrant Given vnd^r my hand and Seale at Boston the Eighteenth day of January In the 3^d yeare of his Majesties Raigne Annoq Dni 1687

50

A Warrant to Survey Land in Falmouth in y^e Province of Maine for M^r John Browne Sen^r

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t G^rall & Governou^r in Cheife of his Majesties Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillipp Wells

¹ George Ingersoll, Jr., was a son of George Ingersoll, Sr., and died about 1730.

Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas John Browne Sen^r of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticon sett forth y^t for seūall yeares past hee hath beene and now is possessed of a Certaine parcell of Land in the Said Towne Lyeing att Back Cove Containeing Sixty Acres and alsoe another parcell of Land lyeing neere the Greate Marsh Containeing two Hundred and fifty Acres Alsoe a house Lott neere the ffort about halfe an Acre whereon att his great Charge hee hath made seūall buildings and other Improvements praying his Majesties Confirmation for the Same and grant of Three Acres of Land on the Neck for an Accomodation to his house and Lott neere the ffort and ffive Acres of Marsh in the said Great Marsh I Doe hereby require and authorize you to Survey and Lay out for the said John Browne the said seūall parcells of Land with the addition of Land and Meadow as desired if vacant and to make a Platt or Draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secretaryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be Granted vnto him accordingly And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant Given vnder my hand and Seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of Jan^y In the Third year of his Majesties Raigne Annoq Dn̄i 1687

51

A Warrant to Survey Land in ffalmouth In the Province of Maine for M^r Thomas Clayce¹

S^r Edmvd Andros Kn^t Cap^t G^rall and Governour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Wells Surveyor Or to any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas Thomas Clayce of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticon sett forth that for many yeares past hee hath beene and now is in possession of seūall peeces and parcells of Land within the said Towne (that is to say) a house Lott att the head of the Cove neere the ffort being about two acres and a Six acre Lott vpon the Neck and alsoe a parcell of Land Lyeing neere Cap^t Davyes Sawmill att Cape Sick betwixt the Land Claymed by Joseph Ingersell & John Ingersell Containeing about One Hundred acres with two or Three Small Coves of Salt Marsh and Creeke thatch within the bounds thereof whereon att his greate Charge hee hath made Considerable Improvem^t Praying his Ma^{ties} Confirmation for the Same I Doe hereby require and Authorize you to Survey and lay out for y^e Said Thomas Clayce y^e S^d Seūall peeces and parcells of Land and Marsh and to make a platt or Draft thereof and to returne y^e Same into the Sec^{rys} Office att Boston that a Pattent may

¹ Thomas Cloice (Clayce, Cloyse, Cloyes) was killed by Indians in 1690.

be granted vnto him accordingly and for Soe doing this Shall be your Warr^t Given vnd^r my hand and Seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of January In the 3^d yeare of his Majesties Raigne Annoq Dñi 1687

52

A Warrant to Survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for M^r John Lane.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gr^{all} & Governo^r in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillipp Wells Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Surveyo^rs Whereas John Lane of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticoⁿ Sett forth that in Seūall yeares past hee hath beene and now stands possessed of Seūall peeces and parcells of Land in the said Towne (that is to say) a Lott wherein hee Dwelleth being on the South side of Cascoe River neere Papadock¹ of seaven Acres and a parcell of Marsh and Swamp belonging thereto Att the North Marsh being about Tenne Acres Alsoe Sixty Acres of Land att a place called pond Cove without Portland² and Six acres more of Swamp neere adjoining and thereon hath made Considerable Improvement Praying his Majesties Confirmation for y^e same with y^e Grant of ffourty Acres of Vacant Land to be added to the Said Sixty Acres I Doe hereby require and Authorize you to Survey and Lay out for the Said John Lane y^e Said Seūall peeces and parcells of Land and Marsh wth the Addicoⁿ aforesaid if Vacant and to make a platt or Draft thereof And y^e Same to returne into y^e Sēcrys Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted vnto him accordingly And for Soe doing this shall be your Warr^t Given vnd^r my hand & Seale att Boston y^e Eighteenth day of January In y^e 3^d yeare of his Ma^{ties} Raigne Annoq Dñi 1687

53

A Warr^t to Survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for M^r Edward Davies.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillipp Wells Surveyo^r or any of the Deputy Surveyo^rs Whereas Edward Davi^s of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticoⁿ Desired a Grant of ffive hundred acres of vacant Land and Meadow for his Settle-

¹ Purpooduck Point is at the mouth of Casco River.

² Portland Head is south of Purpooduck Point, and Pond Cove is between Portland Head and Cape Elizabeth.

ment and Improvement within y^e Townes of ffalmouth or Scarborough These are therefore to require and Authorize you to Survey and Lay out for the said Edward Davis the said Quantity of five Hundred acres of Vacant Land in some convenient place within either of the said Townships with about twenty acres of meadow neere therevnto and to make a Platt or Draft thereof and the same to returne into y^e Secretaryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted to him accordingly And for soe doing this shall be your Warrant Given vnd^r my hand and Seale att Boston the 18th day of January In the Third yeare of his Majesties Raigne Annoq Dñi 1687

54

A warrant to survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for Rich^d Sacombe

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Wells Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Richard Sacombe of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that he is possessed of two severall lotts of ground in the said Towne that is to say a house lott neere the Fort about halfe an acre and about six Acres upon the neck and thereon hath beene at a great charge in buildings and other improvements desiring his Majestyes Confirma^{co}n for the same I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Richard Sacombe the said two severall lotts of ground and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ry}es Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the nintenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1687

55

A Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for Joseph Webber¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his^j Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas Joseph Webber of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that he is possessed of severall peeces of Land In the said Towne (that is to say) a house lott neere the fforte of about one acre and half

¹ Joseph Webber was probably the son of Mary Webber: see no. 56.

a three acre lott neere adjoining and about Eighteen acres of Land neere Stroud water mill adjoining to the Claymes of George Ingersell Whereon he hath beene at Charge in building and making other improvements praying his Matyes confirmacon for the same and grant of so much vacant Land as will make his said Eighteen acres Lott One hundred These are therefore to require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Joseph Webber the said severall parcells of Land with the addicon aforesaid & to make a Platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office in Boston that a Pattennt may be granted to him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warr^t Given under my hand and seale att Boston the four and twentyeth day of January in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Domini 1687

56

A Warrant to survey Land in ffalmouth in the Province of Maine for Mary Webber

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Mary. Webber of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by her peticon sett forth that for severall yeares past she hath beene and now is in possession of severall peeces and parcells of Land in y^e said Towne that is to say a house lott neere the Fort of about halfe an Acre and about two acres belonging thereto next Cap^t Davies lott and also a parcell of Land lyeing on the Eastward side of Long Creeke at the head of nonsuch point adjoining to Cap^t Davies containing about sixty acres whereon she hath beene at great charge in buildings and other improvements thereby praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same and that to the said sixty Acres an Addicon of vacant Land might be granted to make it One hundred These are therefore to require and Authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Mary Webber the said severall parcells of Land with the Addicon aforesaid and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office at Boston that a Pattennt may be granted to her accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the four and twentyeth day of January in the third year of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

57

A Warrant to survey Hog Island In the Province of Maine for Vines Ellicott

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Matyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Vines Ellicott of Hog Island in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that Cap^t Rich^d Vines¹ his Grandfather about fifty yeares since was possessed of the said Island called Hog Island lying in Cascobay and that he as heir to his said Grandfather is now in possession and improvem^t thereof praying his Majestyes Confirma^on for the same I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Vines Ellicott the sd Island called Hog Island and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the nintenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

58

A Warrant to survey land In Scarborough in y^e Province of Maine for Robert Tydye and others.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Robert Tydye Thomas Bickford Henry Lybbey² David Libbey Daniel Hogg Matthew Libbey Daniel Libbey John Libbey Thomas Leatherby Thomas Backer John Slaughter Anthony Row and Moses Durant all of Scarborough in the Province of Maine have by their peticoⁿ sett forth that for many yeares they have been inhabitants within the said Towne and severall of them have great families which they are not able to maintaine and support by reason of the small quantity of land they are confined to not having above six or Eight Acres a peece and no meadow and that there is great quantities of Lands and meadows neere adjoining which lye vacant and unimproved praying that their said small Lotts of Land may be made up to Each of them about fifty or sixty acres and that they may have about tenne acres of meadow Each These are therefore to Require and Authorize yow to repayre to the dwellings Of the said

¹ Richard Vines died in 1651.

² Daniel, David, Henry, John, and Matthew Libbey were brothers.

severall persons and view the lotts they now live on and what vacant Land and meadows is adjoyneing thereto or lyes convenient for them and how they may have their said lotts Enlarged as desired and to make a platt or draft thereof and returne the same into the Secryes Office att Boston that such further Orders may be given therein for the accomodation of the Peticōners as may be propper and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the nintenth day of January in the third yeare of his Matyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

59

A Warrant to survey Land in Scarborough in the Province of Maine for Edward Bennett

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} & Gov^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Edward Bennett of Scarborough in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticōn sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath beene possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne containing about thirty acres whereon he hath made a considerable settlement and Improvement praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same with an Addicōn of so much vacant Land adjoyneing as will make the whole to be One hundred acres I do hereby require and impower yow to survey and lay out the said parcell of Land with such addicōn as may make up the same One hundred acres and to make a platt and draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your Warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the nintenth day of January in the third yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dñi 1687

60

A Warrant to Survey Land in Scarborough in the Province of Maine for John Teney

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas John Teney of Scarborough in the Province of Maine hath by his peticōn sett forth that for many yeares both before and since the Late Indian warr he hath beene possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne on the westerly side of Spurwinck River containing about fifty acres

and thereon made considerable improvement praying his Matyes confirmacōn for the same and grant of an Addicōn of fifty Acres more I do hereby require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said John Teney the said parcell of Land at Spurwinck River aforesaid and fifty acres more if vacant And to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne in the Secryes office at Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the ninth day of January in the third yeare of his Matyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

61

A Warrant to survey land att Blewhills

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas there is a parcell of Vacant Land containing about three thousand Acres lyeing neere the blew hills within the County of Suffolke for parte of which severall persons have by their peticōns Desired grants I do hereby authorize and require yow to make a generall survey and Draft of all the said parcell of Land and to inspect as well the Quality as quantity thereof and to returne the same to me accordingly For which this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the third day of february Annoq Dom 1687

62

A Warrant to survey Land in Casco Bay in the Province of Maine for Maj: Barth: Gidney¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Major Bartholomew Gidney One of his Majestyes Councill hath by his peticōn desired his Majestyes Grant & confirmacōn of One thousand Acres of vacant Land on the west side of a River called Wesgustagoe att the head of Casco Bay in the Province of Maine neere the Entrance of the River and alsoe five hundred acres of more of vacant Land higher up on the said River with One hundred Acres of meadow being parte of a greater tract by him said to be many yeares since purchased in that place and whereon before the late Indian warr he hath beene at great

¹ Bartholomew Gedney, a member of the Council, died March 1, 1698.

charge in improvement I do hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Bartholomew Gidney the said parcell of Land and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the fourth day of february in the third yeare of his Matyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

63

A Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for John Skilling

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Matyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas John Skilling of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^on sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath beene possessed of severall peeces and parcells of Land within the said Towne (that is to say) a house lott about seven acres and about two acres and a halfe of ground neere adjoining about seventy acres of Land at the Back Cove and about sixty acres neere Cap^t Davies mill about three acres and halfe of salt marsh neere the said mill and about tenne acres of fresh meadow in nonsuch meadow and thereon hath beene at great charges in buildings and other improvements praying his Majestyes Confirma^on for the same I do hereby authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out for the said John Skilling the said severall peeces of Land meadow and Marsh and to make platts and drafts thereof and the same to returne unto the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

64

A Warrant to Survey Land in Falmouth in y^e Province of Maine for Walter Gendall

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Matyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Walter Gendall of Northyarmouth hath by his peti^on sett forth that he hath beene about five and twenty yeares in the possession of a certaine parcell of Land lyeing on the East side of Spurwinck River in the Towne

of Falmouth containing about fifty acres and thereon hath made considerable buildings and other improvements praying his Majestyes confirmacōn for the same with an addicōn of fifty acres more I do therefore authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Walter Gendall the said fifty acres of Land with an addicōn of fifty acres more if vacant and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dñi 1687

65

A Warrant to Survey Land at Blackpoint River in the Province of Maine for Rob^t Elliot¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Robert Elliot of Portsmouth in the Province of Hampshire hath by his peticōn sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath bene possessed of a certaine parcell of Land or farme lyeing in the Westerne side of Blackpoint River in the Province of Maine conteining about two hundred and twenty acres and also of another parcell of Land or farme lyeing at Dunston on the west side of of the said River Containing about two hundred and thirty acres and hath made considerable improvement on the said parcells of Land praying his Majestyes confirmacōn for the same I do hereby authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out for the said Robert Elliott the said parcells of Land or farmes and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and Seale at Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

66

A Warrant to survey Land at Cascoe River for John Wallis²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas John Wallis of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticōn sett forth

¹ Robert Elliot died in 1720.

² John Wallis died in 1690.

that he and those under whome he claymes have beene possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in the said Towne on the south side of Cascoe River att a place there called Papadock lyeing between the Land Claymed by Sampson Penly and Joel Madiford¹ containing two hundred acres and of about seventeene Acres of meadow & Swamp att a place called the great marsh and about fifteen acres att two Other small marshes called the little marshes and have beene at great charge in the improvement thereof praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same I do therefore Require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said John Wallis the said Land meadow and marshes and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dm 1687

67

A Warrant to Survey Land for Suball Dummer² neere yorke Rivers mouth

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Suball Dummer of Yorke in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^on sett forth that for severall yeares past he hath beene in y^e actuall possession and Enjoyment of the One halfe or moyety of the neck of Land com^only knowne by the name of Alcocks neck lyeing in Yorke aforesaid neere Yorks River mouth conteining about sixty Acres as also a parcell of meadow lyeing on the Westerne branch of said River knowne by the name of Alcocks marsh containing about four Acres whereon he now liveth and hath made considerable improvement Praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same I do hereby Require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said Suball Dumer the said Land and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be Granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale at Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dom 1687

¹ See no. 96.

² The Rev. Shubael Dummer (H. C. 1656), a son of Richard Dummer (*d.* December 14, 1678), was killed by Indians on January 25, 1692.

A Warrant to survey Land in Falmouth in the Province of Maine for James Andrews.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas James Andrews of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his Peticōn sett forth that for about forty or fifty yeares he hath beene possessed of severall parcellls of Land within the said Towne (that is to say) a parcell of Land lyeing neere A place called Monticko² containing about one hundred and twenty acres another parcell of Land neere Mussell Cove of about One hundred acres which he Claymes in right of his Grand Child and another parcell of Land lyeing betweene John Tucker and Cap^t Gendall of about One hundred acres whereon he hath made severall buildings and other improvements praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same and grant of One hundred acres of vacant Land to be added to the first menconed parcell These are therefore to require and authorize yow to survey and lay out for the said James Andrews the said severall parcellls of Land with the Addicōn aforesaid and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the seventh day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

A warrant to survey Land at Blew point for Edward Shippen

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Rhichard Clements Dep^t Surveyor Whereas Edward Shippen of Boston Merchant hath by his peticōn desired a grant and Confirmacon under his Majesty for a Certaine farme or parcell of Land lyeing at Blewpoint in the Province of Maine containing One hundred and sixty acres butting & bounding upon the north East side of the River being in breadth sixty Rodd with forty acres of meadow adjoining to the same upon the west side thereof the which was taken upon Execūcōn as the Estate of Robert Edmunds Deced for satisfaccon of a Judgement of two hundred

¹ James Andrews died in 1714.

² Perhaps "Monticke."

pounds one from him to the said Shippen and by vertue thereof he is now possessed of the same These are therefore to authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Edward Shippen the said parcell and quantity of upland & meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and returne the same into the Surveyors Office att Boston that a confirmacon may be granted thereupon to the peticoⁿer as desired and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the tenth day of October 1687

70

A Warrant to survey Land by Back Cove at Cascoe Bay in y^e Province of Maine for Edmund Gale

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Matyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Edmund Gale of Beverly Marriner hath by his humble peticoⁿ prayed his Majestyes Grant and Confirmacon for two hundred and fifty acres of vacant Land in Cascoe Bay by Back Cove in y^e Province of Maine whereon he doth intend to settle and improve I do hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Edmund Gale two hundred and fifty acres of Land as abovesaid next unto the Land to be layd out for John Rosse of Falmouth in the Province of Maine aforesaid with tenne acres of marsh in the fresh marsh if to be had and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^ryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the fiftenth day of february in the fourth yeare of his Matyes Reigne Annoq Domini 1687

71

A warrant to Survey Clarkes Island for M^r Nathan^h Clarke¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^h and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas M^r Nathaniel Clarke of Plymouth hath by his Peticoⁿ desired that a certaine small Island Called Clarkes Island² lyeing neer New Plymouth being vacant and unappropriated may be granted to him for the better settle-

¹ Nathaniel Clark died January 31, 1717.

² Clark's Island was the summer home of our late associate, Professor William W. Goodwin: see our Publications, xiv. 299.

ment and improvement thereof I do hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Nathaniel Clarke the said Island called Clarkes Island and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the 23th day of february in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1687

72

A Warrant to Survey a tract of Land in or neere the Nipmug Countrey for M^{rs} Marg^{tt} Corwin widdow¹ & M^{rs} Ann Winthrop²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or any of the Deputy Surveyors Whereas M^{rs} Margaret Corwin widdow and M^{rs} Ann Winthrop have By their Peticoⁿ Desired his Ma^{tyes} Grant and Confirma^{co}n for a certaine tract or parcell of vacant Land lyeing in or neere the Nipmug Countrey of the Contents of seven miles Square which they alleadge in the first settlement of the Countrey was granted to their Grandfather³ by the Indyan Proprietor thereof and beginning att the Northward End is bounded Easterly by the whole length of Chapnocongong pond and runs southward seven miles and Westward square betweene the northerne and Southerne line till seven miles square be compleated I do hereby authorize and Require yow to survey and lay out for the said Margaret Corwin and Ann Winthrop the said Tract or parcell of Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto them accordingly and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant Given under my hand & seale att Boston the fifth day of march in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dni 1687

¹ Margaret Corwin, a daughter of the younger John Winthrop and the widow of John Corwin (*d.* July 12, 1683), died November 30, 1711.

² Ann Winthrop, a daughter of the younger John Winthrop, married John Richards in 1692, and died June 27, 1704.

³ According to a deposition dated May 14, 1684, the land was given to Gov. John Winthrop by Tacomus; and on May 2, 1685, was deeded by John and Wait Winthrop to their sisters Margaret Corwin and Ann Winthrop: see Suffolk Deeds, xiii. 344, 429-430.

73

A warrant to survey Land Comonly called Quobeague ats Brookfield &c:

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas there is a certaine tract or parcell of Land within this Dominion att and neere to a place called and knowne By the severall names of Quoboague ats Brookfield convenient for settlement and improvement These are therefore to authorize and require yow forthwith to repayre to the said place and make a survey and draft of the said lands called Quoboague ats Brookfield and of all such Lands as yow shall finde or discover Betweene that and Connecticutt River or neere or adjoyneing thereunto fitt and convenient for settlement and what persons settled there or improvements made and thereof to make a due returne into the Sec^{ryes} Office att Boston that further Order may be Given for the effectual settling and better improving thereof Accordingly in the doing whereof all Officers and persons whatsoever are to be helping ayding and assisting to yow as occasion and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the nintenth day of march 1687

74

A warrant to survey Land in Brantry for William Veazie

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas William Veazie of Brantry hath by his peticon sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene an inhabitant within the said Towne and settled and improved there a lott of Land of about tenne acres whereon his dwelling house standeth about twenty six acres of pasture and tenne acres of fresh meadow all within fence and in his possession praying his Matyes confirmacōn for the same and grant of two hundred acres more of vacant and unappropriated Land lyeing by a Brooke called Sirketts¹ Ordinary about four miles from said Towne but within the bounds thereof of which publiq notice having' beene given to the inhabitants there severall persons have made pretences but know not the certainty thereof These are therefore to authorize and require yow to survey and lay out the said severall peeces and parcells of Land and to make a

¹ Perhaps "Sicketts."

plate or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that the certainty thereof may be knowne and such further Order given therein as shall be necessary and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the three and twentyeth day of march in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1687

75

A Warrant to survey Land in Brantry for John Yardly

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas John Yardly of Brantry hath by his peticoⁿ prayed his Majestyes Grant of two hundred acres of vacant and unappropriated Land lyeing on the east side of Monatinitt River att a place there called and knowne by the name of Cuthecoe about a mile distant from the Saw mill for his present settlement and improvement of which publiq notice having beene given to the inhabitants there severall persons have made pretences but know not the certainty thereof These are therefore to authorize and require yow to survey and lay out the said Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec̄ryes Office att Boston that the certainty thereof may be knowne and such further Order may be given therein as may be necessary and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the three and twentyeth day of March in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1687

76

A Warrant to survey Land in Brantry for Samuell Niell¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Surveyors Whereas Samuell Niel of Brantry hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that he is by purchase possessed of sixty seven acres of Land in the said Towne and thereon hath built and improved praying his Majestyes confirmaⁿ for the same and grant of one hundred acres of Waste Land adjoyneing on the north-east side thereof and fifty acres more on the northeast side of the litle

¹ In his petition (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 421) the name is "Niles," and is so entered in the index to that volume; but the petition is not in the hand of Niell, and his autograph signature reads "Samuell Nielld." In documents dated April 11, 1689, he is called "Niel" (id. cxxix. 364).

pond about three miles from the said Towne of which publiq notice having beene given to the inhabitants there severall persons have made pretences but know not the certainty thereof These are therefore to authorize and require yow to Survey and lay out the said severall peeces of Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that the Certainty thereof may be knowne and such further Order may be given therein as may be necessary and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston The three and twentyeth day of March in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1687

77

A Warrant to survey Land in Brantry for John Cleverly.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^t Survey^{rs} Whereas John Cleverly of Brantry hath by his peti^{con} sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene an inhabitant within the said Towne and settled and improved there a home lott of about two acres where his house standeth forty acres of Land more and about Eight acres of salt meadow all within fence and in his possession praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same and grant of fifty acres of vacant Land neere Babell brooke and One hundred and fifty acres more beyond a place called Moores farme within the bounds of the said Towne of which publiq notice having beene given to the inhabitants there severall persons have made p^tences but know not the certainty thereof These are therefore to authorize and require yow To survey and lay out the said severall peeces & parcells of Land and meadow and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that the certainty thereof may be knowne and such further Order may be given therein as may be necessary and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the three and twentyeth day of march in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dom 1687

78

A Warrant to survey Land in Cascobay for Peter Houseing

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governo^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Peter Houseing

hath by his peti^on sett forth that there is a certaine parcell of land on the westside Pesumpscott River in Falmouth in Cascobay containig about sixty acres whereof his father Peter Houseing¹ Deceased was in his lifetime for many yeares possessed Praying his Majestyes confir^ma^on for the same with the Grant of fifty acres of vacant and unappropriated Land neere adjoyning I do hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Peter Houseing the said sixty acres with the said Addi^on if vacant and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^ryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the tenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

79

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Walter Gendall.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Walter Gendall of Northyarmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^on sett forth that he is possessed of a certain message or tenement and a small parcell of Land about tenne acres lyeing neere Maines point² on the southside of Ryalls River in the said Towne as alsoe four Acres of meadow in Cozins River belonging thereto alsoe one other message or tenement lyeing neere Fort Loyall next to Cap^t Tings and three severall parcells of meadow belonging to his farme at Spurwinck on the eastside of the said River conteining about twenty acres and also a parcell of meadow att the head of the great cove being about six acres and one other peece in Cozins River of about twelve acres which belongs to his farme att Northyarmouth Praying his Majestyes confir^ma^on for the same and grant of and addi^on of fifty acres of vacant Land adjoyning to his said tenne acres as alsoe a grant of two hundred acres

¹ The elder Peter Housing died about 1673.

² Russell says that "in 1652, John Maine lived on the Foreside; and a point which yet retains his name, directs us to the place of his settlement" (History of North Yarmouth, p. 171). In a petition not dated but referred to Walter Gendall on June 10, 1687, John Maine said that "about thirty yeares since [he] purchased an house in Casco Bay, with sixty Acres of Land adjoyneing Scittuate neare the Middle of Casco Bay; on the Westerly side of Westgostuggo River; at a Certaine place there, Comonly Called and knowne by the name of Maines Point" (Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 347-348).

more or vacant Land att Arriscott¹ where the Illutherean people² were lately settled but deserted with twelve acres of meadow if can be found convenient and alsoe sixty acres of Land more against little Clapboard Island formerly layd out to John Ockman I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to Survey and lay out for the said Walter Gendall the said severall peeces and parcells of Land and meadow with the addicōns as desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the tenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Matyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

80

A Warrant to Survey Land in the Province of Maine for Nathaniell Wallis.³

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Survey^{rs} Whereas Nathaniell Wallis of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^cōn sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene possessed and made improvements on severall parcells of Land in the said Towne of Falmouth and Northyarmouth (that is to say) fifty Acres of Land lyeing att the Back cove betweene the Land Claymed by John Smith and John Browne One hundred acres of Land lyeing on the westside of Pesumpscott River Betweene the Lands claymed by M^r Jones and John Nicolls with tenne acres of meadow or swamp belonging to it where was formerly his gristmill and housing one hundred acres of Land in the great Cove in North Yarmouth neere to Cap^t Gendalls with tenne acres of swamp or meadow neere adjoyning And alsoe one hundred acres of Land and four acres of meadow lyeing on the eastside of Cozins River in

¹ Russell gives Harriseket as the Indian name of the present Freeport (History of North Yarmouth, p. 167). What is called Arriscicott River in no. 90 and Arrisicket River in no. 92, elsewhere appears as Harriseeket River (Collections Maine Historical Society, iv. 105) and even as "Henery Sickett his River" (York Deeds, iii. 53).

² Eleuthera, one of the Bahama Islands, was laid waste by the Spaniards, and in 1686 some of the inhabitants came to Boston and were settled at North Yarmouth, which, however, they "were forced to desert" because they "had not food to subsist there to o^r great damage & vndoing:" see 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 15-16, 265. Cf. our Publications, iii. 421 note 2.

³ Nathaniel Wallis died October 18, 1709.

Northyarmouth aforesaid praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same and Grant of an addicon of fifty acres of vacant land adjoining to the fifty acres aforementioned att Back cove with four acres of meadow in the great fresh marsh if vacant and two hundred acres of vacant Land neere adjoining to the said hundred acres neere Cap^t Gendalls I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Nathaniell Wallis the said severall Parcells of Land and meadow with the said Addicons as desired if vacant and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the tenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

81

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Abraham Collings.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Deputy Survey^{rs} Whereas Abraham Collings of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peticon prayed his Majestyes Grant and confirmacon of about sixty acres of vacant and unimproved land in the southside of Casco river next adjoining on the east of the Claymes of Isaac Davies neere Silvanus Davies sawmill and Gristmill with tenne acres of swamp where the same may be found convenient and vacant I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Abraham Collings the said sixty acres of Land and tenne acres of swamp if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the eighteenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Matyes reigne annoq Dñi 1688

82

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Matthew Palling.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip

¹ Matthew Paulling married a daughter of John Wallis.

Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Matthew Palling Of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^{con} sett forth that he is possessed of a house lott of about halfe an acre neere the fort whereon he hath a dwelling house and about thirty acres belonging to the said house lott on the west side of Pesumpsco^t river betwixt the lands claimed by John Nicolls & Nathaniell Wallis And alsoe of about Eight acres of land given him by his father in Law and whereon he hath erected two dwelling houses and made other improvements praying his Majestyes confirma^{con} for the same with the Grant of the addi^{con} of seventy acres of vacant Land neere maiden Cove neere unto the Land Claimed by Nathan⁺ White and Eight acres of swamp neere adjoining to the little marsh I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Matthew Palling the said severall parcells of Land and premisses with the addi^{con} desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly And for so doing this Shall be your warrant Goven under my hand and seale att Boston the eighteenth day of April in the fourth yeare of his Maty^{es} Reign annoq Domini 1688

83

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Nathan⁺ White.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Survey^{rs} Whereas Nathaniell White of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peti^{con} sett forth that he is possessed of one hundred acres of Land neere maiden cove in ffalmouth abovesaid whereon are two houses and sundry other improvements alsoe tenne acres of marsh and swamp in a place called the Northmarsh praying his Majestyes confirma^{con} for the same I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out the same for the said Nathan⁺ White and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

84

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for George Bremhall.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas George Bremhall of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peti^{con} sett forth that for many years past he hath beene and now is possessed of a house and house lott in the Towne aforesaid neere the ffort of about halfe an acre and alsoe of a certaine tract or parcell of Land in the said Towne on the north side of Casco river next adjoyning on the west side of a tract of Land belonging to Cap^t Silvanus Davies in quantity about four hundred acres whereon Att his great charge and expence he hath made considerable buildings and other improvements praying his Majestyes confirma^{con} for the same I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said George Bremhall the said house lott and tract of Land or so much as can be conveniently layd out for him in the said place and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eighteenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dⁿⁱ 1688

85

A Warrant to survey land in the Province of Maine for John Harris.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Matyes territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas John Harris of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peti^{con} sett forth that he is possessed of a certaine tract of Land in the said Towne next adjoyning to the Land of M^r Peter Bodwin on the South side of Casco River conteining about sixty acres whereupon is Erected a dwelling house alsoe of a house and house lott neere the ffort of the quantity of about three fourth parts of an acre And alsoe of about three acres of Land upon the neck praying his Majestyes confirma^{con} for the same together with an addi^{con} of forty acres more to the first menconed parcell adjoyning to the same att the head of Silvanus Davies lott att the head bounds of nonsuch point towards Scarborough I doe hereby au-

¹ George Bramhall was killed by Indians in September, 1690.

thorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said John Harris the said severall parcellls of Land with the addicōn if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the Eightenth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

86

A Warrant to survey land in the Province of Maine for John Hollman S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas John Hollman of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticōn sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene and now is possessed of severall peeces and parcellls of Land in the said Towne (that is to say) about four acres att a place there called Sandfords point about seventeen acres on the Soutside of Cascoe river adjoyning to Lawrence Davies and alsoe a certaine parcell of Land in North yarmouth on the eastward side of the great cove against Ellicotts Island whereon he hath beene att great charge and expence in building and other improvements praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same and Grant of one hundred acres more of vacant Land and tenne acres of swamp or meadow if vacant in the said Towne of Falmouth neere the sd seventeene acres on Casco river I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey & lay out for the said John Hollman the said severall peeces and parcellls of Land with the addicōn of Land and meadow desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

87

A Warrant to survey land in the Province of Maine for George Ingersoll senior.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip

¹ George Ingersoll, Sr., who was living at Salem in 1694, was the father of Joseph, Samuel, and George Ingersoll, Jr.

Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas George Ingersoll sen^r of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peticoⁿ sett forth that he is in the actuall possession of a certaine parcell of Land lyeing in the said Towne fronting to Thames streete conteining about one acre alsoe a thye acre lott neere to Liev^t Coll Tings and alsoe about five acres of Swamp on the north side of Pesumpscott river praying his Majestyes confirma^{co}n for the same with the grant of an addicoⁿ of one hundred acres of vacant land on the south side of Casco river backward from Liev^t Coll Tings land neere Barberry Creeck I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said George Ingersoll the said severall parcell of land with the addicoⁿ desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ry}es office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dⁿⁱ 1688

88

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for John Ingersoll.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas John Ingersoll of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticoⁿ sett forth that for many yeares past he hath beene and now is possessed of a house lott in the said towne neere the fforte fronting to Thames streete of about two acres and another parcell of ground neere adjoyning fronting to Queens streete being about six acres And alsoe a certaine tract or parcell of Land lyeing in the said Towne on the North side of Casco river Betweene the Lands of Richard Powsley and Thomas Cloyce over against Stroud water mills conteining about one hundred and sixty acres whereon he hath beene att greate Charge and Expen^{ce} in buildings and other improvements praying his Majestyes Confirma^{co}n for the same And grant of forty acres of vacant Land adjoyning to the said tract I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said John Ingersoll the said severall peeces or parcell of Land with the addicoⁿ desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof & the same to returne into the Sec^{ry}es office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r

¹ John Ingersoll, a brother of George Ingersoll, Sr., died about 1716.

warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Dñi 1688

89

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for John Jones & Isaac Jones.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Govern^r in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Survey^{rs} Whereas John Jones and Isaac Jones of Falmouth in the Province of Maine have by there peticon sett forth that for many yeares they have beene and now are possessed of a certaine parcell of land lyeing on Pesumpscott river neere the ffalls contening one hundred acres where They have made considerable improvements praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same and grant of an addicon of two hundred acres more of vacant land adjoyning to and in the reere of the said One hundred acres with a house lott in the said Towne neere the ffort of about halfe an acre and a six acre lott over against the Back cove formerly layd out to him if vacant I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the sd John Jones and Isaack Jones the said Land and premisses with the addicons as desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto them accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

90

A Warrant to survey Land for John Leane Henry Leane Samuell Leane and Job Leane of Nortyarmouth in the Province of Maine.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory And Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas John Leane Henry Leane Samuell Leane and Job Leane of North yarmouth in the Province of Maine have by their peticon sett forth that for many yeares past they have beene and now are possessed of a certaine tract or parcell of Land in the Towne aforesaid lyeing betweene the Lands claymed

¹ John and Isaac Jones were probably brothers. They were of Charlestown, and both died about 1690.

by M^r Wiswell¹ on the east and that Claymed by m^r Atwatter² on the west conteining about one hundred acres with a small Island joyn- ing thereto of about twenty five acres and also two other small Islands fronting against the said Land called by the name of Mosiers Islands³ conteining about one hundred acres and two peeces of meadow att the head of Arriscicott river conteining about Eight acres alsoe another tract or parcell of Land lyeing in the east side of Cozens river to the westward of M^r Atwaters Claymes conteining about sixty acres and a small peece of Land on the west side of the said River being about twenty acres with tenne acres of meadow thereto adjoyning whereon they have beene att greate charge In buildings and other improve- ments praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same and grant of forty acres of vacant Land adjoyning to the said sixty acres I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said John Leane Henry Leane Samuell Leane and Job Leane the said sever- all parcellls of Land and meadow with the addicon desired if vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto them accordingly And for so doing this shall be yo^r sufficient warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the One and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

91

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for John Skilling. S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas John Skilling of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his peticon prayed his Majestyes Grant for a certaine tract or parcell of vacant Land adjoy- ning to his marsh in nonsuch marshes conteining about two hundred and Eighty acres I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said John Skilling the said tract or parcell of vacant Land and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him

¹ Doubtless Enoch Wiswall (Massachusetts Archives, cxxviii. 284, cxxix. 95).

² Doubtless J. Atwater (Massachusetts Archives, cxxviii. 214).

³ John and James Mosier, sons of Hugh Mosier (*d.* about 1666), "occupied two islands, now in Freeport, called great and little Mosier's, but since, by cor- ruption, the Moges" (Willis, History of Portland, p. 60).

accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

92

A Warrant to survey land in the Province of Maine for William Gilbert.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory And Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas William Gilbert of North yarmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his petition sett forth that he is possessed of a peece or parcell of Land in the great cove neere Cap^t Gendalls in the east side of the falls called ffelter falls whereon he hath a dwelling house Erected and made severall other improvements conteining about tenne acres praying his Majestyes Confirmacon for the same with a grant of an addicon of one hundred and fifty acres of vacant Land adjoyning and neere his dwelling house also a lott of meadow in the said townshipp conteining about six acres if the same be to be found in Cozens river or arrisicket river vacant and also fiteene acres of swamp to make meadow if to be found vacant and convenient I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the sd William Gilbert the sd parcell of land with the severall addicons as desired if found vacant and convenient and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^{ryes} office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Matyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

93

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Joseph Ingersoll.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Joseph Ingersoll of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble petition sett forth that he is possessed of severall tracts of Land (that is to say) a house lott upon the neck neere the forte fronting to Thames

¹ Joseph Ingersoll (1646-1700) was a son of George Ingersoll, Sr.

Streete containing about three acres also a three acre lott neere to Liev^t Coff Edward Tings also one hundred acres of Land lying betweene Thomas Cloyce and Silvanus Davies's Sawmill att Capisick whereon the said Joseph hath made sundry buildings and other improvments and alsoe two hundred acres of Land and seven acres of meadow att the back cove betweene John Skillings land and fall Cove the seven acres of meadow being in the great marsh which two hundred acres of Land and seven acres of meadow Did belong to his Grandfather Thomas Walkley¹ and father in law Matthew Cooe who were thereupon killed by the Indians in the warr time praying His Majestyes confirmacon for the same I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out the same and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Sec^ry^es office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes reigne annoq Dñi 1688

94

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Robert Nicholson.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Maty^es Territory & Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Robert Nicholson of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peti^{con} sett forth that he is possessed of a certaine house lott neere the forte fronting to fleetstreete containing about two acres alsoe a tract of Land lying upon the westward side of Pesumpscott river betweene the claymes Of John Nicholson² and Robert Gresem³ containing about sixty acres praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same with the grant of the addi^{con} of one hundred acres of land and tenne acres of swamp where it may be found most convenient and vacant I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Robert Nicholson the sd severall parcells of Land with the addi^{con} as desired if found vacant and to make platts or drafts thereof & the same to returne into the Sec^ry^es office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given

¹ Joseph Ingersoll married a daughter of Matthew Coe, whose wife was Elizabeth Wakely, daughter of Thomas Wakely.

² John and Robert Nicholson were brothers.

³ Robert Greason was captured by Indians in 1690.

under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

95

A Warrant to survey land in the Province of Maine for Thomas Bacor.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Matyēs Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Thomas Bacor of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble petiçōn prayed his Majestyes grant of one hundred acres of vacant Land upon the northside of Back cove next adjoyning to the head of Nathaniell Wallis Claymes whereupon he is willing to improve and settle a Plantaçōn I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Thomas Bacor the sd one hundred acres of vacant Land as desired and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dñi 1688

96

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for Joell Madiford.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Joell Madiford Sen^r of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble petiçōn sett forth that he is possessed of a certaine tract of Land and marsh on the southside of Casco river betweene the Lands of John Wallis and Thomas Sandford the Land conteining one hundred acres and the marsh being about seven acres lyeing in the great marsh adjoyning to John Wallis marsh and whereon he hath made considerable improvement praying his Matyēs confirmacon for the same I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the sd Joell Madiford the said Land and marsh and to make a platt or draft thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r

¹ Joel Madiver was killed by Indians in August, 1703.

warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

97

A Warrant to survey land for Robert Morrell in the Province of Maine

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory & Dominion of New England To M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas Robert Morrell of Falmouth in the Province of Maine hath by his humble peticoⁿ sett forth that he is possessed of severall tracts of Land within sd Towne (that is to say) of a house lott neere the forte fronting to Thames streete whereon is a dwelling house conteining about two acres alsoe a three acre lott next adjoyning to Silvanus Davies's six acre lott upon the neck fronting to Back cove And also Eighty acres neere stroudwater mills of sd Silvanus Davies whereon is a dwelling houses and severall other houses praying his Majestyes confirmaⁿ for the same with the grant of an addicoⁿ of fifty acres of vacant Land neere adjoyning if to be found I doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said Robert Morrell the said severall tracts of Land with the addicoⁿ of vacant Land Desired if to be found and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes office att Boston that a Patent may be granted him accordingly and for so doing this shall be yo^r warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

98

A Warrant to survey Land in the Province of Maine for George felt Samu^l felt and Jonathan felt.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England to M^r Phillip Welles Surveyor or to any of the Dep^{ty} Surveyors Whereas George felt Sam^l felt and Jonathan felt all of ffalmouth in the Province of Maine have by their peticoⁿ sett forth that they and their father have beene for many years possessed of a certaine parcell of Land in a place called The mussell cove betweene their uncle M^r James Andrews² and Samu^l Pykes containing about one hundred acres with two small par-

¹ George, Jonathan, and Samuel Felt were the sons of George Felt, who was killed by Indians on September 23, 1676.

² The elder George Felt married a sister of James Andrews.

cells of marsh one called the little broad marsh and the other called Morris Marsh praying his Majestyes confirmacon for the same with a grant of the addicon of one hundred acres of vacant Land adjoyning to the aforesaid parcell as neere as it may be found also an Island neere to their improvements called and knowne by the name of Lower Clapboard Island which was formerly granted to their father by a Towne Grant I Doe hereby authorize and require yow to survey and lay out for the said George Felt Samuell Felt and Jonathan Felt the said parcell of Land and marsh Island and premisses with the addicon as desired and to make platts or drafts thereof and the same to returne into the Secryes Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted unto them accordingly and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and seale att Boston the one and twentyeth day of Aprill in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne annoq Dni 1688

99

A Warrant to Survey a House and Ground in Boston for John Eyres¹ Merchant.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captaine Gen^{tl} and Governour in Cheife of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Survey^r or to any of the Deputy Survey^{rs} Whereas John Eyres of Boston Merchant hath by his Petition sett forth that att his great Charge and Expencc he hath built a faire Brickhouse in Prison Lane in Boston aforesaid on ground which he before had purchased but submitted praying his Majestyes grant for the said house with a small way or passage on the West Side thereof Leading into his backside. I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a Suruey and Draft of the said House and Ground thereunto belonging with the said way or passage and the same to returne into the Secretaryes Office that a grant may be passed to him Accordingly And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 22^d Day of June in the fourth yeare of his Majestyes Reigne Annoq Domini 1688.

100

A Warrant to Survey Land neere a place Called Weymesitt for Jonathan Tyng Esq.²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{tl} and Governour in Cheife of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip

¹ John Eyre died June 17, 1700.

² Jonathan Tyng, a member of the Council, died January 19, 1724.

Welles Surueyor or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Jonathan Tyng Esq one of the Memb^{rs} of his Maj^{ties} Council hath by his Petition prayed his Majesties Grant and Confirmation for a Certaine parcell of Improued Land Lyeing on the West Side of Concord Riuer neere a place there Called Weymesitt¹ Containeing about Seauenty Acres whereof he is possess'd I doe hereby Authorize and Require you to Survey and Lay out for the said Jonathan Tyng the said parcell of Land and make a platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the Secretarys Office That a Pattent may be granted to him accordingly And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the Sixth Day of July in the fourth yeare of his Ma^{ty} Reigne Annoq Domini 1688.

101

A Warrant to Survey Noddles Island for Coff. Samuell Shrimpton²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captaine Gen^l and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Coff Samuell Shrimpton one of the Members of his Maj^{ties} Council hath by his Petition sett forth that for many yeares past amongst other Estate he hath bene and now is possessed in his owne Right of a Certaine Island Commonly Called Noddles Island ats Notles Island Lyeing neare the Towne of Boston Whereon att his great Costs & Charge he hath made severall buildings and other Improvements praying his Maj^{ties} grant and Confirmation for the same I Doe hereby Authorize & Require you to suruay and Lay out for the said Samuell Shrimpton the Island aforesaid and make a platt or Draught thereof and Returne the same into the Secretaryes Office That a Pattent may be granted to him Accordingly and for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale at Boston the Sixth Day of July in the fourth yeare of his Maj^{ties} Reigne Annoq Domini 1688.

102

A Warrant of Suruay for severall Houses Wharfes and Warehouses for Coff Sam^l Shrimpton.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captaine Generall and Governour in Cheife of his Ma^{ty} Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Coff Samuell

¹ Now Chelmsford.

² Samuel Shrimpton, a member of the Council, died February 8, 1698.

Shrimpton one of the Members of his Mat^{ies} Council hath by his Petition set forth That for many years past he hath bin and now is possessed in his own right of Severall Houses & Lands within the Town of Boston for which prays his Mat^{ies} grant and Confirmation (That is to say) his now Dwelling house and ground thereunto belonging a piece of ground adjoining to the house of John Usher Esq Whereon is a small Brick house and a Larger building A Warehouse by the Dock ag^t Benj^a Murfords¹ A House Bakehouse and ground att the bottom of Shrimpton's Lane a Stable Coachhouse and ground by Samuell Philips a peece of Land on the Side of Beacon Hill another peece of Land att the North End of the Towne next Edward Ransfords Another peece of land att the South end of the Towne next M^r Ransfords a Small House and ground att the North end of the Towne next m^r Atkins and a Wharfe and ground adjoining to Samuell Nowells Warehouse. I doe hereby Authorize and Require you to Suruey and Lay out for the said Samuell Shrimpton the said se^vall Houses Lands and ground and to make a platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the Secretary's Office That a Pattent may be granted him accordingly and for so doing this shall be your Warr^t Giuen under my hand and seale at Boston the 6th Day of July in the fourth yeare of his Majesties Reigne Annoq Dom 1688.

103

A Warrant to Suruey a Certaine Tract of Land Lyeing betweene Spye pond and Saunders brooke

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captⁿ Gen^{tl} and Governour in Cheife of his Mat^{ies} Territory and Dominion of New Engl^d To m^r Phillip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Edward Randolph Esq by his Petition sett forth that there is a Certaine parcell or Tract of Vacant and unappropriated Land Containeing about Seauen hundred Acres Scituate Lyeing and being betweene Spy pond and Saunders Brooke neere Water-Towne in the County of Middlesex for the which prayed his Maj^{ties} Grant, I Do hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a Suruey and Draft of the said parcell of Land and other Vacant Lands thereto adjoyneing and Returne the same into the Secretaryes Office that the quality and Scituation thereof as well as quantity may be knowne and such Order giuen for the Disposall thereof as shall be proper for which this shall be your Warrant. Giuen under my hand and seale at Boston the Seaventh Day of July in the forth yeare of his Maj^{ties} Reigne Annoq Domini 1688.

¹ Benjamin Mumford (Mountfort, Mumford) died in 1714.

104

A Warrant to Suruey a Certaine Tract of Land Nigh the Towne of Lyn called Nahant neck.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capt^{ne} Gen^{tl} and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Edward Randolph Esq hath by his Peti^{con} sett forth that there is a Certaine Tract of Land Nigh the Towne of Lyn in the County of Essex out of fence and undevided. Containeing about fve hundred acres Commonly Called Nahant Neck for w^{ch} prayes his Maj^{ties} Grant And Whereas Severall persons Inhabitants within the said Towne of Lynn haue Likewise petitioned for the grant of the said Land. I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a Suruey and Draft thereof and other Vacant Lands thereto adjoyneing and Returne the same into the Secretaries Office That the Quality and Scituation thereof as Well as the quantity may be knowne And such Orders giuen for the Disposall thereof as shall be proper for which this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the Seauenth Day of July in the forth year of his Majesties Reigne Annoq Domini 1688

105

A Warrant of Suruey for a House and Land in Boston for Savill Simpson¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capt^{ne} Gen^{tl} and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Welles Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Savill Simpson hath by his Petition Sett forth that he is in the Actuell possession of a Certaine house and ground thereto belonging Lyeing neere the South Meeting-house in Boston in his owne Right praying his Majesties Grant and Confirmation for the same I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you to survey and Lay out for the said Savill Simpson the said house and Land thereto belonging and to make a platt or Draft thereof and the same to Returne into the Secretaries Office That a Pattent may be granted to him Accordingly for which this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 13th Day of July in the forth year of his Majesties Reigne Annoq Domini 1688

¹ Savill Simpson died in 1725.

106

A Warrant to Suruey a Certaine Tract of Land neere Magaguncock hill¹ for Savill Simpson

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^{tn} Gen^{ll} & Gouvernour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Savill Simpson of Boston Cordwainer hath by his Petition Sett forth that he is Possess^d of a Certaine Tract or parcell of Land Lyeing and being neere a place Called Magaguncock Hill by the Cold Spring in the County of Middlesex on the South Side of a Branch of Sudbury Riuer about Nine Miles distant from the Towne Containeing about five hundred Acres with a Small Peece of Meadow Adjoyning Containeing about Seaven Acres on which Some Improuement hath beene already made and he is Desirous to make further praying his Majesties Grant and Confirma^on for the same I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you to Suruey and Lay out for the said Savill Simpson the said Parcell of Land and Meadow and to make a platt or Draft thereof and the same to Returne into the Secreys Office that a Pattent may be granted to him Accordingly for which this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale in Boston the 13th Day of July in the fourth yeare of his Majesties Reigne Annoq Domini 1688

107

A Warrant to Suruey forty Nine Acres of Land in Charlestowne Called the Stinted Pasture for Joseph Lynde.²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captⁿ Generall and Governour in Cheife of his Majestyes Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy surv^{rs} Whereas Joseph Lynde of Charlestowne in the County of Middlesex hath by his Petition prayed his Maj^{ties} grant of about forty Nine Acres of Land within the bounds of Charlestowne afores^d att a place there Called the Stinted pasture I doe hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to Suruey and Lay out the said parcell of Land and make a platt or Draft thereof and Returne the same into the Secreys Office att Boston that a Patent may be granted to him Accordingly, for w^{ch} this shall be yo^r Warrant Giuen under my hand & Seale att Boston afores^d the 23^d Day of July 1688.

¹ Now called Magunco Hill, in Ashland. Cf. Hurd, *History of Middlesex County* (1890), iii. 535; *Handbook of American Indians* (1907), i. 786.

² Joseph Lynde died January 29, 1727.

108

A Warrant to Survey Seuerall Messuages & tenements in Charlestowne for Andrew Belcher.¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Govern^r in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory & Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Welles Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Surueyors Whereas Andrew Belcher of Charlestowne Marriner hath by his Petition sett forth that for Seuerall yeares past he hath beene possessed of a Certaine Messuage and Lott of ground Lyeing in Charlestowne aforesaid neere the meeting house And of an other Messuage and Lott of ground in the said Towne neere the house of Edward Collins,² and alsoe of an other Messuage and Lott of Ground in the Towne of Cambridge adjacent to the Land of Nathaniell Greene all within the County of Middlesex praying his Maj^{ties} grant for the same, I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to suruey the said Seuerall Messuages and Lotts of ground and make a platt or Draft thereof And Returne the same into the Secretaries Office att Boston that they may be granted to him Accordingly for which this shall be your Warrant. Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 23^d Day of July 1688.

109

A Warrant to Survey Seuerall houses & parcells of Land within the Townes of Dorchester Milton & Boston for William Soughton Esq^r

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l and Governour in Cheife of his Majesties Territory & Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Welles Suruey^r or to any of the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas William Stoughton Esq^r hath Desired his Maj^{ties} Patent of Confirmation for Seuerall houses and parcells of Land within the Townes of Dorchester Milton and Boston (That is to say) his Mention house in the Towne of Dorchester with Barns Dovehouse & other out houses, Orchards and Lands adjoining Lyeing all within one outside fence, and Containeing about Thirty Acres, One small lott in the Towne field behind his house of two Acres Three quarters One small lott in the Common feild neere the burrying place about two Acres, A Close before his house part Salt Marsh, part upland of about Eight Acres and halfe Lakes Hill Pasture Containeing four Acres and Three quarters, Glouers Hill Pasture with other Inclosed grounds, adjoining Lyeing within one outside fence of about Thirty Seauen Acres, Seuerall other Inclosed grounds butting on

¹ Andrew Belcher (1647-1717).

² Edward Collins died in April, 1689.

the Road Leading to Napousett Mill Joyning all one to another on part Whereof stands a Dwelling house and Barne Containeing Ninety Eight Acres Another pasture on the Same aboues^d Road about Twenty one Acres two small lotts Lyeing on the Little Necke of one Acre & a quarter A parcell of salt Meadow with upland adjoyning thereunto Lyeing on the North side of the Little Necke Containing fourteen Acres A parcell of Salt Meadow with a Skirt of upland lyeing on the South side of the little Necke of Seauenteene Acres A parcell of Salt Meaddow lyeing on the great Neck at the Nooke Containing five Acres & an halfe, A parcell of Salt Meaddow in the great Lotts about four Acres A parcell of Salt Meadow with a Skirt of upland lyeing in the upper Calue pasture Meaddow five Acres and an halfe and neare thereunto another parcell with upland adjoyning of three Acres A parcell of Meaddow in the Lower Calue pasture Meaddow Containeing Six Acres One Woodlott in the Third Diuissions Thirty Acres One Woodlott neare Mother Brookes of ab^t fifty one Acres, One Small Woodlott of Three Acres and an halfe with an other of two Acres Three quarters Twenty Eight Rodd A farme Containeing upland and Meaddow Lyeing upon Dedham bounds, the greater part Whereof belongs to his Sister Tayler¹ quantity uncertaine within the bounds of Milton a peece of Woodland Containeing Two hundred and fifty Acres, within the Towne of Boston Three parcells of Lands with the Tenments thereon Standing (Viz^t) The Greene Dragon Tenments Gills house and Kanes house. All w^{ch} he hath beene and now is in the Actuall possession and Injoyment off. These are Therefore to Authorize and Require you to Suruey and Lay out for the said W^m Stoughton the before mentioned houses And parcells of Land According to the severall Deeds and Writeings made and giuen for the same and Inclosures and to make a platt and Draft thereof and Returne the same into the Secrys Office without Delay That a Patent may be granted Accordingly, And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 23^d Day of July in the fourth yeare of his Maj^{ties} Reigne Annoq Dom 1688.

110

A Warrant to Suruey a Certaine Messuage and farme with some small parcells of Land adjoyning in Charlestowne for James Russell.²

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capt^m Gen^{tl} & Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells

¹ Stoughton's sister Rebecca married William Taylor (d. 1682), and was the mother of Lt.-Gov. William Tailer.

² James Russell died April 28, 1709.

Survey^r or to any the Deputy Survey^rs Whereas James Russell of Charlestowne M^tchant hath by his Petition prayed his Majesties Grant for a Certaine Messuage and farme with some small parcell of Land adjoining Lyeing within the bounds of Charlestowne afores^d in his possession being in all about forty a^cres and Whereon he hath made Considerable Improvement. I doe Hereby Authorize and Require you to make a Survey and Draft of the said Messuage farme and parcell of of Land adjoining and make Returne thereof into the Secretaryes Office that the same may be granted Accordingly and for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston afores^d the 23^d Day of July 1688.

111

A Warrant to Survey 300 Acres of Vacant Land on Road Island for Thomas Newton Gen^t.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capt^a Generall and Governo^r in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Phillip Wells Survey^r or to any of the Deputy Survey^{rs} Whereas Thomas Newton Gent. hath by his Petition Prayed his Maj^{ties} Grant for Three hundred Acres of Vacant and unImprovded Land Lyeing and being on Road Island within the Limitts of Portsm^o betweene the Lands possess'd by the Widdow Martha Layes and Robert Denis or Adjoining thereto. I doe hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a Survey and Draft of the said quantity of Land and such other vacant Lands as you shall find there adjoineing and make Returne thereof into the Secretaryes Office att Boston And you are Likewise to giue Notice in the said Towne That if any person or persons haue any Title Clayme or pretence to the said Land or any part thereof they forthwith Shew the same unto me that such Order may be giuen thereupon as shall be proper Whereof you are not to faile, And for soe Doeing this shall be yo^r Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 23^d Day of July 1688.

112

A Warrant to Survey 400 Acres of Vacant Lands neere the Blew Hills for Capt^a Rauenscroft¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^{ta} Gen^{tt} and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To m^r Philip Welles Survey^r or to any of the Deputy Suru^{rs} Whereas Samth Rauencroft²

¹ The "s" was perhaps inserted later.

² Apparently altered from "Rauenscrof."

hath by his Petition prayed a grant of some Vacant and unappropriated Land lyeing neere the Blew Hills adjoyning unto Unkety line for his p^sent Settlem^t & Improuem^t These are therefore to Authorize and Impower you to Survey and Lay out for the s^d Samuell Rauencroft the quantity of four hundred Acres of Land in the s^d Place if vacant and to make a platt thereof and Returne the same into The Secretaryes Office att Boston that a Pattent may be passed Accordingly for w^{ch} this Shall be yo^r Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 25th Day of July 1688.

113

A Warrant to Survey and lay out 600 acres of land in Casco bay for M^r George Turfrey¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^t Gen^{al} and Govern^r in Chief of his Mat^{ies} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Survey^r or to any of the Deputy Survey^{rs} Whereas George Turfrey hath by his Peticoⁿ prayed his Mat^{ies} grant of Six hundred acres of unimproved Lands lying on the Westward Side of Saco River at a place there called Salisbury brook for his present Settlement and improvment. I do hereby Authorize and require you to Survey and lay out the said quantity of Land and make return with a Plat or Draft thereof into the Secretaries Office and a report of the Lands and Meadows adjoyning or neer the same That such Order may be given therein as shall be proper for which this shall be your Warrant Given under my hand and Seal at Boston the 27th day of July 1688:

By his Ex^{as} Com^{and}

E ANDROS

JOHN WEST Dscry

114

A Warrant to Survey a Certaine Tract of Land Called New Roxbury.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capt^a Generall and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Suruey^r or to any the Deputy Survey^{rs}. Whereas Nathaniell Johnson and John Chandler² in behalfe of themselues and others the Planters & Settlers of the Plantacon Called New Roxbury³ and Sev-

¹ George Turfrey died in 1714.

² John Chandler died April 15, 1703.

³ Now Woodstock, which became a part of Connecticut about 1750. Under date of March 18, 1690, Sewall wrote: "I gave New-Roxbury the name of Woodstock because of its nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth" (Diary, i. 315).

erall other persons Desireous to Settle there haue by their Petitions prayed his Maj^{ties} Grant for the Seuerall quantities and parcell of Land there. I doe therefore hereby Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a Suruey and Draft of the whole Tract or parcell of Land Called and knowne by the Name of New Roxbury and Returne the same into the Sec̄rys Office att Boston with an Account of the severall Settlements and Improuem^{ts} there & quality thereof That such further Orders may be giuen for Settling & Disposing the same as shall be proper, And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand & seale att Boston the 27th Day of July 1688.

115

A Warrant to Suruey a farme in Rumny Marsh with 30 Acres of Marsh on hogg Island for Nathan^{tt} Newgate¹

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captⁿ Gen^{tt} and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells Survey^r or to any of the Deputy Survey^{rs} Whereas Nathaniell Newdigate als Newgate hath by his Petition Prayed his Majesties Grant for a Certain Messuage and farme Lyeing in Rumny Marsh Joyning unto the farme of Coff Nicholas Page Containeing about fiue hundred Acres, and about Thirty Acres of Marsh or Meaddow on Hogg Island of the which he is in Actuell possession I doe Therefore Authorize and Require you to make a Survey and Draft of the s^d farme and Meaddow and Returne the same into the Secretaryes Office That such further Order may be giuen thereupon as shall be proper And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 27th Day of July 1688.

116

A Warrant to suruey a Certaine Island Called Hogg Island for Samuell Sewall.

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Capitaine Generall and Gouverneur in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Welles Suruey^r or to any the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Samuell Sewall hath by his Petition sett forth That he and those under whom he Claymes haue for the space of forty yeares or upwards by past beene Possessed of a Certaine Island Called Hogg Island prayeing his Maj^{ties} Confirmacon for the same I doe hereby Authorize & Require you forthwith to make a suruey and Draft of the said Island and Returne the

¹ This was the second Nathaniel Newgate, a London merchant: see Chamberlain, History of Chelsea, i. 166-168.

same into the Sec̄rys Office That such further Orders may be giuen thereupon as shall be proper And for soe Doeing this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 27th Day of July 1688.

117

A Warrant to Suruey 200 Acres of Vacant Land in Charlestown Comon for George farwell Gent^t

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^{tn} Gen^{tt} and Governour in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory & Dominion of New England To m^r Phillip Welles Suruey^r or to any the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas George ffarewell Gent^t hath by his Petition sett forth that in the Common of Charlestowne in the County of Middlesex there is a Certaine parcell of vacant Land Containeing ab^t Two hundred Acres bounded part by the Road Leading to Menotomy part by the line of Lieuten^t Col^l Lidgetts farme and part by Mistick Riuer prayeing his Maj^{ties} grant for the same, These are Therefore to Authorize and Require you forthwith to make a suruey And Draft of the said parcells of Land and Returne the same into the Sec̄rys Office That such further Orders may be giuen thereupon as shall be proper for w^{ch} this shall be your Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 27th Day of July 1688.

118

A Warrant to suruey a Tract of vacant Land in the Nipmug Country Containeing about two Thousand acres

S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Cap^{tn} Gen^{tt} and Gov^r in Cheife of his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dominion of New England To M^r Philip Wells suruey^r or to any the Deputy Suruey^{rs} Whereas Samuell Rugles Thomas Curtis Jonnathan Curtis and Sam^l Rice haue by their humble petition prayed his Maj^{ties} grant of a Certaine Tract or parcell of vacant Land Lyeing in the Nipmug Country Neer new Roxbury containeing about Two Thousand acres Whereon they are Desirous to make present settlement and Improuement I Doe hereby Authorize and Require you to suruey and lay out for the s^d Samuell Rugles Thomas Curtis Jonathan Curtis and Samuell Rice the s^d Two Thousand acres of Land and to make a platt or Draft thereof and the same to Returne into the Sec̄rys office att Boston that a Pattent may be granted unto them accordingly and for soe Doeing this shall be yo^r Warrant Giuen under my hand and seale att Boston the 28th July in the 4th yeare of his Ma^{ties} Reigne Annoq Dom 1688

LIST OF GRANTEES AND OF LOCATIONS¹

Andrews, James 68	Davis, Silvanus 22	Jones, Isaac 89
Baker, Thomas 58 95	Dorchester 15 109	Jones, John 89
Ballatt, Samuel 7	Dudley, Joseph 8 18	Jordan, Dominicus 38
Barefoot, Walter 23	34-36	Jordan, Sarah 21
Belcher, Andrew 108	Dummer, Shubael 67	King's Province. <i>See</i>
Bennett, Edward 59	Durant, Moses 58	Narragansett
Bickford, Thomas 58	Ellicott, Vines 57	Kittery 23
Black Point 28 65	Elliot, Robert 65	Lane, John 52
Blue Hills 61 112	English, James 22	Lawrence, Robert 24
Blue Point 69	Eyre, John 99	Leane, Henry 90
Boston 14 16 46 99	Falmouth 39-42 47-56	Leane, Job 90
102 105 109	63 64 68 80-89 93-98	Leane, John 90
Boston Neck 11	Farwell, George 117	Leane, Samuel 90
Bowdoin, Peter 29	Felt, George 98	Leatherby, Thomas 58
Braintree 74-77	Felt, Jonathan 98	Libbey, Daniel 58
Bramhall, George 84	Felt, Samuel 98	Libbey, David 58
Brinley, Francis 11	Feversham 3	Libbey, Henry 58
Brookfield 73	Gale, Edmund 70	Libbey, John 58
Browne, John 50	Gedney, Bartholomew 62	Libbey, Matthew 58
Burrage, William 45	Gendall, Walter 30 64	Lidgett, Charles 5 9
Cambridge 108	79	Lynde, Joseph 107
Casco Bay 22 24-27 29	Gilbert, William 92	Lynde, Simon 1
30 62 66 70 78 113	Harris, John 85	Madiver, Joel 96
Champlin, William 3	Hinckes, John 21	Magaguncock Hill 106
Chandler, John 114	Hog Island, Mass. 115	Manchaog 35
Chapman, Ralph 13	116	Maxson, John 3
Charlestown 5-7 9 107	Hog Island, Me. 57	Milton 109
108 110 117	Hogg, Daniel 58	Morrell, Robert 97
Clap, Roger 15	Holman, John 86	Nahant 104
Clark, Nathaniel 71	Housing, Peter 78	Narragansett 1-3 11
Clark's Island 71	Howell, John 43	Narragansett Bay 37
Cleverly, John 77	Hunnewell, Richard 44	Newgate, Nathaniel 115
Cloice, Thomas 51	Ingersoll, George, Sr. 55	New Roxbury 114 118
Collings, Abraham 81	87	Newton, Thomas 111
Corwin, Margaret 72	Ingersoll, George, Jr. 49	Nicholson, Robert 94
Coxe, Daniel 18	Ingersoll, John 88	Niell, Samuel 76
Crossthaite, Charles 19	Ingersoll, Joseph 93	Nipmug 18 34 35 72 118
Curtis, Jonathan 118	Ingersoll, Samuel 42	Noddle's Island 101
Curtis, Thomas 118	Johnson, Humphrey 33	Nonsuch 21 91
Cutler, John, Jr. 6	Johnson, Nathaniel 114	North Yarmouth 4 30
Danson, George 17		79 80 90 92
Davis, Benjamin 14		
Davis, Edward 53		

¹ Not all place-names mentioned in the warrants are given in this list, but only those which in a general way indicate the location of the grants.

Paige, Anna 46	Scituate 33	Teney, John 60
Paige, Nicholas 46	Scottow, Joshua 28	Thayer, Richard 15
Paulling, Matthew 82	Seacomb, Richard 26 54	Thompson, Robert 18
Phippen, David 27	Sewall, Samuel 116	Turfrey, George 113
Pocasset 12	Shawomet 13	Tydye, Robert 58
Portsmouth, R. I. 111	Sheppard, Thomas 32	Tyng, Edward 25
Powlsland, Richard 48	Sherborn 36	Tyng, Jonathan 100
Quobeague 73	Sherman, Mary 31	
Randolph, Edward 103	Shippen, Edward 16 69	Veazie, William 74
104	Shrimpton, Samuel 101	
Ravenscroft, Samuel 112	102	Waite, Thomas 12
Rice, Samuel 118	Simpson, Savill 105 106	Wallis, John 66
Ross, John 39	Skilling, John 63 91	Wallis, Nathaniel 80
Row, Anthony 58	Slaughter, John 58	Watertown 31
Roxbury 8	Smith, John 41	Webber, Joseph 5
Ruggles, Samuel 118	Spencer, John 47	Webber, Mary 56
Rumney, Marsh 46 115	Spurwink 38	Weymesitt 100
Russell, James 110	Spy Pond 103	White, Nathaniel 83
Saco 32	Staniford, Robert 40	Wilcox, Daniel 10
Sakonnet 10	Staniford, Thomas 40	Winthrop, Ann 72
Scarborough 30 43-45	Stoughton, William 18	Worcester 17 19 20
58-60	34 35 109	
	Swarton, John 4	Yardly, John 75
		York 67

Mr. MATTHEWS also communicated the following paper:

THE HARVARD COLLEGE CHARTER OF 1672

The administration of Leonard Hoar,¹ though it lasted only two years and three months, presents more puzzling questions than that of any other President of Harvard College. Born in England in or about 1630, he was brought to this country at an early age, graduated at Harvard in 1650, took his A.M. in 1653, and in the same year went to England, where he became rector of Wanstead, Essex,² but was ejected in 1662. Shortly after the death of Chauncy, which occurred February 19, 1672, Dr. Hoar³ came to Boston at the invitation of the Third or Old South Church, but also, apparently, with an eye to the presidency. At all events, he brought letters of recommenda-

¹ For Hoar, see Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, i. 228-252, 587-590.

² Hoar's patron was Sir Henry Mildmay (died about 1664) of Wanstead, the father of William Mildmay (H. C. 1647): cf. our *Publications*, xviii. 309 note 2.

³ Hoar received the degree of M.D. from Cambridge University in 1671.

tion for that office and, reaching here July 8, 1672,¹ was in the same month elected President. Yet the exact date of his election is unknown with certainty; we are left in some doubt as to whether he was chosen by the Corporation or by the Overseers; the date of his inauguration is variously given; the mystery surrounding his failure has never been cleared up; and the charter which was granted by the General Court in October, 1672, has been completely misunderstood by the historians of the College since 1812.

The object of this paper is not to attempt the apparently hopeless task of reconciling the discrepancies, or of elucidating the exact purpose of the charter of 1672. But there are in existence some data that have been previously overlooked, and as they throw much light on the vexed problems, particularly that of the charter, no apology is needed for presenting them. Before taking up the charter itself, let us glance at some of the other questions.

First, as to the date of Hoar's election and inauguration. In a passage written about 1697 and published in 1702, Cotton Mather said:

After the Death of Mr. *Chancey*, which was at the latter End of the Year 1701.² The *Alma Mater Academia*, must look among her own *Sons*, to find a *President* for the rest of her Children; and accordingly the Fellows of the Colledge with the Approbation of the Overseers, *July 13. 1672.* elected Mr. *Leonard Hoar*, unto that Office; whereto, on the Tenth of *September* following he was Inaugurated.³

At College Book I. 75 John Davis, who was Treasurer of the College from 1810 to 1827, has written: "Mem^o President Hoar was elected July 30. and inaugurated 10. Sept^r 1672. J.D." At the right of this entry Sibley wrote in pencil: "No: it was 10 December. J.L.S." And underneath the entry President Quincy wrote: "This mem^o was made by Treasurer Davis within the present century. His authority must have been College Book N^o. 3. P. 54. — J.Q." That September

¹ Under date of July 8, 1672, William Adams (H. C. 1671) wrote: "Dr. Hoare came in from England" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 17).

² This is of course a misprint for 1671. As March was then the first month, Chauncy's death was "at the latter End of the Year 1671," Old Style. As Mather did not see proofs of his *magnum opus*, there can be no doubt that various errors in the *Magnalia*, like the date 1701, are due not to the author but to the printer. Cf. p. 154 note 2, above.

³ *Magnalia*, bk. iv. pt. i, § 5, pp. 128-129.

10 is an impossible date is made certain by the fact that on October 8 the General Court, —

having duely considered of the motion ¹ in refference to allowance to be given to the maintenance of a præident at the colledge, & the settlement of what may give due encouragement to that worke, doe judge meet & order, that there be allowed one hundred & fifty pounds p̄ añum. to be pajd in money by the country Treasurer out of such revenues as are payd in money into the treasury, provided Doctor Hoare be the man for a supply of that place, nowe vacant, & that he accept thereof, and that when this order of one hundred & fifty pounds p̄ añu takes place, the former order of one hundred a yeare settled vpon the præident, in the printed law, be made voyd, & that this allowance be continued vntill the Generall Court or ouerseers shall finde some other way for the making it good, and that the annuall allowanc be payd quarterly.²

In a passage dated July 8, but obviously written some months later, John Hull stated in his Diary that "Dr. Leonard Hoar arrived at Boston from London, being sent for by the third church in Boston: but, the President of the Colledge being dead, it was the earnest desire of the ministers and magistrates that they would spare him for that work; and, upon Nov. 15, they did yield him up to that service."³ Under the year 1672, Hull also noted: "11th, 10th. Dr. Leonard Hoar constituted President of the Colledge."⁴ This date might be either December 11, 1672, or January 10, 1673, according as to whether the first figure stands for the month or for the day. More satisfactory is an entry in the Diary of William Adams, then a resident graduate

¹ From an unexpected source it is learned that this "motion" originated with the Overseers — a fact which appears to have escaped the attention of the historians of the Colledge. In the Index to Colledge Books i-vi, compiled by President Wadsworth, are these entries: "When y^e President's place was offer'd to m^r Chauncey. A.D. 1654. an. 100th salary was offer'd at y^e same time. B. 2. p. 15. . . . President's Salary (An. 1654. B. 2. p. 3) p. 7, Judg'd by y^e overseers. 1672. sh^d be. 150th at least y^e General Court to be address'd about it. B. 2. p. 47. 49." Evidently the order of October 8, 1672, was in response to an address from the Overseers. Colledge Book ii was destroyed in the fire of 1764, and those particular entries were not (like many others) copied into Colledge Book iii.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. ii. 535.

³ American Antiquarian Society Transactions and Collections, iii. 233. Cf. Hill's History of the Old South Church, i. 182-190.

⁴ American Antiquarian Society Transactions and Collections, iii. 235. The preceding entry is dated "Dec. 7," and the entry after is dated "1673, 21st of 1st."

at the College: "Anno 1672. . . . Dec. . . . 10. Leonardus Hoare, Medicinæ Doctor, . . . Collegii Harvardini Præses, Cantabr. N.A. inauguratus."¹ In a letter to Robert Boyle dated "Cambridge, New-England, December the 13th, 1672," Hoar himself wrote: "It hath pleased even all to assign the college for my *Sparta*. I desire I may adorn it; and thereby encourage the country in its utmost throws for its resuscitation from its ruins. And we still hope some helpers from our native land; of which your honoured self, Mr. A.² and some others have given a pledge."³ It is a fair assumption that he was already President. In College Book I. 75-78, are entered, in the hand of Hoar himself, the "Acts of y^e Corporation since y^e 10th of Decem^{br} 1672" — clearly indicating that he became President on that day. Finally, in his Index to College Books I-VI, which must have been compiled while he was President from 1725 to 1737, Wadsworth made this entry: "D^r Hoar Inaugurated President. 10. 10. 1672."⁴ It is certain, then, that Hoar was inaugurated on December 10, 1672; and this is the date now given in the Quinquennial Catalogue.⁵

As for the date of Hoar's election, Cotton Mather gave it as July 13, 1672. The entry at College Book III. 54, referred to by Quincy, ought, one would think, to be decisive. The entry itself, in the hand of Thomas Danforth, though when made is not known, clearly reads: "Docto^r Leonard Hoar was elected President of the Colledge. The

¹ 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 18.

² Henry Ashurst (*d.* 1680).

³ Boyle's Works (1772), vi. 653. In reprinting this interesting letter, Sibley says that it was written "a few weeks after Hoar's inauguration as President" (Harvard Graduates, i. 588), forgetting that he had previously (p. 235) given the date as December 10, and overlooking his own pencilled note in College Book i. 75 (though that note may have been made after the publication of his Harvard Graduates).

⁴ So far as I have noted, this is the only entry in the Index to which no reference is attached. The omission is unfortunate; but since neither College Book iii nor College Book iv contains such an entry, it is a fair assumption that the entry in question was taken from College Book ii (not now extant). Though Wadsworth noted Hoar's inauguration and resignation, he did not note Hoar's election.

⁵ Down to and including 1827, the Triennial Catalogues gave only the years in which a President was inaugurated or died or left office. In the 1830 Triennial full dates were given for the first time, and from 1830 to 1885, both included, the Triennial and Quinquennial Catalogues gave September 10 as the date of Hoar's accession to office. In the 1890 Quinquennial, the correct date of December 10, 1672, appeared for the first time.

which he accepting he was inaugurated. 10. 7. 1672."¹ But the heading to this entry is, unfortunately, somewhat blind. It appears to read: "At a meeting of the Overseers July. 30. 1672." But the date may not be "July 30, 1672," though apparently both Davis and Quincy so read it, since "July" is written over another word, perhaps "June;" and "30" is written over other figures, perhaps "27." Attention should be called to a letter written to John Winthrop, Jr., dated "Cambr. 1. 6. 1672" — that is, August 1, 1672 — in which Thomas Danforth said:

As for Dr. Hoare, He came over under some (though not severe) obligation to y^e new church. Himselfe seems to referr y^e matter to y^r Determination: yet do not in y^e least decline y^e motion made in behalf of y^e colledge. but as his disposition of mind is thought to be y^t way, so also it is app^hended y^t he will be a better p^rsid^t, yⁿ a pulpitt man (at least) as to vulg^r acceptation. yet I perceiue y^e church do not freely come of in y^e matter. nor do I app^hend y^t anything will be fully concluded on before y^e Geñall court meet.²

Finally, on this point, we may quote Hutchinson's statement that "Doctor Leonard Hoar . . . returned [to New England] not long before he was elected July 30, 1672."³ Hoar's election must have been between July 8 (the date of his arrival) and August 1.

Secondly, Was Hoar elected President by the Corporation or by the Overseers? Cotton Mather, as we have seen, states that he was elected by "the Fellows of the Colledge with the Approbation of the Overseers." By the charter of 1650 the Corporation was empowered "to elect a new præident, ffellowes, or treasurer, so oft and from time to time as any of the sajd persons shall dye or be remooved."⁴ This method of election had not been established in 1672, and it is by no means certain that it was followed in the case of Hoar. "At a meeting of the Magistrates and Elders at Boston. 27. of August. 1640. The Reverend m^r Henery Dunstar was by them invited to accept the place of President of the Colledge, which he accordingly accepted."⁵ In the charter of 1650, the members

¹ Danforth, it will be observed, gives the date of the inauguration as September 10. Perhaps this was Mather's authority for the same date.

² 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xiii. 235.

³ History of Massachusetts (London, 1765), i. 174 note.

⁴ See p. 396, below.

⁵ College Book iii. 3.

of the Corporation were of course named by the General Court. Dunster's final resignation in 1654 was made not to the Corporation but to the Overseers, who presented it to the General Court, and both the selection and the election of his successor Chauncy was placed by the General Court wholly in the hands of the Overseers.¹ The entry at College Book I. 75 ought to be decisive, but it again fails us; for though the heading appears to read "At a meeting of the Overseers," the word "Overseers" is written over the word "Corporation" — making it impossible to say with absolute certainty by whom Hoar was elected.²

Thirdly, it is pertinent to the discussion to ask, Who were the members of the Corporation early in the year 1672? Even this question, simple as it seems, cannot, owing to the meagreness of the early College records, be answered with absolute certainty. But apparently the make-up of the Corporation at the beginning of 1672 was as follows:

Charles Chauncy,	President
John Richards,	Treasurer
Samuel Danforth,	} Fellows
Alexander Nowell,	
Joseph Browne,	
John Richardson,	

It will be observed that there were only four Fellows, instead of the five called for in the charter of 1650.³ But for all practical purposes, there were only three Fellows, for in the early years the work of the Corporation appears to have been done chiefly by the President, the Treasurer, and the three resident Fellows who, recent graduates, were Tutors and had actual charge of the classes. Graduating in 1643, Samuel Danforth was a Tutor from about 1644 to about 1649; in 1650 he was named a Fellow in the charter; on September 24, 1650, he was ordained pastor of the church at Roxbury;

¹ See pp. 152-154, above.

² In his Index to College Books i-vi, President Wadsworth made the entry, "D^r Hoar resign'd his Presidentship. 15-1. 1675. B. 2. p. 63;" but made no entry in regard to Hoar's election.

³ Thomas Shepard was elected a Fellow on November 27, 1654 (College Book iii. 39), and the Quinquennial Catalogue states that he held the position until 1673. I cannot help thinking that this is a mistake, and that he was not a Fellow early in 1672: see p. 396 note 4, below.

he ceased to be a Fellow about 1654; and in 1668 his name again appears in the list of Fellows, though there is no record of his election. Alexander Nowell, who graduated in 1664, was elected a Fellow on November 28, 1664.¹ Joseph Browne and John Richardson, both of whom graduated in 1666, are supposed to have been elected Fellows in 1671, though, curiously enough, there is no record of their election.² But that they were Fellows early in 1672 is proved by a letter sent to John Winthrop, Jr., thanking him for a gift of astronomical instruments, etc., made to the College. This letter, dated February 2, 1672, is signed by Nowell, Browne, and Richardson, who say: "Our reverend President (who has been sickly of late) does present his service to your Worship, and renders you many thanks for that extraordinary care and respect manifested in this case." And the letter is endorsed by Winthrop: "Mr Alexander Nowell & the other Fellows of the Colledge. Rec: Feb: 10: 1671."³

In his letter to Boyle, already quoted, Hoar expressed his desire to "adorn" the College, and "thereby encourage the country in its utmost throws for its resuscitation from its ruins." The allusion is to the low condition into which the College had fallen in the years 1671-1672 and which had given great concern to the friends of the College on both sides of the Atlantic.⁴ This condition was to sink still lower, for on February 19, 1672, Chauncy died, and was buried on the 21st, when "Mr. Oakes turned his lecture into a funeral sermon

¹ College Book iii. 43.

² Joseph Browne was probably a Fellow before 1671, for in a letter dated February 14 or 15, 1672, Sewall, who entered College in 1667, said: "Prethee present my service to Mr. Nowell, Mr. Richardson; and in special, to Mr. Brown my Tutor" (Letter-Book, i. 19). The editors say in a footnote that this letter "was written March 16, 1672;" but the letter is dated "Newbury; 16. Calend. Martij, 1671," which was not March 16 but February 14 or 15, 1672.

³ 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, iv. 266.

⁴ On May 1, 1671, the Rev. John Knowles, then in England, wrote to the Overseers in regard to the condition of the College. That letter has not been preserved, but the letter of the Overseers in reply, dated August 21, 1671, is printed in our Publications, xi. 336-341. This last letter, in its turn, drew from thirteen ministers in and about London a letter dated February 5, 1672, which is printed in Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers (1769), pp. 429-431. This letter contains a recommendation of Dr. Hoar, as does also a letter written by the Rev. John Collins (H. C. 1649) to Governor Leverett (printed in id. pp. 435-436). In March, 1672, Richard Saltonstall wrote a letter recommending the Rev. John Knowles for the presidency (printed in our Publications, viii. 193-198).

on y^e 2. Kings 2. 12," and "Mr. Nowell Soci. made a funeral oration in y^e Hall."¹ He was soon followed by the orator, as on July 13 "Died Mr. Alexander Nowel Sen^r Fellow ² of Harv. Coll. he lay sick of (as is conjectured) an hectic fever above a quarter of a year being most of y^e time distempered in his head, yet rational a little before his death."³ Thus within five days after the arrival of Hoar and on the very day when, according to Mather, Hoar was elected President by the Corporation, that body was reduced to three active members — Treasurer Richards, the two resident Fellows or Tutors Joseph Browne and John Richardson — and one nominal Fellow, Samuel Danforth.⁴ Is it not highly questionable whether, in such a serious condition of affairs, three or even four men would have taken upon themselves the grave responsibility of electing a President and two Fellows? Indeed, would they have been allowed to do so? In 1654, as already stated,⁵ the Corporation had no hand at all in the selection or election of Dunster's successor; and it seems to me far more probable that in 1672 Chauncy's successor was elected by the Overseers than by the Corporation. But however that may have been, it is certain that in the end it was the General Court which filled up the Corporation.

And thus we are brought to the charter of 1672. The allusions to this instrument are apparently so few that they may well be given practically in full. Previous to 1812 that charter was, so far as I am aware, mentioned in print only twice: by Nathan Prince in a pamphlet written in 1742 and published late in that year or early in 1743, and by Hutchinson in 1764, both of whom will be quoted later.⁶ With a single exception, also to be quoted later,⁷ there appears to be no mention of the charter in the College records until January 27, 1812.

¹ W. Ames, 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 15-16.

² During the time when there were three resident Fellows or Tutors, they were called respectively "Senior" Fellow, "Second" or "Middle" Fellow, and "Third" Fellow. By the charter of 1672, the number of resident Fellows or Tutors was reduced from three to two: see p. 396, below.

³ W. Ames, 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 17.

⁴ I should also be inclined to think that Samuel Danforth could not have been a Fellow early in 1672, were it not for the peculiar way in which he is spoken of in the charter of 1672: see p. 396, below.

⁵ See p. 368, above.

⁶ See pp. 382, 379, below.

⁷ See p. 381, below.

On January 14, 1812, the Legislature ordered the President and Fellows to lay before it "a true copy of the Charter of the College, together with all the Laws, Bye Laws, Rules and Regulations, which have at any time been made or passed and are now in force," etc.¹ On January 27 President Kirkland laid this order before the Corporation, which "took the said request into their respective consideration and voted the following statement."² In that statement occurs this passage:

It ought however to be remembered that after the two ordinances above referred to establishing the Corporation that is to say the Charter of Sixteen hundred and fifty, and the Appendix of Sixteen hundred and fifty seven, the Colonial General Court passed an Ordinance in October Sixteen hundred and seventy two, now in the Records of the Court, providing for a new Charter for the College, with very extensive and important powers, both civil and collegiate; and enacting that the Provisions of that Ordinance *should be Law, any Law, Grant or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding*. — But in fact there remains no evidence that the Corporation ever accepted this Charter, or exercised any of the powers therein granted; and it is not on the records of either the Overseers or Corporation.³

There was then pending a bill for repealing the act of March 6, 1810, reorganizing the Board of Overseers, and on February 18, 1812, the Corporation voted "That the President — the Treasurer,⁴ and M^r Lowell,⁵ be a Committee to defend the rights of the College against any attempt of the Legislature to alter or annul the Constitution of the present Board of Overseers and for this purpose that they be authorized to prepare and present any Memorial that the said Committee may think proper and at such time as they may think best."⁶ On February 24 the committee "appointed to defend the rights of the College &^o presented the following report which being read was accepted. In pursuance of a Vote of the Corporation passed Feb^r 18th — the Committee preferred the following Memorial, which they procured to be printed, and distributed among the members of the General Court."⁷ In this memorial, after alluding to the act of 1642,

¹ College Records, x. 67.

² x. 70.

³ John Lowell (H. C. 1786).

⁷ x. 80.

³ x. 68.

⁴ John Davis (H. C. 1781).

⁵ College Records, x. 80.

reorganizing the Board of Overseers, the charter of 1650, and the appendix to the charter passed in 1657, occur the words, "Your Memorialists conceive, that these are the legislative and public Acts, on which the Foundation and Government of the College rest. The Colonial General Court," etc.,¹ the remainder of the passage being in precisely the same words as in the statement voted by the Corporation on January 27, 1812.

Notwithstanding this memorial, the act of March 6, 1810, was repealed by an act of February 29, 1812, and by a vote of the Corporation on April 15² there was published by the College a 36-page pamphlet entitled "The Constitution of the University at Cambridge, with an Appendix."³ In this are printed the act of 1642, the charter of 1650, the appendix to the charter passed in 1657, the articles of the State Constitution of 1780 relating to the College, and the act of 1810 reorganizing the Board of Overseers, with the acceptances of this last act by the Corporation and by the Overseers (on March 16, April 12, 1810, respectively). The Appendix contains a sketch of what may be called the constitutional history of the College, and in it are printed various documents, among them the charter of 1672. This is preceded and followed by the following statements:

Afterwards the general court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay appear to have intended a new college charter with much larger powers, including a measure of civil jurisdiction; and passed the ordinance of

¹ College Records, x. 83.

² x. 101.

³ The genesis of this pamphlet is as follows. On January 9, 1811, the Corporation voted "That the President & Chief Justice be a Committee to prepare & cause to be printed five hundred copies of the documents, which relate to the foundation & existing powers of the Corporation & Overseers of Harvard College" (College Records, x. 12-13). On April 15, 1812, the Corporation voted "That the Committee (The President and Chief Justice Parsons) appointed to prepare and print the Constitution of the College with the history of the Proceedings under it, be requested to cause to be printed One thousand Copies" (x. 101). Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons (H. C. 1769) was a Fellow from 1806 to 1812. At the bottom of p. 33 of the pamphlet are the words:

The foregoing charters and acts relating to the constitution of Harvard College with the appendix are printed by vote of the corporation.

JOHN T. KIRKLAND, *President.*

Cambridge, April 18, 1812.

1672 — a copy of which here follows. . . . But there is no evidence that the President and Fellows ever accepted this charter, or acted under it. They never assumed the name there designated of President, Fellows, and Treasurer of Harvard College, but acted under the name by which they were originally incorporated.¹

Writing about 1831 Peirce said:

An ordinance was passed by the General Court October 8, 1672, which was intended as a substitute for the existing charter. It altered the name of the Corporation from "President and Fellows" to that of "President, Fellows, and Treasurer of Harvard College"; it modified their powers in some respects, and granted important additional ones, civil and collegiate; but the Corporation do not appear to have accepted this charter; and it is regarded as never having possessed any validity.²

In 1840 Quincy wrote:

In the ensuing October, the General Court passed also a new College charter. By this act the name of the Corporation was changed from "The President and Fellows" to that of "The President, Fellows, and Treasurer." The number of its members was not increased. It was permitted to hold personal property to any amount whatsoever, and real estate to the value of *five hundred pounds* per annum. Ten menial servants of the Corporation were exempted from all civil and military exercises, and the personal estates of the members of the Corporation and their officers, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, were exempted from taxes; and any three of the Corporation, of which the President was to be one, had committed to them full power to fine, sconce, or otherwise correct any officer or member of said Society, according to the laws of the country; and for this purpose, taking a constable, to enter into any house licensed for public entertainment, where

¹ Constitution of the University at Cambridge, pp. 19, 21.

The first edition of the Harvard University Catalogue to contain a section on "The Government of the University" was that for the year 1872-73, where appears (p. 15) a paragraph of twelve lines about the charter of 1672, practically taken from Quincy's History. This paragraph appeared in every succeeding edition of the Catalogue down to and including that for 1882-83; but no edition of the Catalogue issued since that for 1882-83 has contained any allusion to the charter of 1672.

² History of Harvard University (1833), p. 43. In a footnote Peirce refers to "Constitution of the Univ., App. p. 27." In that pamphlet the memorial presented to the Legislature by the Corporation on February 24, 1812, is printed on pp. 25-32.

they should be informed, or have reason to suspect, enormities were plotting or acting by any members of said Society.

Although this charter is entered at large in the journal of the General Court, it does not appear in the records of the seminary; nor is any notice taken of it in those records, nor in the general history of the times. The probability is, that it was the work of President Hoar, and had some connexion with that evanescent influence, which he seemed, in the year 1672, to have acquired among the members of the General Court; and, in consequence of that unpopularity, which immediately followed his entering upon the government of the institution, its authority was never recognised by the Corporation. It is certain, that they never assumed the name given by the act, and there exists no evidence of their having, in a single instance, modified their proceedings according to its provisions.¹

In 1864 Palfrey, speaking of Hoar, said:

The General Court shared, or caught, the enthusiasm of the London ministers. They voted to raise the President's annual allowance from a hundred to a hundred and fifty pounds, "provided Dr. Hoar were the man for a supply of that place now vacant, and that he accepted thereof"; and they offered to the College a new charter (which, however, did not take effect) embracing some extension of its privileges.²

In 1874 Sibley remarked that "At the same time, probably in conformity with Hoar's wishes, the General Court granted to the College a new charter;" and, after quoting the passage in the charter conferring on the Corporation "the full power of sconsing, fineing, or otherwise correcting all inferiour officers and members," etc., declared that "This charter, however, never went into effect."³

Finally, in 1894 our associate Mr. Andrew McF. Davis said:

There were no other incorporations or attempts at incorporation until after the promulgation of the Province Charter, with the exception that in 1672, in President Hoar's day, there is an alleged new charter for the College extended in the Colonial Records. Whether the act passed is not known. No recognition of it appears to have been made by the College. It does not appear in the published laws of the Colony. No stress, however, can be laid upon this omission, inasmuch as the Charter of 1650, as

¹ History of Harvard University, i. 32-33.

² History of New England, iii. 94.

³ Harvard Graduates, i. 234, 235.

I have already stated, is also conspicuous in its absence from the same publications. If this Charter was actually enacted to be a law, it was at best merely a substitute for the Charter of which it was practically an amendment. . . .

The draft of a charter which, in 1672, appears in the Colony Records is so inconsistent with any theory of the needs of the College, and the total omission of reference to it in the records at Cambridge so peculiar, that I have no explanation to offer for it. If it was passed it violates my idea that there was a persistent effort to avoid cumbering the records with needless conflicts with the Crown on law points, although it may of course be said that this act being in effect a mere amendment of an existing charter, its passage would not have been regarded in the same way as the creation of a new corporation would have been.¹

It is at once obvious that all later statements, though in some cases amplified, were based on the statement voted by the Corporation on January 27, 1812. These various statements may be summarized as follows: (1) that the charter of 1672 was intended as a substitute for the charter of 1650; (2) that the charter of 1672 was never accepted by the Corporation; (3) that the charter was never recognized by the Corporation; (4) that the Corporation never assumed the name of President, Fellows, and Treasurer, designated in the charter; (5) that the Corporation never exercised any of the powers granted in the charter; (6) that no notice is taken of the charter in the general history of the times; (7) that the number of the Corporation was not increased by the charter; (8) that the charter is not on the records either of the Corporation or of the Overseers; (9) that no notice is taken of the charter in the College records; and (10) that the charter was without validity.

Before commenting on these points, let us examine Quincy's analysis of the provisions of the charter of 1672.

(a) The Corporation, he said, "was permitted to hold personal property to any amount whatsoever." A similar clause is in the charter of 1650: see page 397, below.

(b) The Corporation, he said, was permitted to hold "real estate to the value of *five hundred pounds* per annum." A similar clause is in the charter of 1650; see page 397, below.

(c) "Ten menial servants of the Corporation," he said, "were

¹ Our Publications, i. 201-202, 204-205.

exempted from all civil and military exercises." A similar clause is in the charter of 1650: see page 400, below. Quincy's statement, however, that all ten servants belonged to the Corporation is not quite accurate. In the charter of 1650 the words are: "the servants and other necessary officers to the said præident or colledge appertajning, not exceeding ten, viz., three to the præident, and seven to the colledge belonging." And in the charter of 1672 the words are: "the said President, ffellowes and Schollars together wth their mæniall servants and other necessary officers (not exceeding the number of Ten)."¹

(d) "The personal estates of the members of the Corporation and their officers," he said, "not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, were exempted from taxes." A similar clause is in the charter of 1650: see page 400, below.

(e) "Any three of the Corporation," said Quincy, "of which the President was to be one, had committed to them full power to fine, sconce, or otherwise correct any officer or member of said Society," etc. There is no similar clause in the charter of 1650. The Court order of September 27, 1642, reorganizing the Board of Overseers, gave that body "full power & authority to make & establish all such ord^s, statutes, & constitutions as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, & furthering of the said colledge & the sev^{all} memb^s thereof from time to time in piety, morality, & learning."² In the earliest code of College laws, "published to ye Scholars" in the years 1642-1646, it was provided that "If any Scholar shall transgresse any of ye Lawes of God or the House out of perversnesse or apparent negligence, after twice admonition hee shall bee liable if not adultus to correction,³ if Adultus his name shall bee given up to ye Overseers of ye Colledge that he may be publikely dealt with after ye desert of his fault but in grosser offences such graduall proceeding shall not be expected"⁴ — thus leaving to the Overseers the mode of punishment. The College laws drawn up on March 28, 1650, specified that for certain offences the scholars "shall bee punished threepence

¹ See p. 400, below.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, ii. 30.

³ By "correction," Sibley (Harvard Graduates, i. 12, 15 note) appears to understand whipping; but that does not seem to be a necessary interpretation of the word.

⁴ College Book i. 43.

but more at the Præsidents discretion if perversnes appear."¹ This is apparently the earliest allusion to fines. On October 14, 1656, the General Court ordered —

that the psident & fellowes of Harvard Colledge, for the time beinge, or the major p̄t of them, are hereby empowred, accordinge to their best discretion, to puñish all misdemenors of the youth in their societie, either by fine or whippinge in the hall, openly, as the nature of the offence shall require, not exceedinge ten shillinges or ten stripes for one offence, & this law to contynue in force vntill this Court, or the oūseers of the colledge, p̄vide some other order to punish such offences.²

This is apparently the earliest specific allusion to whipping. The appendix to the charter of 1650 passed in 1657 ordered that —

the corporation shall haue power from tyme to tyme to make such orders & by lawes for the better ordering & carrying on of the worke of the colledge, as they shall see cause, wthout dependance vpon the consent of y^e ouerseeers foregoiing; provided, alwajes, that the corporation shall be responsible vnto, & those orders & by lawes shallbe alterable by, the ouerseeers according to theirre discretion.³

Thus the clause in the charter of 1672 committing to the Corporation "full power to fine, sconce, or otherwise correct any officer or member of said Society," etc., was merely a reaffirmation of powers granted by the General Court between 1650 and 1672. There is some uncertainty with regard to the word "sconce." As entered in the Court Records, IV. 708, the passage reads: "shall haue the full power of sconcing fineing or otherwise correcting all Inferiour office's or membe's to the sajd Society;" and in the margin are the words: "Their powe' to sconse fine &c." And the word "sconcing" also is found in a draught of the charter.⁴ But in a copy of the charter attested by Edward Rawson, the word is not "sconcing" but "scourging."⁵ If "scourging" is the word intended, then the Corporation was given full power to whip as well as to fine.

¹ College Book i. 50.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 417; iv. i. 278-279. In 1644 two students were whipped by President Dunster himself: see Winthrop, *Journal* (1908), ii. 170.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. i. 315.

⁴ For this draught, see pp. 395-402, below.

⁵ For this copy, see pp. 395-401, below.

Let us now return to the ten points summarized above.

(1) Peirce said that the charter of 1672 was "intended as a substitute for" the charter of 1650. In 1723 the Corporation characterized the charter of 1672 as "for the Perpetuation of the Charter of 1650;"¹ in 1742 Nathan Prince called the charter of 1672 "the most *proper* Appendix to the Charter of 50;"² and in 1894 Mr. Davis said that the charter of 1672 was "in effect a mere amendment of an existing charter" — that is, the charter of 1650.³

(2) "The Corporation," said Peirce, "do not appear to have accepted this charter." But all who were members of the Corporation in December, 1672, owed their existence as such to the charter. See also under (8), (9), and (10), below.

(3) The authority of the charter, said Quincy, "was never recognised by the Corporation." It was recognized by the Corporation in its representation of August 23, 1723: see under (9), below; and cf. under (8) and (10), below.

(4) It may be true that the Corporation, as Quincy said, "never assumed the name given by the act;" but the fact would be difficult to prove, and the point, even if well taken, is of slight importance. At all events, the corporate name appears to have been a matter with regard to which the College officials were for many years decidedly indifferent. Though under the charter of 1650 the corporate name was "President and Fellows of Harvard College," yet apparently that name was never once used in the headings of the Corporation meetings previous to 1708, those meetings being invariably headed (when headed at all) "At a meeting of the Corporation," or words to that effect.⁴ The heading "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College" first occurs, apparently, on January 26, 1708,⁵ and was frequently employed by Leverett,

¹ See p. 381, below.

² See p. 386, below.

³ See p. 375, above.

⁴ So far as I have noted, only two meetings before 1672 had any heading at all: "At the meeting of the Corporation, June 10, 1659" (College Book iii. 36); and "At a Corporation meeting held June 17, 1667" (iii. 28). When, on becoming President, Hoar made the entry "Acts of y^e Corporation since y^e 10th Decem^{br} 1672," and continued to use the word Corporation, he was following what little precedent there was.

⁵ Though the words "President and Fellows of Harvard College" are not found in the heading of any meeting before 1708, yet on November 25, 1685,

though he also often used the words "At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College." Wadsworth followed Leverett's practice of using either form of words, while Holyoke almost invariably wrote "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College."¹

(5) "There exists no evidence," said Quincy, speaking of the Corporation, "of their having, in a single instance, modified their proceedings according to its provisions." It is difficult to see wherein the charter of 1672, so closely did it resemble the charter of 1650, required a modification of the Corporation's proceedings.

(6) "Nor is any notice taken of" the charter, said Quincy, "in the general history of the times." Even if this statement were strictly accurate, it would amount to little, since there were so few who wrote on "the general history of the times." But as a matter of fact, as already pointed out, the charter was mentioned in two books printed before the Revolution. The extract from Nathan Prince will be given presently.² "The college at Cambridge," wrote Hutchinson in 1764, "became more and more an object of attention, and in the year 1650 was made a body corporate, by act of the general court, and received a charter under the seal of the colony." And in a footnote he added: "Under this charter the college was governed until the year 1685, when the colony charter was vacated; saving that in 1673, by an order of the general court, some addition was made to the number of the corporation."³

(7) Quincy's statement that "the number of its members was not increased" is true — that is, the Corporation still consisted of seven persons: a President, a Treasurer, and five Fellows. What Hutchinson meant when he said that "some addition was made to the number of the corporation," was not that the total number of the Corporation was made more than seven by the charter, but merely that the "It was then agreed by the President & fellows," etc. (College Book i. 95), and on April 25, 1686, it was "Ordered by y^e president & Fellows," etc. (iii. 96).

¹ It need scarcely be pointed out that very often the words "President and Fellows of Harvard College" meant not the corporate name but the particular persons who were holding the positions of President and Fellows at the time.

² See pp. 386-387, below.

³ History of Massachusetts, i. 171. Hutchinson's dates are a trifle inaccurate. The Colony charter was vacated in 1684, but the College continued to be governed under the College charter of 1650 until July 23, 1686. The date 1673 should of course be 1672.

charter filled the vacancies that had occurred and brought the number of the Corporation up to its full complement of seven.

(8) Admitting that "this charter is entered at large in the journal of the General Court," Quincy yet asserted that "it does not appear in the records of the seminary." If by "records" Quincy meant, as is probable, those of the Corporation or of the Overseers, the statement is correct. But neither was the appendix to the charter of 1650 passed in 1657 entered in the Corporation Records (though it may have been entered in the Overseers' Records¹), yet no historian of the College has ventured to assail its validity. But if by "records" Quincy meant what are now commonly called the College archives, then the statement is inaccurate and is of interest as tending to show that many documents now in those archives were either not in the possession of the College in 1840 or were then overlooked. For to-day there are in the College archives no fewer than five copies of the charter of 1672. These will be described later.²

(9) "Nor is any notice," said Quincy, "taken of it in those records," — that is, the College records, presumably meaning the records of the Corporation or of the Overseers. During the years 1721–1723 occurred the noted controversy in regard to the claim of Nicholas Sever and William Welsteed, then Tutors, to seats at the board of Corporation. The culmination came at a meeting before Lieutenant-Governor Dummer and the Council on August 23, 1723, which is described by President Leverett in his Diary. From this it appears that the Rev. Benjamin Colman, a Fellow, —

read in his Place the Representation of the Corporation, and laid it down upon the Board. After which M^r Sever read a long argum^t for

¹ See p. 386 note 2, below. On November 15, 1856, a committee consisting of President Walker, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, and Charles G. Loring made a report to the Corporation in which, referring to the appendix passed in 1657, they said: "it is never mentioned, as they believe, in any subsequent record [i. e., record subsequent to 1657] of the doings of either Board, nor in any of the legislative enactments concerning the College, excepting in one instance of a reference to it by the Corporation, in a vote of July 20, 1722, relating to an order or by-law, and in one by the Overseers in December, 1778, relating to appointments" (Report on the Rights and Duties of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in relation to the Board of Overseers, 1856, pp. 29–30). The appendix is twice mentioned in the Corporation Records: once on July 30 (not 20, as misprinted in the Report), 1722; and again on August 23, 1723: see College Book iv. 79, 89.

² See pp. 388–389, below.

the Support of the Petition he with M^r Welsted had prefer'd to the Court, and laid it upon the board. The Presid^t and all the Members of the Corporation Except M^r Flynt¹ and M^r Treasurer² in their turns Speak and offer'd their Answers and remarks upon the argum^{ts} and records offer'd by M^r Sever, and then the Corporation . . . Agreed, That The Representation to be Entred in the College Book of Records, and it is accordingly Entred, fol.³

In the representation so entered in College Book IV. 87-92, occur these words:

That the Charter of y^e College was never Interpreted or understood, that we know of, by our Worthy Predecess^{rs} in the State or in the Church, to mean—That the Tut^{rs} & Instruct^{rs} in y^e College must necessarily be Fellows of the Corporacon. None of o^r Geñ^l Courts, or Boards of Overseers have so Iudged, that we can hear of. The Charter of 1672 requires no Such thing, nor seems at all to look that way; w^{ch} Act is for the Perpetuation of the Charter of 1650.⁴

The argument of Sever, not entered in the College records, and of which there is apparently no copy in the College archives, has since Quincy's day come to light, and contains the following passages:

And I would observe that in the year 1650 the College was first founded upon a charter, which it subsisted upon for twenty-two years, till 1672; that in that year there was an additional grant of charter, and the College subsisted upon them both for twelve years longer, till 1684; and about that time the old country charter was vacated, and the College charter was supposed to fall of course with it. . . . And this (with submission) is the common method in the University, and the only regular and effectual method that can be taken for the service of a college in its advanced state. And this method has already been taken in this Collège. Witness the charter of 1672, which made out some further powers for the College than it did possess by the charter of 1650.⁵

¹ Henry Flynt (H. C. 1693).

² Edward Hutchinson (*d.* 1752).

³ Leverett's Diary, p. 262. Leverett's omission to give the number of the folio was supplied by Quincy, who has here written in ink "v. iv. P. 86" — that is, College Book iv. 86.

⁴ College Book iv. 89-90. This representation is printed in full by Quincy in his History, i. 546-556, the extract quoted in the text appearing on p. 551. Thus when Quincy stated that "nor is any notice taken of it in those records," he overlooked a document printed by himself.

⁵ 1 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, xvi. 54, 61.

Though the only reference to the charter of 1672 in College Books I, III, and IV is in the extract dated August 23, 1723, quoted above, yet there are in the College archives several documents in which that charter is alluded to.¹

(10) Though Peirce and Quincy admitted, the former that the charter of 1672 "was passed by the General Court" and the latter that it "is entered at large in the journal of the General Court," yet Peirce declared that it "is regarded as never having possessed any validity," while Quincy asserted that "its authority was never recognised by the Corporation;" and even Mr. Davis writes "*if* it was passed," implying that there may be some doubt on that point. In no other instance, so far as I am aware, has the validity of a law entered in the Court Records been questioned. Nor, in the present instance, will the contention that the charter of 1672 was invalid for a moment bear examination. The extracts already given or referred to under (8) and (9) prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that the charter was passed, that it was accepted by the College, and that it was recognized by the Corporation. But there is other proof of the validity of the charter. This is to be found partly in a pamphlet written by Prince in 1742, and partly in documents some of which are in the College archives and others in the Massachusetts Archives.

Prince's pamphlet is both interesting in itself and important as being the only extended account of the government of the College printed before 1812.² The circumstances under which it was written were so peculiar that they may be briefly given. Graduating in 1718, Nathan Prince was chosen a Tutor on February 25, 1723,³ and was elected a Fellow on December 30, 1728,⁴ retaining that position until 1742, when, "on Account of Sundry Crimes & Misdemean^{rs} whereof He was Convicted before" the Overseers, he was on February 18 removed by the Overseers.⁵ The Corporation on April 5 committed

¹ There are many documents (most of which appear to be in the hand of Sever) in the College archives (Harvard College Papers, i; Supplement, i) relating to this controversy, in several of which there are allusions to the charter of 1672 (Harvard College Papers, i, 88, 117, 119, 125). A careful examination of these documents would doubtless yield many other references to that charter.

² Quincy devotes nearly a page to the pamphlet (History, ii, 34-35), but makes no mention of Prince's discussion of the charter of 1672.

³ College Book iv, 84.

⁴ iv, 135. ✓

⁵ iv, 238.

Prince's pupils to Henry Flynt; on April 27 acquiesced in the action of the Overseers, electing Joseph Mayhew a Fellow and Belcher Hancock a Tutor in place of Prince; on May 10 and June 7 assigned Prince's chamber to Hancock; on June 7 ordered Prince to "remove out of the Chamber He now Possesses" on or before June 23; and on June 24 warned Prince, who still refused to budge, to remove by June 30 on pain of having his doors broken open and his goods removed. Finally, the vote of June 24 was executed on July 2 "by the President Tut^m & Professors all together & Mr Prince's goods carried over to Henry Prentice's, where a room was hired to receive them, upon the College Acc^o at five shillings p Week."¹ Smarting under these indignities and holding that, as a member of the Corporation, he could legally be dismissed only by the Corporation itself, Prince was naturally incensed and wrote "The Constitution and Government of Harvard-College."² "The subsequent Collection of

¹ College Book iv. 237, 238-239, 239, 241, 242, 243. The following document is in Harvard College Papers, i. 171:

This may Certify whom it may concern, That I the Subscriber have, (upon the Account of Harvard College) hired a Chamber of Henry Prentice of Cambridge in the County of Middlesex in New-England Cooper, at the rate of three pounds five shillings p^{p} the Quarter of a Year, in Order to put therein the Goods, of Mr Nathan Prince, late a Fellow of Harvard College affors^d, & hereby I promise, that I will indemnify, the s^d Henry Prentice, from any Loss or Damage to Him on Account of the Premises, as Witness my hand

Sign'd in Presence of Us

BELCHER HANCOCK

THO^s MARSH

EDW^d HOLYOKE

Copy

This document is in the hand of President Holyoke, who has written on the back: "Copy of my Note to Henry Prentice to pay for his Chamber." It is endorsed in a different hand: "Holyokes indemnification against Nathan Prince about 1740." The note was of course written in 1742.

² Prince had evidently begun writing his pamphlet long before his chamber was broken into. As the pamphlet presents some curiosities, bibliographical and otherwise, and has apparently never been described, an account of it will be pertinent. Neither date, nor place of publication, nor author's name, nor publisher's name appears on the title-page. It is assigned to 1743 by Sabin, but to 1742 by Evans. The following advertisement was printed in the Boston News Letter of January 13, 1743:

JUST published, a Piece entitled "*The Constitution and Government of Harvard College.*" Wherein its CHARTER and all the *Laws* that constitute the Government of that College are laid together and compared; and the several Powers belonging to the *Corporation* and *Overseers* of said College are

Laws," he begins, "which founded the Government of *Harvard-College*, was made on a late extraordinary Case, wherein the Overseers considered; and what Powers over it *still* remain in the *General Court*. And from the whole 'tis argued that the *Court* alone are the *Visitors* of that College. A work useful to all Persons related to that Society, and in particular to those whose *Children* are Educated in it. To be sold by *Rogers and Fowle* at their Printing House, and by *J. Blanchard* Bookseller at the Head of the Town-Dock *Boston*; & by Deacon *Samuel Whittemore* Shopkeeper in *Cambridge* (p. 2/2).

Two editions were published, one containing 28 pages and a later edition containing 44 pages. The title-page and the first twenty-four pages are identical in both editions, even to misprints. The title-page, which has an ornamental line above it and below it, the whole being in the middle of the page (thus more like a half-title than an ordinary title-page), reads as follows:

THE
Constitution and Government
OF
Harvard-College.

As already stated the first twenty-four pages are identical in both editions. All of the text on p. 25 of the first edition also appears on p. 25 of the second edition. But two footnotes on p. 25 of the first edition are omitted in the second edition; and their place is taken by four lines of text which are not in the first edition. Prince had evidently written to the end of p. 25 when his chamber was broken into. The two footnotes on that page are somewhat wild in tone, and the text on p. 26 is still wilder. It reads as follows:

The Writer of this Paper was going on to exhibit to View the Management of the College-Stock from *Age* to *Age* --- And how it was *scarce* looked into [here the word *but* is interlined in Prince's hand] once or twice *in* an *Age!* . . . And thereon the Writer of this Paper proposed to give Instances of some general and *perpetual* Grievances, and particularly the enormous Grievance of abusing Gentlemen's SONS in the *Arbitrary* fixing them below their *Just* Place in College-Classes, --- *There* to stand degraded (*for ever!*) in the publick Catalogues. . . . But while the Writer of this Paper (who is *absolutely* RESOLVED to set his Name to it, and at the End to stile himself *Nathan Prince*) was *Demonstrating* how the College Constitution provided *Such* Remedy --- He received a *College-Vote*, as he *Thinks*, (though by the very Words of the Vote it self it can be no College Vote *at all!*) whereby "The President, Tutors and Professors [Poor Professors †! "settled by Vote *below* Tutors!] were empowered and directed to break open or "cause to be broken open the Doors of his Chamber and Studies, and to remove "out of them the said *Prince's* Goods." And so to SEIZE all his *Books* and *Plate* and *Papers* to their OWN Use and Behoof (for ought any Thing he knew by *This* Vote!) ---- He *Flung* his Pen aside ---- and cared not what became of such an INGRATEFUL Society --- *Till* it was RESTORED to a Better Government ---- Nor of all the &c. &c. **** Tr --- ! D --- ! H --- ! C --- ! A --- ! C --- ! F --- ! D --- ! G --- ! B --- ! C --- ! --- Se! ---- AMEN. But KAI *and again and again.* ---- all in DUE Time.

† Dr. W. is degraded below 2 Ms. and an H. "What are Things coming to!

of said College assumed to themselves a SOVEREIGN Power over that College, and the SOLE Right to judge and censure and *dismiss* the

This extraordinary outburst, coming at the end of twenty-five pages of perfectly rational argument, would be inexplicable but for some words written at the bottom of p. 25 in a copy of the pamphlet in the Boston Public Library. There the Rev. Thomas Prince has written: "My Dear Brother's Hardships growing upon Him; He begins to grow Disordered in his Brain, & continues so for a week or two." The initials at the end of the outburst stand, I suppose, for various Overseers or members of the Corporation or Tutors.

"Dr. W." is Edward Wigglesworth; "2 Ms. and an H." are Joseph Mayhew, Thomas Marsh, and Belcher Hancock.

The text of the first edition ends on p. 26 with the passage quoted above. There is, however, a second footnote on that page, which ends about the middle of p. 27. The signatures of this first edition are B, C, D, E, F, G.

Upon his recovery, Nathan Prince completed his pamphlet in a second edition of 44 pages. The above passage is omitted and the text ends on p. 43 as follows:

As to any *indecent* Reflections in this Piece, which might be occasioned by the *Unexampl'd* Treatment he has lately met with, he would only say, that "He has not the *Inhumanity* to wish the most malicious of his UNREASONABLE Enemies to change Circumstances with him, and then be put upon the Trial to write a Piece on this Subject with *fewer* Reflections in it. But with *These* and all *Other* Defects in the Piece itself, it may still be of publick Service to *Harvard College*, whose Treasury! Whose Constitution! Whose very BEING! it so *nearly* concerns. He therefore offers it to the serious Perusal of ALL the true Friends to that Society; and subscribes himself

Nathan Prince."

Then follows a list of Errata, also on p. 43. The signatures of the second edition are B, C, D, E, F, F, H, I, K, L. On p. 26 is an allusion to "this *present* Day July 7. 1742."

An advertisement inserted by Prince in the Boston papers in March and April, 1743, is here given because it shows that, many months after his ejection from his chamber, he still called himself a Fellow:

THESE may inform the Public, that *Nathan Prince*, Fellow of Harvard College proposes, on suitable Encouragement, to open a School in this Town for the instructing young Gentlemen in the most useful Parts of the *Mathematicks*, *Natural Philosophy* and *History*. Particularly in the Elements of GEOMETRY and ALGEBRA; in TRIGONOMETRY and NAVIGATION; in GEOGRAPHY and ASTRONOMY; with the *Use of the Globes* and the several Kinds of *Projecting the Sphere*: In the Arts of SURVEYING, GAUGING and DIALING; and in the General Rules of FORTIFICATION and GUNNERY. To these will be added, LECTURES on *History* and *natural Philosophy*.

The Terms, on which the said *Nathan Prince* would engage to instruct young Gentlemen in the above-mentioned Arts and Sciences, may be seen at his Lodgings at the House of *Seth Cushing* in Exchange Lane, *Boston* (Boston News Letter, March 3, p. 2/2, March 10, p. 2/2; Boston Evening Post, March 14, Supplement, p. 1/1, March 21, p. 2/2, March 28, p. 2/2, April 4, Supplement, p. 2/2).

PRESIDENT or ANY Member of the Corporation of said College, without the *Consent* or any *Act* of that Corporation for the same.”¹ After quoting the act of 1642 reorganizing the Board of Overseers, the College charter of 1650, and the appendix to the charter passed in 1657, Prince goes on to say:

This APPENDIX, or the greater Part of it, seems to be NULLED by a succeeding Law of the Colony (called the College Charter of 1672) which ends with this Sanction of the Court. “*All and every of which Premises we do ordain and enact to be FULLY established for LAW; any Law, GRANT, or Usage to the CONTRARY, in any wise notwithstanding.*” Now the greater Part of said Appendix is *contrary* to this posterioir Law of 72. And indeed this latter Law is the most *proper* Appendix to the Charter of 50; for in express Terms ’tis grounded on said Charter as on its Foundation; nor does it alter any Thing in that Charter but in some few Cases. So there is no Occasion to insert it here, *Reference being had thereto in the Court Records.* The greatest Alteration it makes in said Charter of 50 is that in some Things it gives *more* Power to the Corporation of said College, and *less* to the Overseers, than the Charter of 50 does. Which may be one Reason why this Law of 72 was not entered in *due* Form into some College Records, as the said Appendix of 50 has been.² . . .

The four preceeding Laws of 42, 50, 57, 72, were all the standing Laws, on which the Government of said College was founded, in old Charter Times. . . .

After the vacating the old Colony Charter of the Massachusetts in 1684, there were some new Laws or College-Charters made by the general Court of this Province. But these Laws (as all others made under our present Province-Charter) were of Course to be sent Home for the Royal Approbation; And they all were sent Home accordingly, and have been disallowed. So that no Laws whatever remain, but the four preceeding Laws of 42, 50, 57 and 72, as the Foundation on which

It is well known that soon after this Nathan Prince went to England to receive Anglican orders, became an Episcopal missionary, and died July 25, 1748: cf. our Publications, xviii. 335 note 1, xix. 332 note 3.

¹ Constitution and Government of Harvard College, p. 3.

² The College charter of 1650 was twice entered “in due Form” — once in College Book i. 59–60, and again in College Book iii. 12–14, both of which are noted in Wadsworth’s Index. The appendix to the charter of 1650 passed in 1657 was not entered in College Books i, iii, or iv, and is not noted in Wadsworth’s index. If Prince’s statement is correct, and there is no reason for thinking that he was mistaken, the appendix was probably entered in College Book ii, which was destroyed by fire in 1764.

the Government of the said College now stands. And *all* or *some* of these Laws are valid to this Day on the following Grounds. 1. These Laws were made in old Charter Times, when it was not *requisite* to send them Home for Approbation; and so they never were disapproved at Home. 2. As they never were disapproved at Home, so they never were repealed by the General Court who made them; Only so far as the succeeding do interfere with, supersede or repeal the Preceeding, or any Clauses in the Preceeding, and in such a Case the succeeding take Place; and particularly the Charter of 50, and the last of these Laws made in the Year 1672 which is properly an APPENDIX to the said Charter of 50. And 3. What of those Laws remained valid, in old Charter Times, was virtually and implicitly confirm'd by a Clause in our present Province-Charter and by a declarative Order of the General Court in 1707 respecting the College Charter of 50; BOTH of which here follow as the *last* Regulation made of the Constitution and Government of said College. . . .

2. It appears in particular that the Overseers and Corporation of said College owe their Being and all the standing Powers They now have, or ever had over the said College, To Four Laws of the General Court which were made in the Year 1642, 1650, 1657 and 1672. The *First* of which Laws originally constituted Overseers of said College; The *Second* incorporated the said College, and is called the Charter of 50; The *Third* is called an Appendix to said Charter; And the *Fourth* confirmed, added to or altered, some or *all* of these preceeding Laws. So that no Powers can now belong to the Overseers and Corporation of said College but those Powers which the Court granted to them in some or all of these four Laws. 3. That in the two latter Laws of 57 and 72, the Court gave to the Overseers of College no ¹ *New* Powers of any Importance over the said Corporation; And so there is no Occasion to consider any of these four Laws, but the two *First*, in order to determine whether the Overseers of said College have an *Independent* and Sovereign Power over the said Corporation.²

¹ Most of the copies of Prince's pamphlet I have seen have corrections in ink in his own hand. In several such copies, after the word "no" is a caret and in the margin are the words "Independent or."

² Constitution and Government, pp. 8, 9, 13, 15. In Harvard College Papers i. 88, is a document thus described by Mr. Brown in his Calendar (see p. 392 note 1, below) of those Papers:

"A series of statements, extracts, &c., from various proposed charters, & concerning the government of the college, apparently set down with a view to a forensic use of them. The purpose of the whole is not clear.

Prince had been a Tutor for six months before the controversy over Sever and Welsteed was finally decided in August, 1723, and consequently was thoroughly conversant with all the details of that dispute; for fourteen years he was himself a member of the Corporation; and had there been the slightest doubt as to the validity of the charter in the mind of any College official at that period, Prince certainly would have recorded it. But apart from Prince's failure to record such a doubt, the documents already alluded to furnish irrefragable proof that the charter was regarded as valid by the officials of the Colony when the charter was passed, by the officials of the Province when the Sever-Welsteed controversy was raging, and by the officials of the College during the same period. These documents consist of no less than ten copies of the charter: five now in the College archives, three now in the Massachusetts Archives, and two which formerly must have existed but are not now known to be extant. For the sake of convenience these will be lettered from (A) to (J).

(A) This copy, in the College archives, is in an unknown but contemporary hand and is preceded and followed by these entries, both in the hand of Edward Rawson, who was Secretary of the Colony in 1672: "At A Generall Court held at Boston, the 8th of octob^{er} 1672. . . . That this is A true Copie taken out of the Courts Records. Attests. Edward Rawson Secre^{ry}." ¹

(B) This copy was entered in his Diary by President Leverett. The copy begins, "At the Second Sessions of the Gen^l Court for Elections held at Boston 8th of Octob^r 1672 On their Adjournment;" and at the end Leverett has written: "This is Transcribed here from A True Copy as of Record. Attested ꝑ J Willard Sec^r Vid. Countrey Records p. 707." ² Leverett's Diary, which is really a book of College records and was sometimes referred to by President Wadsworth as "College Book V in Quarto," was given to the College in 1797 ³ and

"Note. — My conjecture is that the paper was used by one of the controversialists about 1721, on the question of admitting Tutors to the corporation."

This document is in the hand of Nathan Prince, a fact which escaped Mr. Brown, and without doubt it was compiled while Prince was preparing his pamphlet in 1742.

¹ Harvard College Papers, Supplement, i. 16.

² Leverett's Diary, pp. 265-262.

³ In 1912 I wrote: "In addition to this 'College Book V in Folio' [Treasurer



Whereas by thing ad hand of God, Her Majesty Anne, and we are
 joined a society in Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, called by the
 name of Harvard-Colledge; and that by an instrument or Charter,
 under the thirty first day of May in the year one thousand six hundred
 and fifty, the President and Fellows thereof were established to be one
 body, represents by the authority of this Court, and whereas several gifts
 and Donations have being made and are still making, by many well beloved
 Kings, inhabitants of this County, as also strangers, for the maintenance
 of the said Governour and Governour. thereof, and for all the accommodations of
 the scholars therein books, buildings, lectures, scholarships and all
 other necessary and fitting provisions; that may conduce to the education of
 English and Indians youth there residing, in all good literature and good
 Arts for the propagation, and further advancement, of the said
 for the better encouragement of all persons, being conceived, or to be con-
 ceived; that under and, made by this Court, and the authority thereof
 that the said, and of others, of the said Colledge, or the Fellows thereof,
 when there is no President established, and their successors by the name
 and under Governour thereof, and shall in name and fact, for ever here-
 after, be our body, possessions, and revenues, in Law to all intents and purposes,
 and shall have full power of petition, having power and authority

Review shall have the power, of constituting, and again at their pleasure
annulling all inferior Officers to the said Society, appointing, and all
the said and immediate Government of every member of the said Society,
according to such Orders and laws as they or shall be established by
the said Corporation, the Governor of the Colony or not, notwithstanding
the said Laws upon matters of them given to them, at their next
meeting. And also the said Corporation and their Successors may
purchase and acquire unto themselves, or take and receive upon fee
of any Land, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, rents, goods, moneys
or other movables whatsoever or from whomsoever, the same to be
selling thereof the will of the Governor, or any member thereof. And
we and he who of the said Colony, or any member thereof, shall
that the President may use upon a notice, making of the said cor-
poration for detaching any of the officers of the said Colony, in all which cases
the resolution shall be made by the majority of the present, The Governor
having a casting vote. And that the said Corporation, with their
distinct Treasure (if any such be chosen) by the name of the Governor
Officers and Treasurers of Harvard-College may sue and plead or
be sued or impleaded in all Courts and places of Administration Justice
here within this Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts-Colony.

Draft of the Harvard College Charter of 1672

Engraved for the first time by the Society of Massachusetts from
the original on this Massachusetts History



was well known to Quincy;¹ hence it is singular that the copy of the charter entered by Leverett should have been overlooked by all the College historians.

(C) This copy, in the College archives, is wholly in the hand of Benjamin Wadsworth, then a member of the Corporation. It begins, "At the second sessions of y^e General Court for Elections, held at Boston 8th of oct. 1672. on their Adjournment;" and at the end Wadsworth has written: "Apr. 15. 1722. I transcrib'd y^e above Instrument or Law, from a writing I borrow'd of y^e Rev^{ad} President Leverett, wch writing was thus subscrib'd, viz. *a true Copy as of Record*, P^r J. Willard Secretary. Page. 707." ²

(D) This copy, in the College archives, is in an unknown and modern hand and has written at the end: "Page 707. J Willard Sec'y," though these words are not in Willard's hand.³

(E) This copy, in the College archives, is in an unknown hand and has at the end: "A true Copy as of Record P^r J Willard Secr'" (though these words are not in the hand of Willard); and is endorsed, "Act of 1672 Coll. charter, in. 1672," the words "Act of 1672" being in the same hand as that of the copy, and the words "Coll. charter, in. 1672" being in the hand of Wadsworth.⁴

(F) This copy is in the Court Records, IV. 707-709, where it was entered by Rawson himself.⁵

(G) This copy, made by Rawson, is hypothetical since it is not known to be extant; but that such a copy must once have existed seems pretty certain from what is said under (I), below.

(H) This copy, made by Josiah Willard (who was Secretary of the Province from 1717 to 1756), is not known to be extant: but that it

Brattle's Account Book, 1693-1713], there was also at one time a volume known as 'College Book V in Quarto,' as appears from various references to it by Wadsworth in the marginal entries in the Corporation Records. This volume was either burned in the fire of 1764, or has disappeared, or cannot now be identified" (our Publications, xiv. 314 note 1). I have since identified the volume as President Leverett's Diary (cf. id. xiv. 316).

¹ Quincy prints extracts from it in his History, i. 291, 292, 295, 520, 522, 546. Cf. p. 388 note 3, above.

² Harvard College Papers, Supplement, i. 17.

³ Harvard College Papers, Supplement, i. 18.

⁴ Harvard College Papers, i. 20. Possibly this copy is in the hand of Sever.

⁵ This is of course the copy printed in Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. ii. 535-537.

once existed is proved by what is said under (B-E) above, and under (I) below.

(I) This copy, in the Massachusetts Archives, LVIII. 86-87, is wholly in the hand of Nathan Prince, and presumably was made by him either in 1723 (when the Sever-Welsteed controversy was at its height) or in 1742 (when Prince was writing his pamphlet). In making this copy, Prince used (F), (G), and (H), for he has collated all three. In the margin he notes certain variations and generally labels these "W." (H), though one is labelled "Rec."-(F), and several are not labelled at all. Prince's copy (I) begins:

At the Second Sessions of the General Court for Elections held at Boston Oct. 8. 1672. on their Adjournment. J.W.

At a General Court held at Boston Oct. 8th 1672. E.R. [p. 550.

The second heading appears to indicate that Rawson's copy (G) was entered on page 550 of some volume, though what that volume was is not known as it apparently no longer exists.¹ Prince's copy (I) ends:

That This is a true Copy taken out of the Court Records, Attests
Edward Rawson Secretary

A True copy as of Record ꝑ J. Willard Secretary Pag. 707²

(J) This, in the Massachusetts Archives, LVIII. 82-85, is not a copy of the completed instrument, but is a draught of the charter. For that reason it has particular value. It is written, in an unknown hand, on a folio sheet, the main portion of the charter filling the first and second pages. In this, however, there are notable omissions, and these are supplied on the third and fourth pages. Thus, the members of the Corporation are not named on the first page, but their names are given on the fourth page. There are throughout various inter-

¹ It may have been one of those destroyed when the Town House was burned in 1747: cf. our Publications, vol. ii. pp. xviii-xix. On the other hand, the hypothetical copy (G) may never have existed, and Prince may have used for collation the Rawson copy (A) now in the College archives. But if that was the case, it is impossible to explain the reference to "p. 550." Besides, copy (A) contains the word "seconsing," while Rawson's copy (G) evidently had "scourging:" see p. 398 note 3, below.

² Prince's copy (I) is endorsed, apparently in a different hand, "Votes about College Oct^r 1672."

lineations, some of which appear to be in a hand different from that in which the main portion of the charter is written. It is possible that these interlineations were made by Hoar. An entry on the third page reads: "Meñ whatever materiall passage is newly inserted is lined underneath." Probably this and three other entries on the same page were also written by Hoar.¹ The memorandum appears to show one of two things: either that, in drawing up the draught, the charter of 1650 was used as a basis and certain passages not in that charter were underscored to show exactly what was "newly inserted;" or else that the present document is a revised draught, the underlined passages not being in the original draught. Not all the passages "newly inserted" were accepted by the General Court, for a good many words have been crossed out. On an attached slip of paper (numbered 84a in Volume LVIII in the Massachusetts Archives), Rawson has given the names of all the members of the Corporation except those of Joseph Browne and John Richardson, the two Tutors; and it also bears the entry, "21^o 1672 past E R S" — thus giving us the exact date (October 21, 1672), not hitherto known, of the passing of the charter.

In view of the evidence presented in the present paper, it may be wondered how the historians of the College could have gone so far astray about the charter of 1672. Perhaps the following explanation will account for this. As already pointed out, the historians have all relied on the statement adopted by the Corporation on January 27, 1812, and on the pamphlet published three months later. College Books I, III, and IV, as printed in Volumes XV–XVI of our Publications, will fill 864 pages. It is not surprising that a single allusion to the charter in such an extensive amount of material should have eluded the committees which drew up that statement and prepared that pamphlet. As for the numerous copies of the charter here described, it cannot be said with certainty that more than one of them was in the possession of the College in 1812. That was the one

¹ Apparently not many specimens of Hoar's handwriting have been preserved. A letter of his (printed in 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 100-108) dated March 27, 1661, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Another, dated January 7, 1675, is reproduced in facsimile in Hill's History of the Old South Church, i. 184. Entries from 1672 to 1674 on pp. 75-78 of College Book i are in his hand. The most characteristic feature of his writing is the letter "l," which is made with an odd twist in the downward stroke.

entered by Leverett in his Diary. This is a small volume, not one of the regular books of College records, and 262 pages must be turned over before the charter can be found. The members of the 1812 committees, even if they knew of the existence of the Diary, might well be excused for thinking that it could contain nothing to their purpose. Nor would it, had it not been for the Sever-Welsteed controversy, for no doubt it was solely on that account that Leverett copied into his Diary the charter of 1650, the appendix to the charter passed in 1657, and the charter of 1672. As for the four other copies of the charter of 1672 now in the College archives, one (E) was certainly there in 1852, but how long it had then been in the possession of the College cannot be determined.¹ The remaining three copies — (A), (C), and (D) — were apparently acquired by the College after 1852.²

¹ Copy (E) is in Harvard College Papers, i. 20. How the volumes so called came to be collected is explained at the beginning of the first volume:

*At a Special Meeting of the President and Fellows of
Harvard College, February 6th 1850.*

“Voted, That the President cause to be examined and arranged all the manuscript papers relating to the College, . . . and procure such as are worthy of preservation to be substantially bound.”

Harvard College, October, 1852.

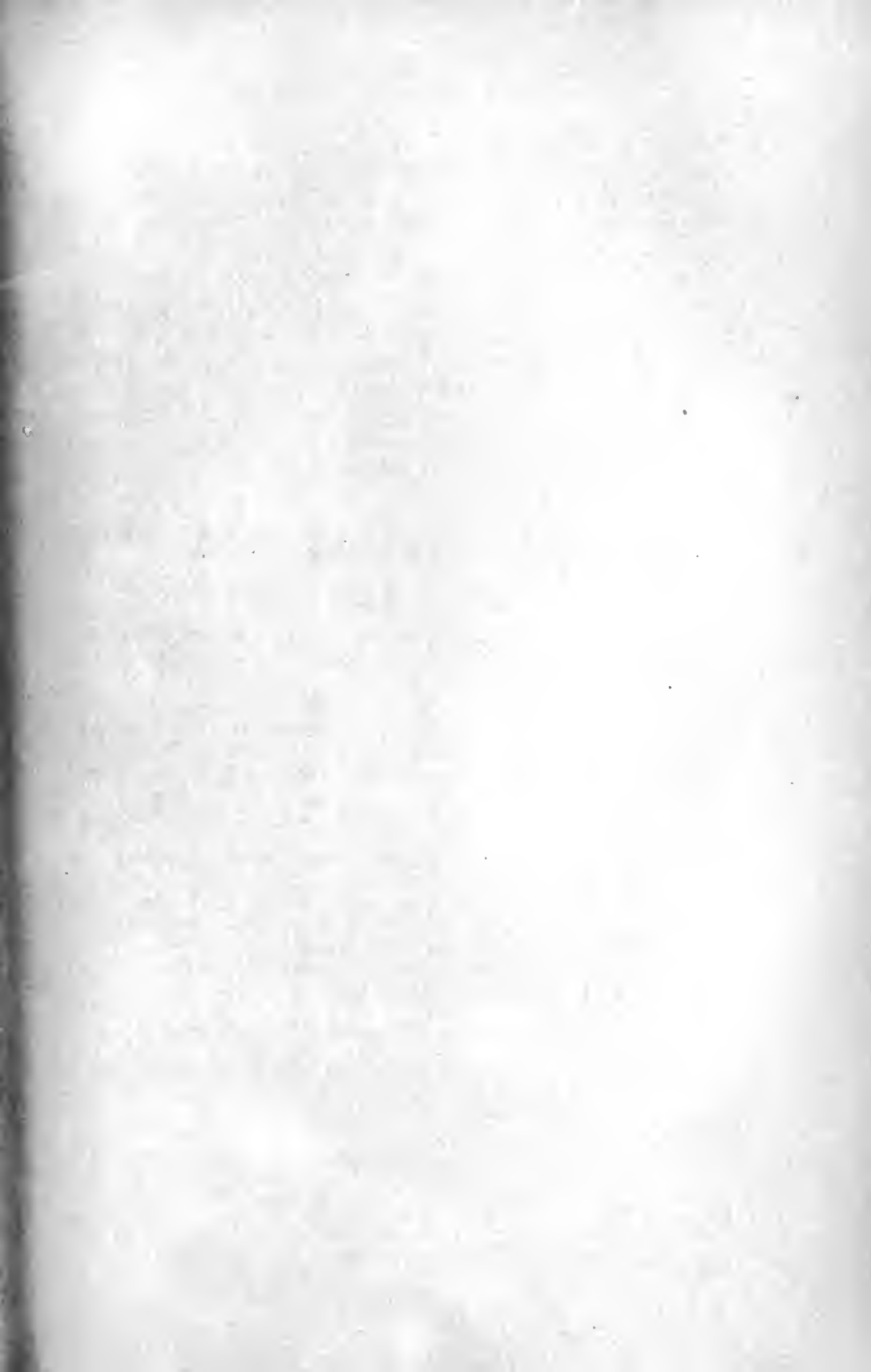
In compliance with the above order, a thorough inquiry and examination have been made. All the papers that could be found relating to the history and general affairs of the College have been collected, arranged, & bound in the following volumes.

JARED SPARKS,
Presd^t

The papers then arranged were bound in eleven volumes. Over forty years later other documents were arranged, called Supplements to vols. i-vii, and bound in four volumes. (The book-plate pasted into vol. i says that that volume was received March 4, 1893.) The late William G. Brown compiled in one volume, presumably while he was Deputy Keeper of the University Archives from 1896 to 1901, a Calendar to both series, adding notes. These notes are valuable, but Mr. Brown occasionally went astray in assigning dates to undated documents.

² Copies (A), (C), and (D) are in Harvard College Papers, Supplement, i. 16, 17, 18.

It is of course well known that certain important books of College records (among them Treasurer Richards's Account Book, 1669-1693; Treasurer Brattle's Account Book, 1693-1713; and Treasurer Hutchinson's Account Book, 1721-1752) were carried off by John Hancock while he was Treasurer (1773-1777) and were not restored to the College until about 1862: cf. 1 Massachusetts





Finally, a word as to the purpose of the charter of 1672. Mr. Davis thinks that it is "inconsistent with any theory of the needs of the College." It seems to me that the historians, in considering this charter, have had in mind too much the nineteenth century and too little the seventeenth century. The unquestionable right of the Corporation, under the charter of 1650, to elect a new President is now so well established that it is taken as a matter of course; yet that right was not established until the election of Leverett in 1707. Not only was Dunster's successor not elected by the Corporation, but apparently the Corporation was not even consulted in the matter. In the numerous charters either actually passed or proposed between 1692 and 1700, in every case the members of the Corporation were appointed by the General Court. And when the election of Leverett was consented to by the General Court and the College was once more placed on the charter of 1650, the number of the Corporation, which under the proposed charter of 1700 consisted of a President, a Vice President, and fifteen Fellows, was reduced to the seven called for in the charter of 1650 by Governor Dudley himself.

The situation with which Hoar found himself confronted on his arrival in July, 1672, was a difficult one. The College had sunk so low that at the Commencement on August 13 not a single candidate for the degree of A.B. presented himself. The Corporation was reduced to a Treasurer (Richards), two Tutors (Browne and Richardson), and a nominal Fellow (Danforth); and, in addition, the powers granted to the Corporation by the charter of 1650 had been repeatedly infringed on by the Overseers. Is it surprising that Hoar desired a new charter which should confirm the powers granted to the Corporation by the charter of 1650 and by laws passed between 1650 and 1672; or that the filling up of the Corporation to its full complement of seven was imperative? The charter of 1672 accomplished both of those objects. One was emphasized by the Corporation in 1723, when it declared that the charter of 1672 was "for the perpetuation" of the charter of 1650; and the other by Hutchinson in 1764, when

Historical Proceedings, vi. 337, 342-343. And documents that once actually or properly belonged to the College but had fallen into private hands, are constantly being returned to the College.

he said that the charter of 1672 made "some addition to the number of the corporation."

A consideration of the causes which led to the failure of President Hoar's administration does not come within the scope of this paper, which may fittingly conclude with the reproduction in parallel columns, for purposes of comparison, of the charter of 1650, of the draught of the charter of 1672, and of the completed charter of 1672. As, owing to interlineations, erasures, etc., the draught is difficult to reproduce in type, it is also reproduced in facsimile.

CHARTER, May 31, 1650

Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have bin, and daily are, mooved and stirred up to give and bestowe sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenewes for the advancement of all good litterature, arts, and sciences in Harvard Colledge, in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, and to the maintenance of the president and fellows, and for all accomodacions of buildings, and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indjan youth of this country in knowledge and godliness, it is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the authoritie thereof, that for the furthering of so good a worke, and for the purposes aforesaid, from henceforth that the said Colledge in Cambridge, in Middlesex, in New England, shall be a corporacion consisting of seven persons, viz., a president, five fellows, and a treasurer or bursar; and that Henry Dunster shall be the first president, Samuel Mather, Samuel Dan-

¹ Altered from "erected."

² Perhaps "Indians."

³ The words "and for all the accomodations of the Schollars thereof" are interlined in the hand of Rawson.

DRAUGHT OF CHARTER, October 8, 1672

Whereas by the good hand of God, there hath been erected¹ and continued a colledge in Cambridge, in the County of Middlesex, called by the name of Harvard-Colledge; and that by an instrument or Charter, dated the thirty first day of May in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, the President² and fellows thereof were established to be one body corporate by the Authority of this Court, and whereas severall gifts and donations have been made and are still making, by many well devoted persons, inhabitants of this Country, as also strangers, for the maintenance of the Govern³ and Govern⁴ thereof; and for all the accomodations of the scholars thereof in bookes, buildings, lectures, scholarships and all other necessary and fitting provisions, that may conduce to the education of English and Indian youth there residing: in all good literature and Godlynes. Now for the

~~to preserve~~

body corporate by the Authority of this Court, and whereas severall gifts and donations have been made and are still making, by many well devoted persons, inhabitants of this Country, as also strangers, for the maintenance of the Govern³ and Govern⁴ thereof; and for all the accomodations of the scholars thereof in bookes, buildings, lectures, scholarships and all other necessary and fitting provisions, that may conduce to the education of English and Indian youth there residing: in all good literature and Godlynes. Now for the

² Apparently altered from "the."

³ This sentence is in the hand of Rawson.

⁴ The words "and for all the accomodations of the Schollars thereof" are interlined in the hand of Rawson.

CHARTER, October 21, 1672

At a Generall Court held at Boston the 8th of october 1672.⁴

Whereas, By the good hand of God, there hath bin erected and continued a Colledge in Cambridge in the Countie of Middlesex, called by the name of Harvard Colledge, & that by an Instrument or Charter Dated y^e 31th of May in the yeare 1650 The President & fellows thereof were established to be one body Corporate by the Authority of this Court, & Whereas severall gifts & donations have bin made & are still making by many well Devoted Persons inhabitants of this Countrie, as also strangers, for the maintenance of the Governours and Government thereof and for all the accomodations of the Schollars thereof⁵ in Books, Buildings, Lectures, Schollarships, & all other necessary & fitting provisions that may Conduce to the Education of English & Indian youth there residing in all good literature & godlynes. Now for the perpetuation & further advancement⁶ of so good a work & for the better encouragement⁷ of all

ford, m's of art, Jonathan Michell, Com-
fort Starr, and Samuell Eaton, (batch-
elors of art,) shall be the five fellows,
and Thomas Danford to be present treas-
urer, all of them being inhabitants in the
Bay, and shall be the first seven persons
of which the said corporacon shall con-
sist; and that the said seven persons, or
the greater number of them, procuring
the presence of the ouerseers of the Col-
lege, and by their counsell and consent,
shall have power, and are hereby author-
ised, at any time or times, to elect a new
president, ffellowes, or treasurer, so oft
and from time to time as any of the said
persons shall dye or be remooved, which
said president and fellowes for the time
being shall foreuer hereafter, in name
and fact, be one body politticke and cor-
porate, in lawe, to all intents and pur-
poses, and shall have perpetual succes-
sion, and shall be called by the name
of President and Fellowes of Harvard

ppetration,¹ and further advancem^t of so
good a work, and for the better incourage-
ment of all peons, therein concerned, or
to be concerned; It is ordered and enacted
by this Court, and the Authority thereof *
said & Treasurer
that the President, ~~and~~ fellowes, of the
said Colledg, or the fellowes alone when
there is no President established, and their
successors bee² the immediate Gover-
nors thereof, and shall in name and fact,
for ever hereafter be one body polittiq,
and corporate in Law to all intents and
purposes; and shall have ppetuall suc-
cession, having power and Authority by
these p'sents, procuring a meeting of the
Overseers, and by their counsell and con-
sent to elect successors into the place of
any one or more of them, which shall be
(by death or removal) made vacant. Be
it also hereby authorized, and enacted
that the said Corporation, and their suc-
cessors, shall have the power, of consti-

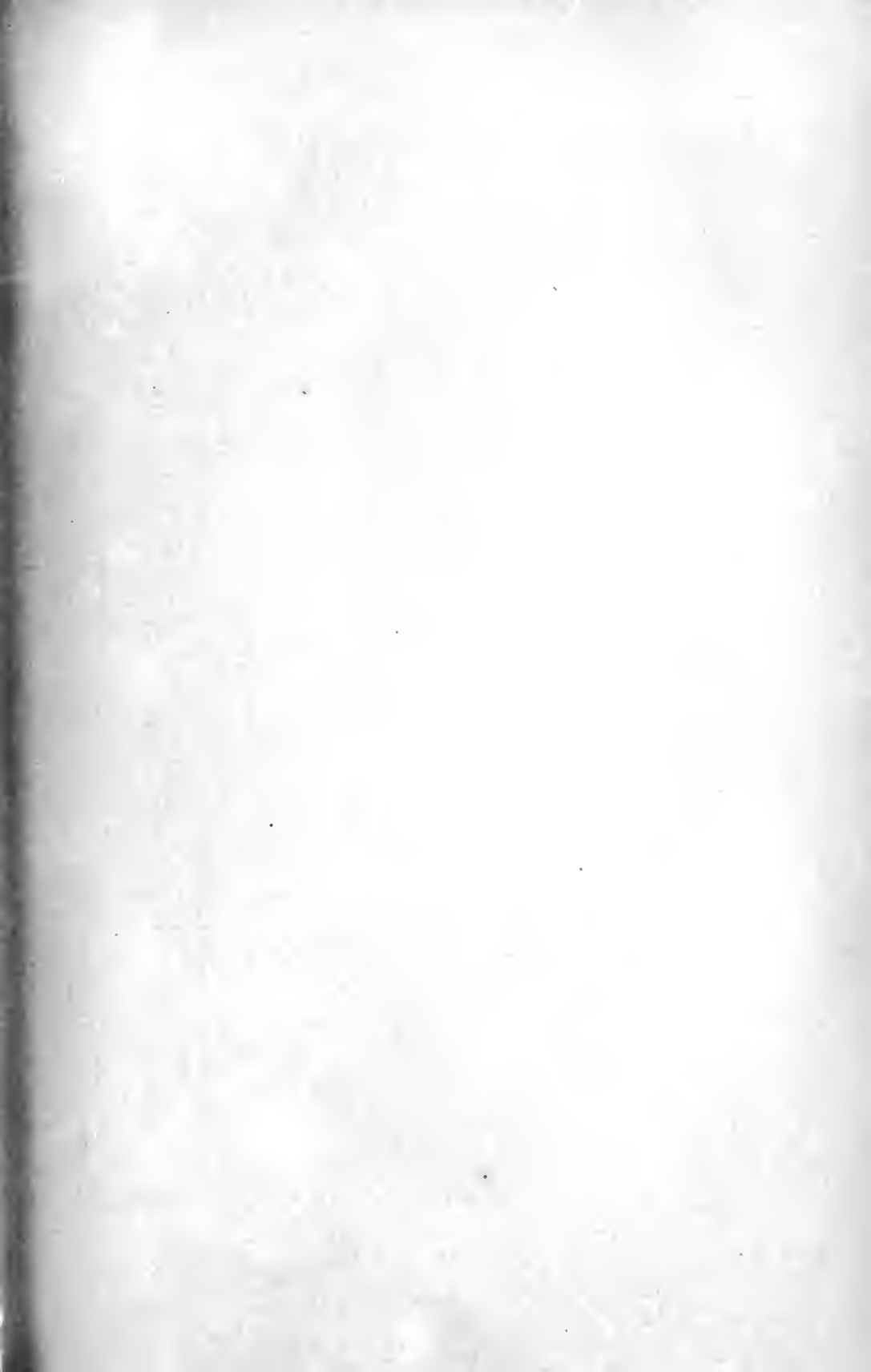
peons therein concerned, or to be con-
cerned, It is Ordered & Enacted by this
Court & the Authoritie thereof, That
Leonard Hoare Doctor in Phisick be the
p'sent President of said Harvard Colledge
M^r Samuell Danforth fellow of y^e said
Colledge; M^r Vrian Oakes Pastor of the
Church of Cambridge, M^r Thomas Shep-
ard Teacher of y^e Church of Charls-
towne, M^r Joseph Browne & M^r John
Richardson Masters of Art, be the fel-
lowes & M^r John Richards the Treasurer
of the said Colledge & Corporation for the
time being. And that the said President,
fellowes & treasurer of the said Colledge
or the ffellowes alone, when there is no
President established, & their Successors
from time, to time, be the immediate
Governours thereof, & shall in name &
fact for ever hereafter be one Body Polli-
tick & Corporate in Law, to all intents &
purposes, & shall have ppetuall Succes-
sion, Having power and Authoritie by

¹ Altered from "ppetration."

² It will be observed that Danforth is called "Fellow of the said Colledge," a term not applied to Oakes, Shepard, Browne, or Richardson. For this reason, I think that Danforth must have been a Fellow early in 1672.

⁴ Altered from "Shepheard." As Shepard, unlike Danforth, is not called "Fellow of the said Colledge," I think that he could not have been a Fellow early in 1672.

³ Altered from "by."



1 b. 7 By laws of this country published by the Magistrate
 of the County of ... provide in full copy or
 1 c. 7 as the laws of ... not in agreement with the above.

(a) only the estate to the Corporation, and not that which
 belongs proper to any member of said Corporation being by the
 be such impounded.

(b) In all firms not will accept the bill of an officer not
 as usually presented by the laws of the union or by statute.

(d) any laws licensed for public intendment. ~~as the law~~

Esps. their parents live in the Township.

except in cases of ~~or~~ or extraordinary exigencies
the contrary

When whatever material passages is readily inserted
if lined underneath.



Colledge, and shall from time to time be eligible as aforesaid, and by that name they and their successors shall and may purchase and acquire to themselves, or take and receive, vpon free gift and donacion, any lands, tennements, or hereditaments, w^hin this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, not exceeding five hundred pounds p annum, and any goods and sumes of money whatsoever, to the vse and behoofe of the said president, fellows, and *and* schollers of the said colledge, and also may sue and pleade, or be sued and impleaded, by the name aforesaid, in all Courts and places of iudicature w^hin the jurisdiction aforesaid; and that the said president, w^h any three of the fellows, shall have power and are hereby authorized, when they shall think fitt, to make and appoint a comon seale for the vse of the said corporation; and the president and fellows, or major part of them, from time to time, may meete and choose such officers and servants for the colledge, and make such allowance to them, and them also to remove, and after death or removal to

tuting, and again at their pleasure, removing all inferior Officers to the said society appertaining, and all the next and immediate Govern^r of every member of the said Society; according to such orders and lawes as are or shall be established by the said Corporation, the Overseers, allowing or not *contradicting the said Lawes*, upon notice of them, given to them, at their next meeting. And also the said corporation and their Successors may purchase and acquire unto themselves, or take and receive upon free gift any Lands, tenem^{ts}, hereditam^{ts}, annuities, services, goods, monyes or other emoluments whatsoever, or from whomsoever, and (observing straitly the will of the Donors) dispose of the same to the use and behoofe of the said Colledge, or any members thereof. And that the President may warn a general meeting of the said corporation for debating any of the affairs aforesd. In all which cases the conclusion shall be made by the major pt present, The President[s] having a casting voice. And that the sd Corporation, with

these presents, Procureing a meeting of the Overseers, & by their counsell and consent, to Elect Successors into the place of any one or more of them w^h shall be (by death or removal) made vacant. Be it also hereby Authorized & Enacted, That the said Corporation & their Successors, shall have the power of constituting & againe at their Pleasure removing all inferior Officers to the said societie appertaining, & all the next & immediate Govern^r of every member of the said Societie, according to such Orders & Lawes as are or shalbe established by the said Corporation, The Overseers of the said Colledge Allowing or not contradicting the said Lawes upon Notice of them given to them, at their next meeting. And also the said Corporation & their Successors, may purchase & acquire to themselves, or take and receive upon free gift any Lands, Tenem^{ts} hereditam^{ts}, Annuities, Services, goods, monyes, or other emoluments whatsoever, or from whomsoever, and (observing straitly y^e will of y^e Donours) Dispose of the same to the use & behoofe of the said Colledge or any

¹ A curious error occurs in the Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. ii. 536, where this word is printed "intermediate." In the Court Records, iv. 708, the word is very plainly "Immediate."

CHARTER, May 31, 1650

choose such others, and to make from time to time such orders and bylawes for the better ordering and carrying on the worke of the colledge, as they shall thinke fit, provided the said orders be allowed by the ouerseers; and, also, that the president and fellows, or major part of them, wth the treasurer, shall have power to make conclusive bargajnes for lands and tenements, to be purchased by the said corporaçon for valuable considera- cōn. And, for the better ordering of the government of the said colledge and cor- poraçon, bee it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the president and three more of the fellows shall and may, from time to time, vpon dew warning or notice, given by the president to the rest, hould a meeting for the debateing and conclu- ding of affaires concerning the pfittes and revennewes of any lands, and disposing of their goods; provided, that all the said disposings be according to the will of the donors, and for direction in all emergent occasions, execution of all orders and by-

¹ The words "made by the Major pt p'sent" are underlined.
² The reading is "sconcing" in (A), (D), (F), and (J). The reading is "scourging" in (B), (C), (E), and (I). In (B), Leverett has written in the margin: "shall have the full power of scourging &c Attestis Edward Rawson Secretary." Leverett's copy (B)

DRAUGHT OF CHARTER, October 8, 1672

their distinct Treasurer (if any such be chosen) by the name of the President [Fellows and Treasurer of Harvard-Col- ledg may sue and plead or be sued or impleaded in all Courts and places of Jurisdictione Judicature within this Juris- diction of the Massachuset-Collony. [§3] to all intents and purposes in Law and with effect as may any private pson or body incorporate. Also that the said cor- or any three of them the president being one poration ^{and every one of them in all} crimes ~~not excepted~~ shall have the power ~~personally with such aid of the society as the shall thinke meete the full power of scorc- ing, or fining or otherwise correcting~~ all inferior officers or members to the sd society belonging, and for that end any ^{and hereby} of the said corporation shall have power ^{personally with such aid of the Society as they shall thinke meete along with them} shall think meete to enter into any ~~publick~~

³ The words "the President being one" are underlined.
⁴ The reading is "scourging" in (B), (C), (E), and (I). In (B), Leverett has written in the margin: "shall have the full power of scourging &c Attestis Edward Rawson Secretary." Leverett's copy (B)

CHARTER, October 21, 1672

members thereof. And that the President may warn a general meeting of the said Corporaçon for debating any of the affaires aforesaid, in all which cases the conclusion shall be made by the Major p^t p'sent.¹ The President haveing a casting Voyce. And that the said Corporaçon with their Distinct Treasurer, (if any such be chosen) by y^e name of Harvard Colledge, may Sue and Plead, or be Sued or impleaded in all, Courts and places of judicature wthin this Jurisdiction of the Massathusets Colony to all intents & pur- poses in Law and with effect as may any private pson or body Incorporate, onely the estate to the Corporation belonging, & not that which belongs pp to any mem- ber of y^e sd Corporation, being lyable to Such impleadm^{ts}. Also that the said Corporation or any three of them the President being one,² in all Crymes by the Laws Crymes by the Laws of this Countrie punishable by one Magistrate, shall have y^e full power of Sconcing.³

¹ The words "made by the Major pt p'sent" are underlined.
² The reading is "scourging" in (B), (C), (E), and (I). In (B), Leverett has written in the margin: "shall have the full power of scourging &c Attestis Edward Rawson Secretary." Leverett's copy (B)

lawes, and for the procuring of a generall meeting of all the ouerseers and society in great and difficult cases, and in case of nonagreement, in all which cases aforesajd the conclucon shall be made by the major parte, the sajd president having a casting voice, the ouerseers consenting therewith; and that all the aforesajd transactions shall tend to and for the vse and behoofe of the president, fellows, schollers, and officers of the sajd colledge, and for all accomodacons of buildings, books, and all other necessary provisions and furnitures as may be for the advancement and education of youth in all manner of good litterature, arts, and sciences. And further, be it ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, howses, or revennewes within this jurisdiction, to the aforesajd president or colledge apertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds p annum, shall from henceforth be freed from all civill impositiōns, taxes, and rates; all goods to the sajd corporacon, or to any

was made from Willard's copy (H) not extant, but Leverett's marginal note seems to show that Leverett had seen a copy attested by Rawson — presumably copy (G).

¹ Altered from "inferiall."

(d) houses, where they shall be inform'd or may be suspicious of any enormities to be ^{acting} plotting or ~~perpetrating~~ by any members of their society; And all Constables and all other inferior¹ civill officers in that place are hereby authorized and commanded to be readily aiding and assisting to them or any of them in the premises ~~some magistrates being first consulted of the extremeness of the case~~ ^{neither shall} persons legally expelled the Society abide, in ^{Colledz above ten days} the Town-ship of Cambridge, ~~without the license of the Corporation or of the next Magistrate to the Colledge.~~ And be it also ordered and enacted by this Court and the Authority thereof that all the Lands, tenem^t hereditam^t or annuities within this Jurisdiction to the sd Corpora- tion appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds p Anⁿ: shall ^{ordinary} be henceforth freed of all ^{civil} impositi-

fineing or otherwise correcting all inferior Officers or members to the said Society belonging, as the Lawes of the Countrie provide in Such cases, or the Lawes of the Colledge not repugnant unto them: And for y^e end any of the sd Corporation shall, and hereby have power personally, wth such ayde of y^e Society as they shall think meet takinge the Constable along wth them, to enter into any houses lycensed for Publick entertainem^t where they shall be informed, or may be Suspicious of any Enormities to be plotting or acting by any members of their Societie, And all Constables & all other Inferiour Civill Officers in that place are hereby Authorized & commanded to be readily Ayding & Assisting to y^m or any of them in the p^rmisses. Neither shall any person or persons Legally expelled y^e Colledge abide above ten dayes in y^e Township of Cambridge unless their parents live in y^e said Township, And be it also Ordered & Enacted by this Court & the Authority thereof, That all the Lands, Tenements hereditam^t or annui-

was made from Willard's copy (H) not extant, but Leverett's marginal note seems to show that Leverett had seen a copy attested by Rawson — presumably copy (G).

² Altered from some other word, perhaps "service."

CHARTER, May 31, 1650

schollers thereof, appertaining, shall be exempt from all manner of toulle, customes, excise, whatsoever; and that the president, fellows, and schollers, together wth the servants and other necessary officers to the said president or colledge appertaining, not exceeding ten, viz., three to the president, and seven to the colledge belonging, shall be exempted from all personall, civill offices, military exercise, or services, watchings, and wardings; and such of their estates, not exceeding one hundred pounds a man, shall be freed from all country taxes and rates whatsoever, and no other.¹

DRAUGHT OF CHARTER, October 8, 1672

tions, taxes and rates; and all goods to the said corporations or to any schollers thereof appertaining shall be exempt from all manner of toll, customes and excise, whatsoever. And moreover that the said President, Fellows, and schollers together with their meniall servants, and other necessary officers, (not exceeding the number of ten) shall be utterly exempted from all personall and civill-officers offices, military exercises, watchings and wardings or the like publick services; ~~also their houses and their Horses, Carriages & Furniture or provisions from all publick impositions or rates.~~ And the personall estates of the sd corporations and their officers (not exceeding an hundred pounds a man) shall be also freed from the like Country taxes for ever. All and every of which p^rmisses wee do ordain and enact to be fully established for Law, any Law, grant or usage to the Country in any wise notwithstanding.

[84] [b.] by Lawes of this country punishable by one Magistrate.²

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iv. i. 12-14.

CHARTER, October 21, 1672

ties within this Jurisdiction to the said Corporation appertaining, not exceeding the value of five hundred pounds p Annum shall be hence forth freed from all Ordinary civill impositions Taxes & Rates, and all goods to the said Corporation, or to any schollers thereof appertaining shall be exempt from all manner toll, customes, & Excise whatsoever except in cases of Warre or extraordinary Exigences of the Countrey And moreover that the sayd President, fellows and Schollars together wth their meniall servants and other necessary officers (not exceeding the number of Ten) shall be utterly exempted from all personall & Civill Offices Military Exercises watchings and wardings or the like publicke services And the personall Estates of the said Corporation & their Officers not exceeding one hundred pounds a man shall be also freed from the like Countrey Taxes for ever. All and every of which p^rmisses Wee doe Ordaine and Enact to be fully Established for Law any Law Grant or usage to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

That this is A true Copie taken out of

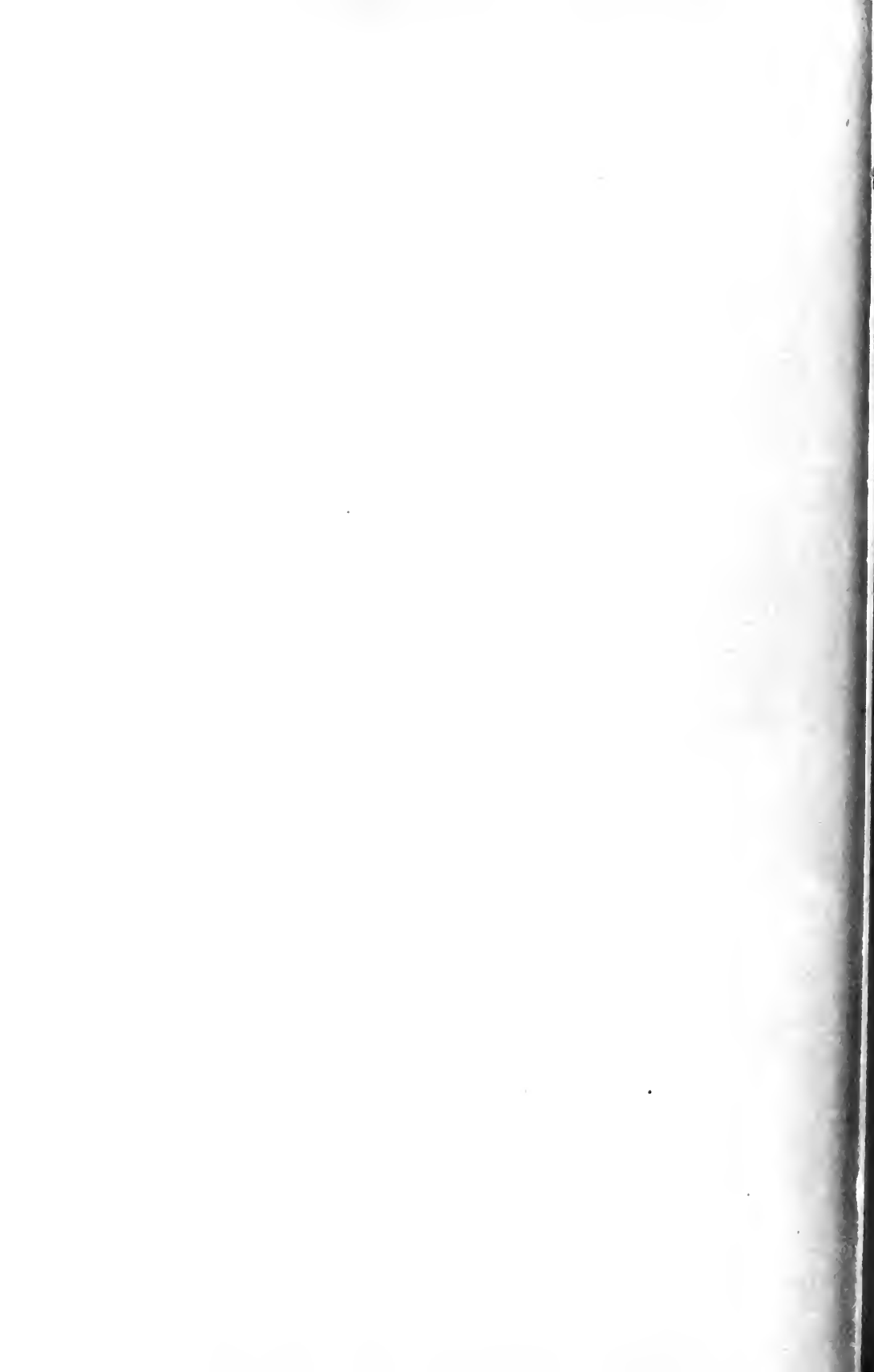
² This sentence is probably in the hand of Hoar.



That Leonard Hoar D^r in Physik the present Professor of
Dartmouth College of the City of Concord in the State of New Hampshire
of the County of Grafton: Sheweth: That he is: me
21st Dec^r 1672

Draught of the Harvard College Charter of 1672

Gen^l Court
1672



[c.] as the Lawes of the cuntry provide in such cases or the Lawes of the Colledge not repugnant unto them.¹

the Courts Records. Attests. Edward Rawson Secrety.

(a) only the estate to the Corporation, and not that which belongs proper to any member of said Corporation being lyable to such impleadmts

(b) ~~In all Grinnes not civil or capitall but of an inferior nature and usually corrected by the lawes of other universities shall bee~~

(d) any houses licensed for publick in-tertainm^t or other houses.

[Unlessse their parents live in the sd Township.²

X except³ in cases of war or extraordinary exigence of the Country

Mem^o whatever materiall passage is newly inserted is lined⁴ underneath,⁴

[84a] That Leonard Hoar D^r in Physick the p^rsent President mr Samuel Danforth fellow of the syd Colledge mr Urian Oakes

¹ This sentence is probably in the hand of Hoar.

² As here printed, the words "newly inserted" are in italics.

³ This sentence is probably in the hand of Hoar.

⁴ Harvard College Papers, Supplement, i. 16. The last sentence is in the hand of Rawson.

⁵ This sentence is probably in the hand of Hoar.

DRAUGHT OF CHARTER, October 8, 1672
 Pastor of the ch: of ~~the~~ Cambr: mr Tho:
 Sheph: Pastor &c: mr
 21⁸ mo past ERS¹

[85] *that Leonard Hoare Dr in Physick
~~be now established~~
~~be now established~~ be the p^rsent² Presi-

Urian Oakes

Sam³ Daunforth, ^ Thomas Shepeard

dent ^ Joseph Brown and John Richard-

Be the

son⁴ Masters of Art ~~be established~~ Fellows
 Mr

the Treasurer

and John Richards ~~off of Art be Treasurer~~
 of the said Colledg and Corporation, for
 the time being. And that the President
 &c. as on the other side

[Endorsed]

Copy of Colledg Charter
 p^rsent² to Gen^l Court
 Oc^r 1672⁴

¹ The entry on the slip numbered 84a is in the hand of Rawson.

² The words "be the p^rsent" have been inserted in the margin in a differen^t hand — perhaps that of Rawson.

³ Originally written "—— Richardson," the name "John" having been inserted later.

⁴ Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 82-85.

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1919

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Friday, 21 November, 1919, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were approved without being read.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented on behalf of the Rev. Dr. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

In an age which manifests an increasing tendency to value all human activity by the pragmatic test, and which looks with indifference, not to say scorn, upon all efforts to cultivate the quieter interests and refinements of life, it needs a certain degree of courage to call attention to such a Society as ours, and to advertise the fact that we have completed our twenty-seventh year without any perceptible departure from the calm and even tenor of our way. The genius of industrial unrest has thrust no inflamed visage inside our door. Bolshevism has dropped no bomb, literal or figurative, into our occasions. International diplomacies have left unruffled the deep tranquillity of our deliberations. The high cost of living has wrought no confusion in our economies.

If it requires some courage to make these admissions, it also engenders a profound satisfaction. There is more in life than its temporal storms and superficial upheavals. Your Council conceives it to be the function of the Colonial Society to maintain a due share of interest in the deeper aspects of our life, and, like a Benedictine monastery of the Dark Ages, to conserve so far as it may some understanding of the subtler continuities which bind age to age, and make all history one.

And in fact to more than one of our members the meetings of the Society have been retreats of almost a monastic sanctity, whither they could resort to find respite from the outward passions of life, and to indulge undisturbed the interests and affections that are dear to them. There have been the usual five stated meetings; four of them held in the quiet comfort of the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; one of them held under the hospitable roof of our President, Professor Robinson. Papers and communications of solid value have been presented at these meetings, which will all go to the permanent enrichment of our publications.

The present condition of the Society's Publications is as follows:

Volumes XV and XVI, containing the Corporation Records of Harvard College down to 1750, are well advanced, and will, it is hoped, be completed in 1921.

Volume XIX, containing the Transactions from November, 1916, to November, 1917, was distributed last April.

The text of Volume XX, containing the Transactions from December, 1917, to February, 1919, is wholly completed, the index is in type, and the volume will be ready for publication early in 1920.

The text of Volume XXI, containing thus far the Transactions for March and April, 1919, is at present in type to page 402, and the volume will no doubt be ready for publication in the spring of 1920.

Volume XXII, projected last spring, will contain the Plymouth Church Records. The preparation of the material is well advanced, and the volume will, it is expected, be completed in the fall of 1920.

During the year the following gentlemen have been elected to Resident Membership in the Society:

JAMES PARKER PARMENTER,
CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN,
HENRY GODDARD PICKERING,
ROBERT GOULD SHAW,
SAMUEL WILLISTON,
MORRIS GRAY,
HOWARD NICHOLSON BROWN,
JOHN LOWELL.

And during the year the Society has lost from its membership by death:

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, Librarian Emeritus of the Worcester Public Library, a lover of good books, and of all to whom good books

are dear, whose eighty-two years of life were crowded full of a quiet, happy usefulness in making more available to all the rich stores of human knowledge and the companionship of great minds.

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE, an enthusiast by nature in the local history and antiquities of his surroundings, whose timely solicitude and personal industry have rescued many a valuable town record from oblivion; and whose chief claim to his reputation for eccentricity consisted in an unusual diligence in the work he loved, and a life-long devotion to his mother.

HORACE EVERETT WARE, publisher of the Old Farmer's Almanac, an accurate and painstaking investigator, to whom carelessness in fact or judgment was sin, and who embodied in his own simplicity, courtliness and generosity the grace and charm of the by-gone days which he loved to study and understand.

HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, clergyman and soldier, rich in spiritual graces, who enjoyed prosperity with humble and grateful appreciation while it lasted, and, when adversity came, bore it without a word of complaint or bitterness, with cheerful fortitude and unconquered faith.

MOSES WILLIAMS, lawyer and trustee, a man of wide interests and large usefulness, whose opinions commanded respect, and whose moral integrity inspired universal confidence; to whose nature passions of every kind were strangers, and whose only enthusiasms were those that survived the analysis of a singularly clear and searching judgment.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS, State Commissioner of Public Records, who dignified his office by his own faithfulness and worth; whose life, both public and private, was an uphill battle. He had the reserve of suffering, the loneliness of bravery, the modesty of self-sacrifice; and his real value as a friend and a public servant is fully revealed only by his death.

HENRY LEE HIGGINSON, Fellow of Harvard College, whose name will ever stand as a synonym for American citizenship in its fulness and beauty. His patriotism did not end on the battlefield, but made him a life-long warrior against every form of wrong and injustice; a life-long champion of every refinement of heart and nobility of soul. Wealth to him was a stewardship, and, with spiritual insight, he employed it to ennoble our American life by enriching that life at its

sources. In war and in peace, in great things and in small, he walked humbly and joyously in the footsteps of Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 17 November, 1919.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 18 November, 1918		\$31.03
Admission Fees	\$80.00	
Annual Assessments	590.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	93.10	
Sales of the Society's paper	1.86	
Contribution from a member	5.00	
Editor's Salary Fund, subscriptions	1,300.00	
Interest	4,091.34	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan without interest	500.00	
Mortgages, discharged or assigned	11,700.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund, interest on Mr. Ware's bequest, received from his executors	53.34	18,414.64
		<u>\$18,445.67</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press	\$1,676.77
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure	192.05
Folsom Engraving Company	206.28
Photostating documents and records	301.47
Consolidated Index to Volumes 1-20	50.00
Salary of the Editor	1,000.00
Women's Educational and Industrial Union	40.16
Andrew Stewart, auditing	10.00
Postage, stationery, and supplies	93.62
Clerk hire	111.45
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fuel, light and janitor service	20.00
Boston Storage Warehouse Company	24.00
J. Franklin Jameson, annual subscription toward the Bibliography of American Historical Writings	50.00
Miscellaneous incidentals	578.50
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston	3,750.00

Interest in adjustment	\$167.12	
Henry H. Edes, demand loan	500.00	
Western Telephone and Telegraph Company's 5% Bonds of 1932, \$10,000 face value	8,890.00	\$17,661.42
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 17 November, 1919		784.25
		<u>\$18,445.67</u>

The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

\$68,000.00 in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Greater Boston
8,890.00 in Western Telephone and Telegraph Company's 5% Bonds of 1932 (\$10,000 face value) guaranteed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company
200.00 on deposit in the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston
<u>\$77,090.00</u>

TRIAL BALANCE

DEBITS

Cash		\$784.25
Mortgages	\$68,000.00	
Provident Institution for Savings	200.00	
Western Telephone and Telegraph Company's 5% Bonds, \$10,000 face value	8,890.00	77,090.00
		<u>\$77,874.25</u>

CREDITS

Income		\$784.25
Editor's Salary Fund	\$600.00	
Publication Fund	10,000.00	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	20,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	
Andrew McFarland Davis Fund	2,000.00	
William Watson Fund	1,000.00	
Horace Everett Ware Fund	658.34	
General Fund	14,831.66	77,090.00
		<u>\$77,874.25</u>

HENRY H. EDES
Treasurer

BOSTON, 17 November, 1919

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the year ending 17 November, 1919, have attended to their duty and report that they find the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to them.

This Report is based on the examination of Andrew Stewart, Certified Public Accountant.

HENRY G. PICKERING

ROBERT G. SHAW

Committee

BOSTON, 19 November, 1919

The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH presented the following list of candidates; and, a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

VICE-PRESIDENTS

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG

RECORDING SECRETARY

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

TREASURER

HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR

ALFRED JOHNSON

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS

SAMUEL WILLISTON

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Dr. Elbridge Gerry Cutler, the Rev. Dr. Kirsopp Lake, and Messrs. George Hubbard Blakeslee, Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, William Bradford Homer Dowse, John Henry Edmonds, Franklin Tweed Hammond, Charles Francis Jenney, John Douglass Merrill, James Duncan Phillips, Arthur Stanwood Pier, William Bernard Reid, Eliot Dawes Stetson, Harry Walter Tyler, Arthur Gordon Webster, and Irvah Lester Winter. The **PRESIDENT** presided.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1919

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, on Thursday, 18 December, 1919, the President, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the death on the twenty-second of November of Mr. FRANKLIN CARTER, a Corresponding Member.

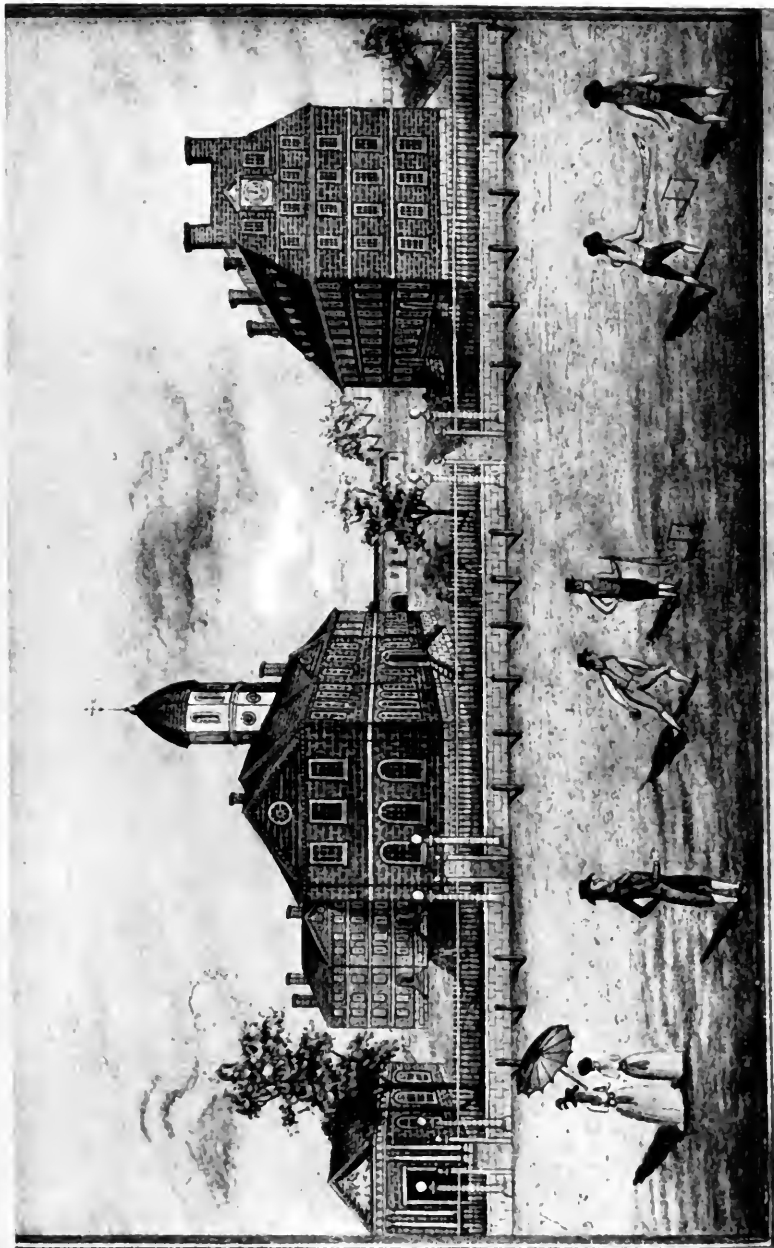
The PRESIDENT announced his appointment of Messrs. EDWARD CHANNING, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, and FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER as delegates from this Society to the annual Conference of Historical Societies to be held in Cleveland this month in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association.

MR. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited a water-color view of Harvard College made by Houdin d'Orgemont in 1795, and spoke as follows:

This early water-color view of Harvard College is the property of Miss Ada Bouvé of Hingham, who inherited it from her mother, Mrs. Thomas Tracy Bouvé, to whom it had come from her grandfather, Mr. Nathan Thayer of Hingham.

Mrs. Bouvé sent a photograph of the drawing to the Library in 1895, and at that time communicated the following information in regard to it:

It was painted in 1795 by Houdin-d'Orgemont, a young Frenchman, who fled from Guadeloupe, one of the French West Indies, in fear for his life during the troublous times preceding and subsequent to the execution of Louis XVI and his Queen Marie Antoinette. He found refuge in Hingham, Mass., where he lived, with a younger brother, at the



Howitt - View of the Colleges, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. - Dargemont 1795.

Engraved for the National Society of Massachusetts from the original in the possession of Messrs. Peare



house of Mr. Nathan Lincoln. Upon the restoration of order in France, he was called home; but, not being permitted to land when he reached the island, returned to Hingham, where he resided some time longer.

The two brothers were young men of considerable culture, and probably went to sketch many places in the vicinity, though I do not learn that any other of their sketches have remained in the family of their friends in Hingham.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper, written by Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University:

NEW ENGLAND TOWN MANDATES

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DEPUTIES IN COLONIAL LEGISLATURES¹

One of the characteristics of the New England town-meeting system in colonial days was the practice of voting instructions to the deputies in the popular assemblies. By means of these votes of instructions, the freemen in the towns attempted to control the action of their representatives upon measures of both local and general interest. This practice began concurrently with the establishment of representative government in the Puritan colonies; and it continued until the third decade after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, being abandoned about the same time that New England Federalism expired. During this extensive period, the *initiative* and the *referendum* were also frequently employed by the towns as means of controlling their deputies; and occasionally the *recall*.

I

THE RISE OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

The first Charter of Massachusetts provided that the governor, magistrates and freemen of the Company of Massachusetts-Bay should hold a Great and General Court four times each year for the management of the affairs of the corporation. At the Easter session of the General Court, the freemen were to elect the governor and

¹ This paper is a brief survey of material collected by the writer several years ago when a member of the seminar in American History of Professor Frederick Jackson Turner in Harvard University.

magistrates for the ensuing year. The Court also possessed the power to admit individuals to the freedom of the Company. The original grantees had intended that the administration of the Company should remain in London. Eventually, however, the seat of government was removed to Boston, thereby producing a chain of events remarkable in the history of free government.

Apparently the Charter had created a pure democracy, for all the freemen possessed the right to attend the General Court, and all had a voice in making the laws and electing the rulers. In reality, however, the government for several years was what John Winthrop called a "mixed aristocracy." The magistrates and the elders of the churches overawed the simple freemen of the Bible commonwealth and carried measures in the quarterly Courts according to their own notions.

John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, had come to the New England "wilderness" in the year 1630, bringing with him the original copy of the Company's Charter. Of him the poet has tunefully sung —

Why leavest thou, John, thy station, in Suffolk, thy own soile,
 Christ will have thee a pillar be, for's people thou must toyle;
 He chang'd thy heart, then take his part, 'gainst prelates proud invading
 His Kingly throne set up alone, in wildernesse their shading.¹

Deeply imbued with the stern spirit of Puritanism, the lord of the manor of Groton in old Suffolk heartily took up the burden of founding "Christ's glorious Kingdome" in New England; and, rejoicing in his task, he started out to govern this commonwealth without much reference to the opinions of the governed.

In the meanwhile the Puritan settlers were pushing out along the coast and into the interior parts of Massachusetts. Salem, Dorchester, and Charlestown had been settled even before the "City-like Towne of Boston" was founded. Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn, Cambridge, Ipswich, and Newbury were soon established; and Marblehead gained the notice of the Court in the year 1632. It was inconvenient for the freemen in the more remote settlements to attend the General Court in Boston four times each year; and quite likely these freemen would have remained for a considerable time unrepresented

¹ Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence* (ed. J. F. Jameson), p. 76.

in the General Court, had not this body levied a tax upon all the plantations. The freemen of Watertown immediately protested against the principle of taxation without representation; and their protest was the beginning of a movement which led to a revolution in the Bible commonwealth.¹

In the spring of 1634 the outlying towns took the unusual step of appointing deputies to attend the May session of the General Court. Upon arriving in Boston these defenders of constitutional liberty demanded a "sight" of the royal patent, and Winthrop was compelled to comply with this demand. Eagerly scanning the parchment which bore the great seal of England, the deputies found that its legal phraseology confirmed their assumption that the legislative and appointive power of the Company lay within the grasp of the majority of the freemen. Accordingly, when the General Court was convened, the discontented freemen boldly claimed their rights. They ousted the Governor, elected in his place a man of their own choice, and passed a law permitting the towns to send two or three deputies to the General Court with power to make laws and grant lands.² Thus began the system of representative government in Massachusetts, which was copied in time by Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire.³

II

THE TOWN-MEETING SYSTEM

Several years before the revolution of 1634 the system of town government in Massachusetts had already appeared. As soon as a new settlement was established, the proprietors and other inhabitants would meet from time to time in town-meeting to transact the busi-

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 93; Winthrop, Journal (ed. J. K. Hosmer), i. 74, 122. The standard treatise upon the beginnings of the representative system of Massachusetts is Professor George H. Haynes's *Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts*, in Johns Hopkins University Studies, Twelfth Series, viii.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 117; Winthrop, i. 125. The law of 1634 did not give the deputies power to cast the vote of their townsmen in the election of the magistrates of the Company. The freemen were still required to bring in their votes personally. In 1636 the freemen of the outlying towns were permitted by law to send their votes by proxy. (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 166.) Thus arose the system of proxy voting.

³ Rhode Island Colonial Records, i. 147, 149; Early Records of the Town of Providence, xv. 9; Staples, *Annals of the Town of Providence*, p. 64; Connecticut Colonial Records, i. 24.

ness of the town. The freemen, however, soon found it convenient to appoint selectmen to execute the orders of the town-meetings. These officials were carefully instructed as to what to do and how to do it; and they were required to make a detailed report of their actions to the town. The voting of instructions to the selectmen and the hearing of the report of the selectmen was the most important business that usually came before the town for discussion and decision.¹ This mode of government was very convenient for a small democracy, and the New England people took pride in the possession of a system whereby, for purposes of efficiency, they delegated the exercise of certain powers to a committee of their fellow-citizens while at the same time they kept these officers constantly under their thumb. When the towns began to send deputies to the General Court, they treated their deputies as they treated their selectmen, and not only voted *instructions* to govern their conduct in the colonial assembly but also required the deputy upon his return from Boston to make a report concerning the business which had been transacted at the General Court.

III

EARLIEST EVIDENCE OF TOWN INSTRUCTIONS

The practice of voting instructions for the deputies began almost immediately upon the establishment of representative government in Massachusetts. In Plymouth Colony, as early as September, 1640, a law was passed providing for instructions to the deputies. The General Court enacted "That the Constables of euery Towne wthin the Goū^t shall warne the townes men whereof they are to come together as they doe for other townes businesse when the Committees [the deputies of the towns] shall think it fitt, as well to acquaint them with what is ppounded or enacted at the Court, as to receive instructions for any other busines they would haue donne."² In Massachusetts, the General Court in the June session and in the October session of the year 1641 asked the towns to instruct their deputies upon two projects.³ One of these projects was a proposal

¹ Cf. Boston Record Commissioners' Reports (hereafter cited as *Boston Records*), ii. 103, 114, 150, 154; Records of Town of Cambridge, 1630-1703, pp. 11, 13, 99; Watertown Records, i. 1-5; Braintree Records, pp. 5, 11, 22.

² Plymouth Colony Records, xi. 36.

³ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 333, 340, 346; Winthrop, i. 223, ii. 48.

to change the method of electing magistrates, the other was the adoption of a new code of legal procedure. From Winthrop's account we learn that the deputies returned to the General Court at the following sessions with the mandates of their towns upon these questions.

In the year 1642 the towns appear to have initiated action in the case of Sherman *versus* Keayne. This celebrated episode concerning the lost pig of Goody Sherman has furnished considerable merriment for historians; but the Great and General Court gravely considered the case for seven days, while an extraordinary meeting of the Governor, magistrates, deputies, and elders was convened for the purpose of putting an end to the bitter quarrel which had so violently upset the Puritan commonwealth. The story of a poor woman robbed of her pig by a rich and grasping merchant of Boston, denied justice by the magistrates, and fined twenty pounds sterling for having attempted to recover her property, resounded from one end of the little colony to the other, and seriously undermined all respect for law and magistracy. The country was greatly agitated. And Winthrop, who was now back in the graces of the freemen and serving as Governor, indicates in his diary that the towns commanded their deputies to see that justice was done.¹ The end of the affair was that Goody Sherman and the Boston merchant came to an understanding in regard to her claim for damages. But, in the meantime, a profound change had occurred in the constitutional organization of the colony. The deputies no longer sat with the magistrates in the Great and General Court. Hereafter they met in separate rooms; and thus arose the two houses of the General Court.

While the Massachusetts Colony Records prove that the practice of voting instructions had begun at least as early as 1641, there is no evidence of these votes to be found in the records of the towns for this year. Unlike the minutes of the proprietors' meetings, the records of the town-meetings in the early days were not kept with the same care which marked a later generation, and in many cases these documents have been totally lost. From such scant records as remain, however, we have considerable evidence of votes of instructions after the middle of the century. Thus the Boston Records show that Boston gave a mandate to its representatives on March 14, 1653.

¹ Winthrop, ii. 118.;

Altogether, there are records of eighteen votes of instructions by Boston town-meetings previous to the Revolution of 1689.¹ In 1655 the town of Hampton in New Hampshire (which then acknowledged the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and sent a deputy to the General Court at Boston) instructed its representative to demand from the General Court permission to hold a market once each week.² In 1658 another New Hampshire town, Dover, commanded its deputy to oppose any interference by the General Court with the freedom of the beaver trade. The deputy was also instructed to "Bring all such lawes as are macked at this Cortt as other Debeties do." Hereafter, Dover voted instructions to its deputy once every year immediately upon his election.³ Among other Massachusetts towns, evidence of the early use of instructions can be found in the published records of Salem, Scituate, Hingham, Springfield, Plymouth, Ipswich, and Duxbury.⁴

The epoch of the Revolution of 1689 saw considerable activity on the part of the towns in the matter of instructing their deputies. Votes of instructions were employed not only to resist the usurpations of the Stuart despotism in 1683-1686, but also for the purpose of establishing the provisional government of the colony after the downfall of Sir Edmund Andros.⁵ In this connection it is worthy of note that in the year 1689 the town of Newton instructed its deputy to demand for the new government a more liberal franchise with the abolition of religious qualifications — "an enlargement of freemen, — that all free-holders, that are of an honest conversation and competent estate, may have their vote in all civil elections."⁶

¹ Boston Records, ii. 114, 118, 132, 159, vii. 6, 15, 20, 26, 48, 103, 110, 128, 133, 142, 160, 169, 177.

² J. Dow, *History of Hampton*, p. 50.

³ A. H. Quint, *Historical Memoranda concerning Persons and Places in Old Dover*, pp. 50, 66, 70, 94.

⁴ Salem Town Records, 1659-1680, in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, xl. 277; Deane, *History of Scituate*, p. 100; S. Lincoln, *History of Hingham*, p. 81; Burt, *First Century of History of Springfield*, ii. 131; Records of Town of Plymouth, i. 170; Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 123; Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, 109.

⁵ Massachusetts Archives, cvii. 8, 44, 52; Boston Records, vii. 160, 177; T. F. Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, p. 234; Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 123; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, pp. 280, 282; Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, p. 109; Deane, *History of Scituate*, p. 101.

⁶ S. F. Smith, *History of Newton*, p. 51.

IV

PROCEDURE FOR THE VOTING OF INSTRUCTIONS IN TOWN-MEETINGS

On March 14, 1653, the town of Boston appointed a committee to draw up instructions for her newly elected members.¹ This procedure was generally adopted, not only in Boston, but throughout New England. After the annual election of deputies a committee on instructions would be named. This committee would then retire, while the town-meeting gave its attention to other business; or else the meeting would adjourn to a later date. In either case the committee reported their instructions to the town-meeting; and this report was debated by the town — not infrequently for several days — and adopted, amended, or rejected as the town saw fit. Throughout the year, other town-meetings might be summoned, on the demand of ten freemen, to vote new instructions to the representatives. As a rule, free-speech seems to have dominated the assemblies. Sometimes there was too much of it. "Each individual," said the Rev. William Gordon in his description of the town-meetings on the eve of the American Revolution, "has an equal liberty of delivering his opinion, and is not liable to be silenced or browbeaten by a richer or greater townsman than himself."² Samuel Sewall, the worthy jurist of witchcraft fame, has left us a picture of the "contentions" and "ferments" which prolonged the Boston town-meeting through the afternoons until candles had to be lighted to finish the business. And William Pyncheon has given us a glimpse of similar meetings in Salem.³ Although every freeman in Boston, even in the early nineteenth century when they numbered seven thousand, had a right to express his opinion in town-meeting, the exigencies of a large assembly naturally limited the exercise of his legitimate powers. And the humble freeman in Boston was not so apt to ventilate his opinions in a speech to his fellow-citizens as was the freeman in the smaller towns like Groton, or Hadley, or Braintree, where two or three score was a goodly number at any town-meeting.

¹ Boston Records, ii. 114.

² History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States (London: 1788), i. 382.

³ Diary, i. 125, 424, 473, 478, ii. 8, 74, 275, iii. 257; W. Pyncheon, Diary, pp. 24, 75, 122.

V

A TYPICAL BOSTON ELECTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The month of May was the usual time for the Speaker of the House of Representatives to send out writs for the election of the members to the Great and General Court. By the Charter of 1691 Boston was entitled to return four deputies. The election of deputies took place in the freemen's meeting; and the duty of issuing the warrants to summon the freemen's meeting devolved upon the selectmen. Frequently the warrants contained a clause declaring that a vote would be taken upon the question of instructing the deputies.¹

As Boston grew in size the number of voters greatly increased. At the election of deputies in 1696, Sewall noted that 134 ballots were cast.² Under date of February 16, 1703, he records the following: "2 p.m. Town-Meeting at Boston to chuse Representatives. Mr. Colman pray'ed. Chose S. Sewall Moderator. Voters 459. . . . This was the most unanimous Election that I remember to have seen in Boston, and the most Voters."³ In the May election of 1744 there were 532 votes cast; in the election of 1754 there were 603 votes.⁴

The great increase in the number of freemen invited the application of new methods of democratic control; and in 1763 a promising young lawyer, John Adams, who in later years was to succeed Washington as President of the United States, complained that the management of Boston's politics had fallen into the hands of a "clique of intriguers."⁵ Adams made this complaint after he had ferreted out the secret of the Caucus Club, which met in the garret of the mansion of Tom Dawes.⁶ Dawes was a master-mason, or, better say, architect and contractor. He designed the Brattle Street Church built in 1772-1773, drew plans of the parsonage and other property owned by the Old South Church, and was one of three commissioners appointed in 1795 to erect the State House on Beacon Hill.⁷ He

¹ Boston Records.² Diary, i. 424.³ ii. 74.⁴ Boston Records, xiv. 45, 255.⁵ Works, ii. 144.

⁶ Mr. Samuel C. Clough states that this locus, now numbered 214 to 228 Purchase Street, is on the southerly side of that street, between Summer and Congress Streets. When owned by Dawes, the estate ran to the water's edge, which was then north of the present Atlantic Avenue. It is owned to-day by Mr. William A. Gaston.

⁷ Cf. H. W. Holland, *William Dawes and his Ride with Paul Revere* (1878), pp. 23, 60-66; H. A. Hill, *History of the Old South Church*, i. 347, ii. 135 note,

owned considerable property in houses, held the position of adjutant of the Boston regiment, and, when his bones were at last laid to rest in King's Chapel Burying-Ground, he well deserved the following epitaph which his descendants in a later generation bestowed upon him:

Of his taste for the Grecian Simplicity
in ARCHITECTURE there are many Monuments
which he raised when that Art was new to us.

The Records of Massachusetts shew
that he was one of her active LEGISLATORS
. . . . and discharged various trusts
To his own honor and the PUBLIC WEAL.¹

The garret of the Dawes mansion on Purchase Street was large and comfortable, and here the Caucus Club was accustomed to hold its meetings. Among other associates came John Ruddock, a lawyer and selectman, William Story, the Deputy Register of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, William Cooper, for forty-nine years the town-clerk of Boston, William Fairfield, an assessor of long standing, and Samuel Adams, the maltster, the good-natured, careless, eloquent Master of Arts of Harvard College, a man so well-beloved by his fellow-citizens that his negligence as tax-collector was forgiven by vote of the town.

Among these cronies, John Adams complained, the policies of the town were determined upon, prior to every town-meeting, and "selectmen, assessors, collectors, wardens, fire-wards, and representatives were regularly chosen before they were chosen in the town." Having discussed their plans in secret, the Caucus Club frequently came to an understanding with the Merchants' Club,² which was composed of such men as John Hancock, John Rowe, Thomas Cushing, James Otis, and Josiah Quincy, and frequently united with this organization upon a ticket of candidates. The ticket was often

336-338; J. G. Palfrey, Sermon Preached to the Church in Brattle Square, July 18, 1824 (1825), p. 64. The "architect of the State House" was Charles Bulfinch, and not Dawes (as stated by Holland, p. 60). Dawes's plans of the Old South property are reproduced by Hill (i. 347, ii. 134-135). In 1765 Dawes received from the Province the sum of £2439.12.6 for "the Mason's work and sundrys which he paid by order of the Committee" in the erection of the present Harvard Hall (Publications of this Society, xiv. 17).

¹ Bridgman, Memorials of the Dead, p. 125.

² For the Merchants' Club, see Publications of this Society, xix. 159-259.

printed and distributed as a broadside. Sometimes it was published in the newspapers, as in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 14, 1764.

The student of Boston's government may obtain a vivid picture of election proceedings by a perusal of the *Boston Records*. On the day of election at ten o'clock in the morning, the selectmen call the freemen to order in Faneuil Hall. A minister of the gospel is requested to "pray with the town." Then the town-clerk reads the warrant for summoning the meeting and sundry election laws of the Great and General Court; whereupon the chairman of the selectmen proposes that the town shall proceed to elect four representatives by ballot. A motion to this effect is carried by unanimous consent, and the chairman announces that the poll will close at twelve o'clock. The voters write the names of their candidates upon slips of paper and hand them to the selectmen. Throughout the morning the crowd of freemen come and go. At noon the hall is filled with excited spectators and the result of the poll is announced. Technically the freemen's meeting is now at an end, but the assembly does not break up. There is further business to transact, and a town-meeting will be held. The selectmen call for nominations for moderator; and after the election of this presiding officer an adjournment is usually taken for dinner.

The worthy freeman who has assiduously attended the freemen's meeting finds that the election of representatives has consumed the best part of the morning unless he has returned to his business immediately after casting his vote, and the town-meeting will take the greater part of his afternoon. It is in the afternoon meeting that the question of instructing the representatives will come up. If the motion to instruct the deputies is passed in the affirmative, the procedure will be to appoint a committee to draw up the instructions. To the obscure freeman this may appear to be a cut and dried performance; for the committee will be composed of a bare half dozen of the "most respectable characters," and the paper which they draft will sometimes be adopted at the end of the town-meeting without any alterations. There will not be lacking those who complain that the instructions are secretly drawn up in dark corners, whereas the liberties of freemen require that instructions to representatives should be framed in an open assembly.¹ But, oftentimes, the substance of the instruc-

¹ Cf. a communication in the *Boston Evening Post*, October 28, 1765.

tions will evoke a sharp debate, and the simple freeman will thus hear the affairs of the town and of the commonwealth discussed by the keenest wits of the province; while, if his boldness gets the better of his prudence, he will attempt to gain the floor to express his own sentiments on the question before the meeting.

It is not only at the annual election of representatives that instructions may be voted. The selectmen, upon their own motion, may call a meeting for this purpose at any time during the year. Or, if the selectmen fail to call such a meeting, and any ambitious or discontented citizens think that the selectmen are delinquent in their duty, they may circulate a petition about town praying the selectmen to summon a special town-meeting. If the petition bears a goodly number of names the selectmen will grant the request.¹ In fact, there is a law upon the statute-books, enacted in the fourth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary (1692), which requires the selectmen to include in the warrant for calling the next town-meeting any proposition which ten freeholders may petition to have submitted to the town.² And should the selectmen refuse the demand of the petitioners, the aggrieved freemen may complain to the justices of the peace at the next session of the County Court and there obtain a warrant addressed to the constable, commanding him to summon a meeting of the town for the purpose of voting upon the proposals of the petitioners.

VI

CORPORATE CAPACITY OF THE NEW ENGLAND TOWNS

The corporate capacity of the constituencies was one of the features which distinguished the New England representative systems from those of the middle and southern colonies. In the former systems the town was the basis of representation; in the latter systems, the county or shire or parish was the basis.³ As we have already seen, town-

¹ Boston Records, xvii. 77, xiv. 57.

² Acts and Resolves of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, (Boston, 1759), p. 18.

³ In Massachusetts, by the law of 1634, the towns were to send two or three deputies to the Great and General Court. Ten years later the General Court referred to the towns a proposal for a law to abolish the representation by towns and to substitute in its place representation by shires or counties. (Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 118, ii. 88; Winthrop, i. 125, ii. 170.) The proposal, however, did not pass into law. Under the State Constitution of 1780 the townships were

meeting government was highly conducive to the growth of the practice of instructing. An orderly meeting was at the disposal of the electors, summoned at least once a year, and generally several times in each season of the year; and by means of this incorporated assembly the freemen were able to address their representatives with considerable show of authority. On the other hand, the members of the popular assemblies in the middle and southern colonies were elected at the hustings, as in England, where the sheriff took the "view of hands" on the open green before the court house, or else checked the voters' names off a list as they filed past his table.¹ The freemen of the counties and shires were not organized in any corporate capacity; and, accordingly, no meeting of freemen at the hustings could claim to be anything else than an extra-legal mass-meeting of citizens. It was not until the year 1765, at the beginning of the American Revolutionary era, that the freemen of the middle and southern colonies undertook to meet in an organized manner and to vote instructions to their deputies in the popular assembly.²

In the motherland, a similar tendency to employ instructions and positive mandates was a consequence of the corporate nature of certain constituencies. The freemen of the English shires seldom under-

retained as the election districts of the lower house of the legislature. Finally, by the constitutional amendment of 1857 the districts were re-arranged without preserving the old townships as units.

¹ The English statute of 1696 (7 and 8 William III, C. 25) was widely copied in the colonies. The preamble of the Maryland election law of 1716 contained the following: "And foreasmuch as the safest and best Rule for this Province in electing . . . Delegates and Representatives is the Precedents of the Proceedings in Parliament in Great Britain, as near as the Constitution of this Province will admit . . ." (Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland, Annapolis, 1727, p. 174.) Cf. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, iii. 172, 236; *Colonial Laws of New York*, i. 405; Allinson, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey (Burlington, 1776)*, p. 69; *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, ii. 212; *Laws of the Government of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex Upon Delaware (Philadelphia, 1741)*, p. 76.

² There were a few exceptions. In 1652 a meeting in Northampton County, Virginia, voted a paper of instructions. (William and Mary College Quarterly, i. 191.) Professor Charles W. Spencer has called my attention to a pamphlet in the British Public Record Office entitled "To the Inhabitants and Freeholders of Westchester County (New York)" issued by Lewis Morris, the leader of the Governor's party, who proposed that the towns of the county should appoint delegates "to joyn with me in drawing up necessary Instructions to our Representative."

took to instruct their knights in Parliament. But the corporations of the boroughs frequently instructed the burgesses. In 1681 the freemen of the City of London in Common Hall instructed the four members in Parliament to refuse their assent to money grants until security against Popery was obtained; in 1696 to urge an investigation of the conspiracy against the monarchy and the adoption of measures to safe-guard merchant ships from falling into the enemy's hands; in 1697 to pursue a strong policy against France; in 1714 to impeach the ministry for mismanagement of the war against Louis XIV; and in 1740, to reduce the number of "placemen" in the House of Commons.¹ The practice of voting instructions was not limited to London. In 1742, for instance, when the clamor for the impeachment of Sir Robert Walpole was at its height, the boroughs of London, Stirling, Aberdeen, York, Hereford, and Coventry, among other cities, sent instructions to their burgesses demanding that the ex-minister be brought to punishment.²

Thus, both in the motherland and in the colonies, wherever the constituencies of the legislative assembly were organized in a corporate capacity there appeared a tendency to control the representatives by means of authoritative mandates.

VII

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

By means of a vote of instructions the inhabitants of any town could initiate such legislation as they saw fit. In one feature, however, there was a difference between this colonial practice and the modern initiative. Our Puritan forefathers in the town-meetings did not as a rule draw up the exact wording of the new laws which they demanded. They merely stated in more or less general terms what they desired in the way of legislation; it was seldom that the constituents of a deputy actually undertook to frame the law which they

¹ W. Maitland, *History and Survey of London* (London, 1760), i. 469, 500, 502, 518, 600. The Common Council of London very frequently voted instructions. (Id. i. 548, 623, 624, 628; H. Chamberlain, *History and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, London, 1769, i. 378; *Addresses Presented from the Court of Common Council to the King . . . [and] Instructions at Different Times to the Representatives of the City in Parliament*, London, 1778, pp. 20, 30.)

² These documents were reprinted in the *Boston Evening Post*, March 7, 1743.

desired to be put on the statute-book. With the *initiative* went the *referendum*. In Rhode Island, during the years 1647 to 1663, every law passed by the General Assembly had to be referred to the towns for acceptance or rejection.¹ But this requirement was exceptional. The referendum in New England was more frequently a specialized form of instruction of deputies, a practice by which the members of the lower house had recourse to their constituents for instructions or advice upon particular bills or questions of policy.

The first use of the referendum in Massachusetts appears to have been in the year 1641, seven years after the freemen from the outlying towns had overturned the aristocratic régime of John Winthrop and inaugurated the representative system. In the June session, as we have already mentioned in another place, the General Court submitted to the towns a new plan for collecting the annual vote for magistrates. On this occasion the deputies were ordered to carry copies of the proposed law to the towns and to "make returnes at the next Court, what the minds of the freemen are hearin, that the Court may pceede accordingly."² Governor Winthrop tells us in his diary that the greater number of the towns "refused" the proposed law.³ In the October session, in the same year, another referendum was ordered, this time upon the question of the adoption of a newly drafted legal code.⁴ As a result of this referendum, the curious mixture of Scripture, Puritan political notions, and the Common Law of England, known as the "Body of Liberties," was voted to be "the law of the land," as we learn from the scribbling in the hand-writing of Governor Winthrop upon the last yellow page of the first volume of the Massachusetts Colony Records preserved in the State House in Boston.

Hereafter the referendum was frequently used throughout the colonial period. No unusual constitutional process, therefore, was required when the House of Representatives in 1776 desired to ascertain the will of the commonwealth upon the question of independence from Great Britain. On May 10, 1776, the following resolution was adopted:

¹ Rhode Island Colonial Records, i. 148, 229, 401, 429.

² Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 334.

³ Winthrop, ii. 223.

⁴ Massachusetts Colony Records, i. 340.

Resolved, As the Opinion of this House that the inhabitants of each town in this Colony, ought in full Meeting warned for that Purpose, to advise the Person or Persons who shall be chosen to Represent them in the next General Court, whether that if the honorable Congress should, for the Safety of the said Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, they the said Inhabitants will solemnly engage with their Lives and Fortunes to Support the Congress in the Measure.¹

In response to this referendum or appeal to the country, the towns of Massachusetts held meetings in May and June, and, after electing their deputies for the next General Court, instructed them in vigorous terms to support the Continental Congress in any of its measures looking towards independence.² Many of the towns on this occasion drew up elaborate instructions, which reviewed the grievances of the American colonies and gave the history of the controversy with Great Britain.

During the four years following the Declaration of Independence the referendum was employed upon several occasions, particularly when the question of making a State constitution was referred to the towns.³ The Constitution of 1780 was adopted as the result of these votes. Throughout the colonial history of Massachusetts, as well as in the Revolutionary epoch, there had been a tendency to confine the use of the referendum to constitutional questions. And after the establishment of the Federal Government, the referendum was strictly limited to questions of fundamental law.

VIII

THE RECALL

Our Puritan forefathers attempted to use the *recall*, with varying degrees of success. In 1644, the townsmen of Gloucester "dismissed" William Stevens who represented them in the General Court and chose another in his place. The General Court, however, refused to seat the new deputy, and an order was sent to the town of Gloucester

¹ Massachusetts House Journal, pp. 266, 276.

² Massachusetts Archives, clvi. 98-120.

³ Cf. E. M. Hartwell, *Referenda in Massachusetts and Boston, in the City of Boston, Monthly Bulletin of the Statistics Department* (1909), xi. 151-160; H. A. Cushing, *History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts*, in *Columbia University Studies*, vol. vii. chaps. vii, viii.

for the return of Stevens. The town was informed that it might bring complaint against their deputy, and, if they were able to show that he was "vnfitt for y^e service of this Courte, y^t then this howse shall acc^o it theire dutie to deale wth him as an offending member thereof." ¹ Against this decision of the General Court the town was unable to prevail. In the year 1686, however, Salem asserted the right to withdraw her deputies at the General Court.² And in the following year, the town of Fairfield in Connecticut stripped its deputies of their offices for having weakly yielded to the demands of Sir Edmund Andros at the memorable meeting of the Council whereat the popular leaders are said to have plucked the charter out of the hands of the Stuart despot and hid it in the hollow of an oak.³

A century later, at another constitutional crisis, the New England towns very generally exercised the right of recall, without objection on the part of the legislature. In 1774, among other instances, the town of Rehoboth summarily dismissed Captain John Wheeler as their delegate to the Provincial Congress and elected a more enthusiastic patriot in his place.⁴ Four years later, when the adoption of a State constitution was under discussion in Massachusetts, the same town proposed as one of the fundamental laws a provision "enabling each town in this State at any time, to elect a Representative or Representatives to represent them in the General Court, and thereby to *recall* their former Representative or Representatives as the pleasure of any town may be."⁵ Other towns likewise urged the adoption of the recall as a part of the new constitution. The suggestion was not followed by the Convention which framed the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. But, on the other hand, the Convention retained a feature of the old Massachusetts system, which was practically as effective as the recall would have been in controlling the representatives of the towns. This was the provision for annual elections, a habit so deeply rooted in Massachusetts political life that the people have been loath to abandon it even in the twentieth century when the inconvenience of a yearly contest for governor and

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 3.

² Felt, *Annals of Salem*, p. 282.

³ Schenck, *History of Fairfield*, i. 237-239.

⁴ Bliss, *History of Rehoboth*, pp. 145, 146.

⁵ *Continental Journal* (Boston), February 4, 1779. The town voted the resolution on June 1, 1778.

representatives has become very distressing. John Adams and the revolutionary patriots of Massachusetts considered the annual return of public officials to the status of simple citizens as a panacea for the majority of political ills.¹ They believed in the maxim: "Where annual elections end, there tyranny begins." So they would have all great men —

Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,
They rise, they break, and to that sea return.

This would teach them the great political virtues of humility, patience and moderation, without which, in John Adams's opinion, every man in power becomes a ravenous beast of prey!

A few years after the adoption of the first State Constitution the town of Cambridge passed a resolution in town-meeting succinctly describing the Massachusetts system which had then been in existence for nearly two centuries, and which, under the influence of modern life, was soon to become somewhat modified. "The Constitution of Massachusetts," said the townsmen of Cambridge, "has provided for the annual choice of every branch of the Legislature, and that the people in the several towns may assemble to deliberate on public grievances, and to *instruct* their Representatives. By annual elections there are frequent opportunities to change the Representatives if their conduct is disapproved."²

IX

GENERAL AND LOCAL CHARACTER OF TOWN MANDATES

The instructions voted by the various towns reflected the economic and social conditions of each particular locality. For instance, the towns-people of Scituate in 1665 experienced some hardship with reference to the ease with which debtors defrauded their creditors, and in this year the town commanded their deputy to move the Court for a new law to prevent debtors from paying their debts "with old rusty barrels of guns that are serviceable for no man, unless to work up as old iron."³ Boston, the metropolis of New England, where strangers could easily come and go, was frequently compelled to in-

¹ J. Adams, Works, iv. 197; 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 377.

² Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 166.

³ Deane, History of Scituate, p. 100.

struct her deputies to secure laws guarding the town from the charge of paupers who flocked in from the smaller towns or from the neighboring colonies. The Boston deputies were also often reminded by the town of the need for promoting trade and commerce.¹ Salem, another sea-port town which was chiefly interested in the fishing and whaling industries, was not content to rely upon the "ancient representation of a cod fish" mounted on a mahogany board and hung back of the Speaker's chair in the Hall of the Representatives as a constant reminder that New England's farm was on the seas; but we find the town, among other occasions, instructing its deputies in 1735 to move the General Court to send an appeal to England against the acts of Parliament which hampered the American trade in fish.² On the other hand, an inland town like Worcester was more interested in promoting agriculture than in fostering commerce or fishing. Worcester was near the centre of the interior district which became the scene of Shays's Rebellion in 1786. During this period of agricultural discontent a hundred or more instructions were voted by various towns in the middle and western part of Massachusetts, demanding relief for the debtor class by increasing the circulation of paper money, and for the encouragement of farmers by a deduction in the land tax and a shifting of the burden of taxation upon the population engaged in commerce. Some small towns made even more radical demands, calling upon their deputies to exterminate the profession of lawyers, to abolish the quarterly sessions, and to remove the State House out of the wicked city of Boston into some more democratic and accessible inland town!³

¹ Boston Records, vii. 134, viii. 135, xii. 122, 146, 198, 226, xiv. 12, 277, xxxv. 117.

² Felt, *Annals of Salem*, p. 410.

³ Among other examples, the town of Sutton on January 24, 1787, voted "that our Representative be instructed to use his influence in the General Court that any man may be permitted to keep a half score of sheep that they may not be liable to be taken from him by Warrant or Execution" (Benedict and Tracy, *History of Sutton*, p. 127). Concord instructed its deputy in May, 1787, "to provide some way for raising some supplies for the public expense, which shall be less burdensome on the landed interest" (Shattuck, *History of Concord*, p. 142). Worcester demanded in October 1786, "the annihilation of the courts of common pleas and general sessions" (Worcester Town Records, 1784-1800, pp. 24, 89). Among other radical instructions, see Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, p. 412; Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, ii. 135; Hudson, *History of Marlborough*, p. 195; Weston, *History of Middleboro*, p. 577; Braintree Records, p. 567. For the

Thus, local opinions, prejudices, and interests found expression in the mandates voted by the freemen to their deputies in the lower house of the colonial assembly. Like the *cahiers* of the French, these documents were the voice of the people. It was not alone upon matters of local interest that the deputies were instructed. The whole realm of colonial legislation was covered by the freemen in town-meeting. Particularly in the struggle over the revocation of the Charter in 1684-1689 and in the contest over the governor's salary in 1728-1733, the towns stood out for the liberties of the colony. In both of these conflicts Boston led the way in arousing concerted action. In the year 1684, when the House of Representatives was greatly disturbed by the demand of the British Crown for the surrender of the Massachusetts Charter, the deputies of Boston applied to their town for instructions in the matter. A town-meeting was accordingly summoned, and the leaders of the popular party invited the celebrated divine, Mr. Increase Mather, to address the meeting and give "his Thoughts on the case of Conscience before them."¹ Mather came, bursting with eloquence; and in a passionate harangue he reminded the freemen of Boston that their forefathers had purchased the Charter at great sacrifice. "And would they deliuer it up, even as Ahab required Naboth's Vineyard: oh, their Children would be bound to curse them!"² The orator called attention to the manner in which the Stuarts had lately treated the city of London, and in closing he drew a warning therefrom for the metropolis of New England. "Upon this pungent Speech, many of the Freemen fell into Tears; and there was a General Acclamation, 'We thank you, Sire! We thank you, Sire!'" The question of sustaining the deputies in their refusal to surrender the Charter was then put to a vote, and carried *nemine contradicente*.³ This action on the part of Boston, of course, was not without effect upon the country, as the pious son of the eloquent divine tells us in his *Parentator*. The deputies of Ipswich, for instance, were informed by their constituents that every

action taken by the "instructed" members in the House of Representatives, see House Journal (Massachusetts Archives), v. 90, vi. 471, vii. 297, 317, 459, viii. 66, 70, 110, 111, 266, 289, 496, 505; Massachusetts Centinel, March 29, 1788.

¹ Cotton Mather gives an account of this affair in his *Parentator* (1724), p. 91.

² The above quotation is from "Extract of a Letter from New England to Mr. Randolph. Recd. 30 May [16]84" in Edward Randolph (Prince Society), iii. 283.

³ Boston Records, vii. 164.

freeman at the town-meeting voted to instruct them never to resign the liberties of Massachusetts.¹ These spirited resolutions of the towns, however, did not immediately save New England from the despotism of the Stuarts. The Charter was annulled in the King's Court, and in 1687 the Council of Sir Edmund Andros prohibited the holding of all town-meetings save the annual freemen's meeting for electing officers.² But as we have already seen, after the downfall of the Stuarts an *interim* government was set up by the authority of town mandates.

Another occasion when town mandates were employed in the struggle with the Crown was in the year 1728, when the House of Representatives and the Governor were at odds over the question of making a permanent settlement of the Governor's salary. Under the leadership of the astute politician, Elisha Cooke, the House issued a circular letter to the towns, calling upon them for instructions as to future action in the conflict.³ A town-meeting was immediately summoned in Boston, at which the Rev. Joseph Sewall offered prayer and Jonathan Belcher presided as moderator. After the freemen had listened to the speeches of the Governor's opponents, they voted to resist the settlement of a permanent salary upon the King's representative.⁴ As soon as he was informed of the action of the Boston town-meeting, Governor Burnet sent a message to the General Court bitterly complaining of Boston's "unnecessary forwardness," which had set an "Example of doing the like to the Towns in the Country."⁵ And he arbitrarily adjourned the Court to meet a week later in Salem. The tragic death of the Governor in 1729 as the result of a fever which he contracted when his coach fell into the Charles River as he was passing from Cambridge to Boston, did not end the conflict. His successor Belcher also urged the grant of a permanent salary; and in the summer of 1731 the House sent another appeal to the towns for support.⁶ In response, town-meetings were summoned

¹ Waters, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 234; Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 123.

² Connecticut Colonial Records, iii. 427.

³ Massachusetts House Journal, 1728, pp. 61, 64, 67; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts* (London, 1767), ii. 345.

⁴ Boston Records, viii. 226, xiii. 178.

⁵ House Journal, 1728, pp. 103, 105.

⁶ *Id.*, 1731, p. 119.

throughout the colony and the deputies were again instructed to oppose the Governor.¹

X

PUBLICITY IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND

Publicity was not lacking even in the earliest colonial period when roads were few and wretchedly kept. In 1632, Governor Winthrop paid a visit to Governor Bradford. It took him two days to make the journey of forty-six miles, over unbridged streams and dangerous swamps between Boston and Plymouth.² Soon, however, each settlement had a highway of some sort leading to Boston or Plymouth. In certain seasons of the year, the freemen who lived in the inland towns were accustomed to haul their wheat or corn by wagon as far as Boston, stopping at the way-side inns when night overtook them on their journey to or from market. The Puritan farmers thus learned at first hand the gossip of the metropolis. Frequently the ministers and elders travelled to Boston for spiritual, fraternal or other reasons; and the deputies made the trip sometimes four times a year. After attending the sessions of the Great and General Court the deputies would return to their homes, bringing with them copies of the laws passed at the Court and the news of the province which they had gathered as they wined and dined at the good Ship Tavern on North Street, or as they attended with becoming reverence the weekly lecture at the First Church. It was only the remote and recently settled towns that elected deputies who were not inhabitants of their jurisdictions and who thus did not come back to their small constituencies at the adjournment of the legislature. John Hull, the coiner of the pinetree shilling, and the indulgent parent who is said to have dowered his daughter with the amount of her weight in silver, served seven years in the General Court as a deputy for Wenham, Westfield, Concord, and Salisbury at the same time that he was a resident of Boston.³ But such representation was rare.

¹ Boston Records, xii. 26; Bi-Centennial Book of Malden, p. 206; Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton*, p. 127; Watertown Records, iii. 62; Hazen, *History of Billerica*, p. 226; Weston, *History of Middleboro*, p. 572; Benedict and Tracy, *History of Sutton*, p. 44; Braintree Town Records, p. 166; Brooks, *History of Medford*, p. 105.

² Winthrop, i. 94.

³ American Antiquarian Society Transactions and Collections, iii. 121; Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 147, 297, iv. ii, 362, 485, 507, 551, v. 2, 98, 260.

Upon the return of the deputy, it was customary to have the clerk read aloud in town-meeting the acts which had been passed by the General Court, while the deputies were called upon to explain any ambiguities in the laws or to make a report upon their efforts in carrying out the instructions of the town.¹ In a later period, when transportation facilities had greatly increased, many of the towns carried on a correspondence with their deputies throughout the session of the Great and General Court.²

In case the freemen of any town were suspicious as to the conduct of their deputy at Boston they had recourse, in the eighteenth century, to the printed Journals of the House of Representatives. The custom of publishing these journals began in the last days of the governorship of Joseph Dudley, the Massachusetts politician and courtier, of whom Thomas Hutchinson well said: "Ambition was his ruling passion, and perhaps, like Caesar, he had rather be the first man in New England than second in Old." In 1715, a controversy between the Governor and the House of Representatives led the deputies to order the printing of their Journals for the purpose of vindicating themselves before their constituents. The precedent thus established was followed consistently until after the American Revolution.³

Even before the beginning of the publication of the printed Journals of the House of Representatives, newspapers had appeared in Massachusetts. As early as 1704 the Boston News-Letter was established; and in 1719 a rival sheet called the Boston Gazette came out. Both of these papers began their existence at a time when the royal instructions of the Governors still contained a demand for the censorship of the press, and when no one in the province could legally print

Springfield, Andover, and Oxford for a few years elected non-resident deputies. (Burt, *First Century of the History of Springfield*, i. 34; Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, p. 136; Daniels, *History of Oxford*, p. 12; Freeland, *Records of Oxford*, p. 147.)

¹ Massachusetts Colony Records, iii. 204, iv. i. 22, 182, v. 4, 562; Quint, *Historical Memoranda concerning Old Dover*, p. 144; Green, *Historical Sketch of Groton*, p. 198; Shattuck, *History of Concord*, p. 142.

² Worcester Town Records from 1753 to 1783, p. 244; *Essex Gazette (Salem)*, June 7, 1774; Shattuck, *History of Concord*, p. 142.

³ See the introduction to W. C. Ford's edition of *Journals of the House of Representatives, 1715* (Boston, 1902).

a book or a pamphlet without "license first obtained."¹ Thus, both of the papers were cautious journals, without any political complexion; and both announced the fact that they were "Published by Authority."² In 1721, the *New England Courant* began its career. The publisher was James Franklin, the elder brother of Benjamin Franklin who at this time served in his brother's office as an apprentice. James Franklin was a radical. He attacked the theologians; and was consequently assigned by one worthy divine to the "Hell-Fire Club of Boston." He also assailed the Governor and the House of Representatives. This impudence resulted in his arrest and imprisonment, but the failure of the House to secure a conviction against him for libel, greatly encouraged the freedom of the press throughout New England. The *New England Weekly Journal* followed in 1727; and in 1731 the *Weekly Rehearsal* was printed by John Draper, but in 1732 was transferred to Thomas Fleet, who in 1735 changed its name to the *Boston Evening Post*. Thus, soon a large array of newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides provided the freemen of the province with every variety of political information.³ The inhabitants of the towns were not unaware of the importance of this literature as a political asset. In 1751, a writer declared that the Massachusetts freemen were jealous of the "Liberty of the Press" because it enabled them "to come to the Knowledge of what *their Delegates* are about."⁴

XI

THE EXCISE BILL OF 1754

The growth of the means of publicity in New England was intimately connected with the practice of voting mandates to the deputies. We have already seen how the popular party in Massachusetts

¹ Concerning the censorship of the press in Massachusetts, see C. A. Duniway, *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts*, ch. v.

² Cf. *Publications of this Society*, ix. 422, 441.

³ For an account of this remarkable increase in publishing, see Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, ii. 309; *Narrative and Critical History of America*, v. 120; *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 387; S. N. D. North, *History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States*, Tenth Census of the United States, viii. *passim*; J. L. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, vol. ii. ch. vii; Tyler, *History of American Literature, 1607-1765*, ii. 93.

⁴ Appendix to *Massachusetts in Agony* (Boston, 1751), in A. McF. Davis, *Colonial Currency Reprints* (Prince Society), iv. 464.

from time to time appealed to the towns in order to win support in the contest with the Governors. But it was not alone in the struggles with the British Crown that resort was had on a general scale to the town-meetings for instructions. Frequently when the contest between the sea-port towns and the country towns, or between the paper money party and the sound money party waxed hot, the representatives carried the disputed issue to the towns for local advice. An incident of this sort occurred in 1754, after William Shirley had persuaded the General Court to fall into line with the British imperial policy and to send another expedition against the French in Canada. More money was needed for the undertaking in hand, and the deputies from the agricultural regions proposed that the new tax should be a duty on wines and spirits, which, in their ignorance of economic laws, they believed would fall entirely upon the rich dwellers in the sea-port towns and upon the inn-keepers everywhere. The New England farmers always had a grudge against the dispensers of hospitality at the cross-roads; while the unpopularity of rich men has not been limited to colonial days.

The proposed Excise Bill contained a provision authorizing excisemen to search the cellars of inns and houses. This was a necessary, but very aggravating provision; and the deputies from the sea-port towns made the most of it to discredit the bill, taunting the country members with having proposed a measure which was inquisitorial and highly objectionable to the free people of Massachusetts. They moved that the bill should be printed and sent to the towns for their consideration. The country members could hardly refuse to accept this challenge; and accordingly the new tax was referred to the towns for their instructions.¹ The contest which followed was very close, and before it was ended the weakness of the Massachusetts system had been exposed in its most vulnerable point. For, what was there to prevent a member from quietly putting his instructions in his pocket and voting as he saw fit? When the Court convened after the recess, the commercial party believed that they had secured the larger number of instructions, and consequently they moved that the returns from the towns should be canvassed in a public sitting of the House.² This motion to lay the town votes before

¹ House Journal, 1754, p. 45.

² Id. p. 60.

the General Court was not to the liking of the country members, and was voted down; while the Excise Bill was passed by a narrow majority.¹

The refusal of the country members to disclose their instructions was the occasion of much gossip. An opponent of the Excise Bill published a pamphlet in which he declared that the bill had been carried in the House against instructions from the majority of the towns.² Another writer in the *Boston Gazette* for December 31, 1754, maintained that a large number of the towns had failed to vote instructions, thereby leaving their deputies free to vote as they pleased. A war of pamphlets and broadsides ensued, which was ultimately checked when one particularly provoking scribbler penned a satire called *The Monster of Monsters*, and was summarily punished by the scandalized House of Representatives.³

It may have been that upon this occasion a few deputies violated their instructions. As a rule, there were means whereby a constituency could test the faithfulness of its representative, namely, by an examination of the "printed journals." The instructions which the

¹ House Journal, 1754, pp. 61, 62, 101. I have not examined the unpublished town records for action taken upon the Excise Bill. Among the published records, and in the Massachusetts Archives, I have found only five town votes in favor of the bill. Cf. Barry, *History of Framingham*, p. 48; Paige, *History of Hardwick*, p. 47; Marvin, *History of Lancaster*, p. 266; *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, p. 207; Pierce, *Town of Weston*, p. 38. A copy of the vote of the town of Weston is in the Massachusetts Archives, cxix. 475a. Twenty-one town votes against the Excise Bill have been found. Cf. *Boston Records*, xiv. 260; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, p. 444; *Worcester Town Records for 1753-1783*, p. 19; Babson, *History of Gloucester*, p. 344; Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 128; Brooks, *History of Medford*, p. 109; Hadley Town Records (MS. in Town Clerk's house), August 5, 1754; *Records of the Town of Plymouth*, iii. p. 63; *Early Records of Lunenburg*, p. 166; *Braintree Records*, p. 337; Coffin, *Sketch of Newbury*, p. 221; *Frothingham, History of Charlestown*, p. 263; Barry, *Historical Sketch of Hanover*, p. 170; Washburn, *Historical Sketches of Leicester*, p. 65; Merrill, *History of Amesbury*, p. 220; Roads, *History of Marblehead*, p. 63. The *Boston Gazette*, August 20, 1754, stated that Dorchester and Weymouth had voted instructions against the Excise Bill. The *Boston Post-Boy*, September 23, 1754, reported similar action taken by the town of Kittery. The instructions of Eastham and Stoughton are in the Massachusetts Archives, cxix. 474, 475.

² *The Relapse* (Boston, 1754). Copies of this pamphlet are in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and in the Boston Athenæum. The author is unknown. Other pamphlets on the subject are *The Eclipse*, *The Review*, and *The Crisis*, the last by the Rev. Samuel Cooper.

³ House Journal, 1754, pp. 63, 67, 72.

deputies received as a result of a *referendum* were occasionally turned over to the Speaker or Secretary of the Commonwealth and preserved in the archives of the House of Representatives.¹ On the other hand, no official record was made of the instructions which had been received without a *referendum* having been ordered; and this sort of mandate was the greater in number. Notwithstanding the opportunities for disregarding the commands of the towns, I have failed to find another case of disobedience on the part of any deputy previous to the American Revolution. And in this later epoch, as we have already seen, the towns created their own remedy for disobedience by successfully reviving their claim of the right to recall their deputies.

XII

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On the eve of the American Revolution the practice of voting instructions in the town-meetings of New England was a century and a half old. As a means of arousing public opinion and as an instrument for voicing the will of the people, it was an institution whose usefulness had already been thoroughly tested. Accordingly, in the struggle for independence (and the formation of the new State governments, instructions from the towns constituted one of the chief weapons of the patriots of the Revolution. Samuel Adams, the Man of the Town-Meeting and the Father of the American Revolution, pinned his faith to these votes of the towns. His ablest state papers were the mandates which he composed as chairman of the Boston committee on instructions in the years 1764 and 1765; and in a letter to Arthur Lee he said: "It is a very common practice for this town to instruct their representatives; which among other good purposes serves to communicate their sentiments and spirit to the other towns, and may be looked upon as fresh appeals to the world."² Another patriot, John Adams, then a young lawyer residing in Braintree, first

¹ On November 5, 1765, the House ordered: "That the Instructions of the several towns to their Representatives, relative to the Stamp Act, be printed in the Journal of the House; and that the Boston Members place them in proper Order for that end" (House Journal, p. 167. Cf. Boston Evening Post, November 11, 1765). These instructions were not the returns of a referendum. The order of the House was never carried out.

² R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, ii. 204; Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, iii. 37.

came into public notice as a leader in the popular cause by penning the instructions of his native town against the Stamp Act. The Braintree instructions of 1765 were adopted a few days after an enthusiastic meeting in Faneuil Hall had voted upon the instructions which Samuel Adams had drawn up for the guidance of the Boston deputies.¹ Both of these bold and eloquent documents were printed in the Boston newspapers; and within a month, a half hundred and more Massachusetts towns had called town-meetings and adopted instructions which were couched in the same words as those used by the Adamses.²

Throughout the period of transition from colony to statehood the revolutionary leaders relied upon town mandates as the constitutional basis for their political action. In 1774, the towns of Massachusetts established the first Provincial Congress by means of their votes of instructions. The circumstances were as follows. General Gage had summoned the House of Representatives to meet at Salem on October 5. In September the town of Boston instructed its deputies to refuse to recognize the Mandamus Council, "and, as we have Reason to believe that a Conscientious Discharge of your Duty, will produce your Dissolution, as an House of Representatives — We do hereby *impower & instruct* you to join with the Members [from the other towns in forming a Provincial Congress]." ³ A considerable number of towns copied the action of Boston; and as a result the deputies, having met in Salem on October 5, withdrew to Concord and set up the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

¹ Works, ii. x, 152, ix. 610, 616; Cushing, Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 7; Braintree Records, p. 404; Boston Records, xvi. 155.

² The instructions of the Boston town-meeting of September 18, 1765, were published in the Boston Gazette on September 23. The Braintree instructions were adopted on September 24, but not published until October 14. I find a record of mandates voted by the following towns: Andover, Beverly, Boston, Boxford, Braintree, Bridgewater, Byfield, Cambridge, Charlestown, Danvers, Dedham, Duxbury, Framingham, Gloucester, Groton, Haverhill, Ipswich, Leicester, Lexington, Malden, Marblehead, Marshfield, Medfield, Medford, Medway, Mendon, Middleboro, Milton, Newburyport, Newton, Norton, Oakham, Pembroke, Plymouth, Quincy, Reading, Rowley, Roxbury, Salem, Sandwich, Shirley, Southampton, Stoughton, Westborough, Westford, Weston, Weymouth, Worcester and Yarmouth.

³ Boston Records, xviii. 192. Cf. the instructions of Barnstable, Billerica, Brookline, Cambridge, Danvers, Framingham, Gorham (Maine), Hardwick, Middleboro, Portland (Maine), Weymouth.

The constitutional struggle with the British Crown and Parliament, like the Revolution of 1689, quickened the civic life of the New England towns. The freemen vigorously exercised their right to instruct. The question of the adoption of a State constitution occasioned a deluge of town mandates. Moreover, the horizon of the New England towns was not limited by the boundaries of their respective States. They took under consideration all the problems of the Confederacy, and frequently *instructed* their deputies to move the State legislature to *instruct* its delegates in Congress to pursue certain policies. Thus the town of Mendon in 1784 demanded the repeal of the Impost Act.¹ And in 1781, when ugly rumors were afloat concerning the malfeasance of Silas Deane, Weymouth and Medway instructed their deputies to move the General Court to instruct the delegates in Congress "to demand of their foreign ministers, commissioners and agents a faithful account of their management and expense of public money, and that no character however great, be screen'd from public scrutiny."² In the same year the town of Stoughton, after instructing its deputy to vote for the repeal of a Massachusetts currency act which was not consistent with the orders of Congress, admonished him: "And you are instructed to be very cautious in giving your vote . . . for any Law or Resolve, until you are well informed that they are not repugnant to the authority of Congress."³ In 1778 the Great and General Court ordered a referendum on the question of ratifying the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.⁴

Until a late day the town of Boston continued to play its role of leader. In 1781 the freemen in Faneuil Hall voted to instruct the deputies to move the General Court to urge upon Congress the necessity of including an article in the impending treaty of peace to secure American rights in the Newfoundland fisheries. The town, furthermore, ordered that a circular letter be sent to other Massachusetts towns urging them to take similar action.⁵ As a result, many towns

¹ Metcalf, *Annals of the Town of Mendon*, p. 417.

² Jameson, *History of Medway*, p. 58.

³ Huntoon, *History of the Town of Canton*, 423. Sutton passed a similar vote: Benedict and Tracy, *History of Sutton*, p. 93.

⁴ House Journal, 1777, pp. 143, 206, 208; Massachusetts Archives, clvi. 294-303.

⁵ Boston Records, xxvi. 211-219.

like Plymouth ordered their deputies to conform with the requirements of the Boston instructions.¹ In 1783, after the publication of the Treaty of Paris, Boston again led the way in eliciting a flood of instructions directed against the policy of leniency to the Loyalists.²

XIII

TOWN MANDATES AS EVIDENCE OF POLITICAL CAPACITY

After the American Revolution John Adams declared that town instructions had been one of the most important means by which the independence of the colonies was won. In his opinion, the birth of American liberty lay in the town-meetings where the freemen met "to deliberate upon the public affairs of the town, or to give instructions to their representatives in the legislature." "The consequences of these institutions," he went on to say, "have been, that the inhabitants, having acquired from their infancy the habit of discussing, of deliberating, and of judging of public affairs, it was in these assemblies of towns or districts that the sentiments of the people were formed in the first place, and their resolutions were taken from the beginning to the end of the disputes and the war with Great Britain."³ Adams always delighted to discourse on the beauties of the town-meeting government, where —

every man, high and low, every yeoman, tradesman, and even day-laborer, as well as every gentleman and public magistrate, had a right to vote, and to speak his sentiments upon public affairs, to propose measures and to instruct the representatives . . . This right was constantly used under the former government and is now much more frequently used under the new. The world has seen some hundreds of sets of in-

¹ Records of Town of Plymouth, iii. 439. Cf. Chamberlain, *History of Chelsea*, ii. 549; Hanson, *History of Danvers*, p. 100; Felt, *Annals of Ipswich*, p. 123; Smith, *History of Newburyport*, 120; Willis, *History of Portland, Maine*, ii. 174; Felt, *Annals of Salem*, p. 513; W. Pyncheon, *Diary*, p. 114.

² Boston Records, xxvi. 310. Mention should also be made of a communication by "An American" published in Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy* for May 1, 1783, which advised the towns in the county of Worcester to "bind by instructions" their deputies elected to the next General Court to the end that they vote for no law permitting the return of the Loyalists or for rendering them compensation or restitution for confiscated property.

³ *Defence of the American Constitutions (1787)*, i. 384; *Works*, v. 495.

structions to representatives under the former government, wherein they enjoined an open opposition to judges, governors, acts of parliament, king, lords and commons of Great Britain.¹

John Adams was right. The town-meeting government of New England was a school for political thought and action. For a century and a half the Puritans and their descendants had received a political education such as few Englishmen could boast. The royal governors frequently complained of the democratic tendencies of the town-meetings; and the British Crown, acting upon this advice, more than once sought to suppress them. Sir Edmund Andros when he issued the edict prohibiting all town-meetings save the annual election meeting, the British Parliament when it passed the Regulating Ordinance in 1774, and General Gage when he interdicted town-meetings, knew that they were striking at the essence of the New England democracy. It was in these bodies that the people dared to frame their instructions which the deputies carried with them to the General Court to the end that when the royal governor said: The King demands so and so, the representatives could reply: But our constituents demand thus and thus.

Our New England forefathers were more extensively initiated in the arts of self-government than were their fellow-countrymen in Old England. In 1729 Governor Burnet had informed the Duke of Newcastle that the people of Massachusetts were then aiming at independence.² And although this faithful representative of the Crown was in error when he made this judgment, yet it was true that the New England town-meeting system was eminently provocative of a hardy, stubborn and independent public opinion, and that the colonial assemblies were a stalwart political growth. The relationship between these two bodies — the towns and the assemblies — was a relationship more direct and more unimpaired than was that which existed between the English constituencies and the House of Commons. In New England's representative system there were no rotten boroughs, no nomination seats, and no "brute votes." And moreover, while the middle class in England was never fairly and fully represented in Parliament until the Electoral Reform of 1832, the middle

¹ Works, vii. 182-183.

² Burnet to the Board of Trade, March 24, 1729, in the Sparks Manuscripts (Harvard College Library), Series X, i. 56.

class in the colonies was almost completely enfranchised. With rare exception every freeholder and every man with a small estate possessed the right to vote. And more than this: the greater part of the population were freeholders. In other words, the middle class was in the majority.¹ A landless class, it is true, had already appeared in Boston and in the sea-port towns. And large numbers of immigrants and wanderers were coming into the country towns, only to find that all the land was in the hands of the original proprietors or in the hands of their descendants who were too frequently unwilling to grant a share of the "common" to the newcomer. And year after year the selectmen were warning more poor and indigent wanderers out of the bounds of the townships. But after all, the landless and property-less class was small in comparison with this class in Old England. The man of small means, or of no means at all save health and enterprise, had the opportunity to join the proprietors of some new town in the west; and there by his industry and prudence it was possible for him to build up an estate as substantial as that of any other farmer in New England. Thus, while the Massachusetts Charter of 1691 limited the franchise to forty shilling freeholders, and while Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had similar limitations of the right to vote, the economic equality of the citizens in the country towns — and in a large measure in the sea-port towns — removed the apparent unfairness of the qualifications for voting, while there is considerable evidence to show that in many towns the legal requirements for voting were consistently ignored and all able-bodied men gave their voice in town-meeting whether or not they were freemen in the eyes of the law.²

¹ Returns of the tax assessments for the Massachusetts towns are preserved in the Archives in the State House in Boston. I have made an examination of these returns for a number of typical towns in 1738 and 1755, and I have found that more than one half of the persons whose names appear on the list of the poll tax payers were possessed of, or heirs to, personal or landed property of a value sufficient to entitle them to vote.

² G. H. Haynes, *Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1620-1691*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies, Twelfth Series*, viii. 418-429; C. F. Bishop, *History of Elections in the American Colonies*, in *Columbia University Studies*, iii. 219-223.

XIV

THE RIGHT TO INSTRUCT REPRESENTATIVES

When the people of Massachusetts adopted their first State constitution they looked upon the right to instruct representatives as one of the liberties reserved to freemen. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of 1780 contained the following article: "The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give *instructions* to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer." Massachusetts, however, was not the first State to include this guarantee in its constitution. On September 28, 1776, the General Convention of Pennsylvania adopted a Constitution and Declaration of Rights, the sixteenth article of which read: "That the people have a right to assemble together, to consult for their common good, to instruct their Representatives, and to apply to the Legislature for redress of grievances, by address, petition, or remonstrance."¹ In the following December, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina adopted a similar guarantee in its Declaration of Rights.² It is not remarkable that these States which did not have the town-meeting form of local government should have inserted in their constitutions these provisions upon the right of the people to instruct their representatives. In the Revolutionary epoch, New England's methods for collecting public opinion were widely copied throughout the colonies. In the southern and middle colonies, the counties, parishes, and towns very generally began the practice of voting instructions for their representatives. It may have been, however, that the inclusion of a guarantee of the "right to instruct" in the constitution of Pennsylvania was due to the suggestion of Samuel Adams, who appears to have had a hand in the making of this constitution.³ There is less reason for belief that John Adams was responsible for

¹ Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1776), p. 9; Proceedings Relative to the Calling of the Conventions of 1776 and 1790 (Harrisburg, 1825), p. 57.

² Colonial Records of North Carolina, x. 974, 1004.

³ Gordon, American Revolution, ii. 369; Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, ii. 438.

the guarantee in the North Carolina constitution, although he gave the people of that colony some "thoughts" on how to draft a new constitution.¹

As we have already seen, in 1780 the people of Massachusetts adopted an article safe-guarding the "right to instruct" in their Bill of Rights. Other States copied this provision in their constitutions. In all, twenty-one States have adopted a constitutional guarantee of this right; besides those already mentioned, New Hampshire in 1784, Vermont in 1786, Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1802, Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Maine in 1820, Michigan in 1835, Arkansas in 1836, California in 1849, Kansas in 1855, Oregon in 1857, Nevada in 1864, Florida in 1868, West Virginia in 1872, and Idaho in 1889.² A glance through this list will show that few southern States made provision for the "right to instruct," and that in the West it was chiefly those States settled by the New England migration that made provision in their constitutions for this right. In this connection it is necessary to note the fact that in the South, shortly after the Revolutionary War, there was a marked tendency to break the chains which held a representative bound to serve the dictates of his constituency. This tendency was instanced in the refusal of the Maryland Senate in 1786 to pass a paper money bill at the mandate of the majority of the constituencies of the legislature.³ On this occasion Samuel Chase, whose violent partizanship as a Justice of the federal Supreme Court resulted in his impeachment in 1805, entered into a newspaper controversy with Judge Alexander Contee Hanson for the purpose of upholding the "right to instruct" and the corresponding "obligation of obedience" on the part of the representative.⁴ In the battle of wits, Judge Hanson easily carried off the honors.

¹ Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, vol. i. chap. xxxii; *Works of John Adams*, i. 208; iv. 185, 203; *Warren-Adams Letters*, i. 230.

² F. N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, pp. 270, 392, 705, 919, 983, 1059, 1125, 1179, 1648, 1892, 1932, 2403, 2457, 2600, 2788, 2911, 3000, 3084, 3423, 3754, 4037.

³ *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, November, 1786, pp. 18, 38, 111; *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Public Advertiser*, November 14, December 19, 1786; January 16, February 2, 9, 13, March 2, April 27, 1787.

⁴ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 9, 13, 20, March 2, 16, April 13, May 18, June 22, July 13, August 3, 14, 31, 1787; *Maryland Gazette (Annapolis)*, February 22, 1787.

In later years, the "right to instruct," or the Doctrine of Instructions as it was then called, became one of the chief principles of the State Rights faction of the southern Democracy. The doctrine was applied mainly to the relationship between the Senators of the United States and the State Legislature which elected them; and, in accord with this doctrine, William C. Rives resigned from the United States Senate when the Virginia Legislature in 1834 instructed him to vote for Clay's resolution of censure upon President Jackson.¹ Rives was a Democrat, and the Virginia Legislature at this time was in the hands of the Whigs. Two years later, John Tyler also resigned when instructed by the Virginia Legislature to vote against his convictions.² Throughout the history of the State Rights party, the Doctrine of Instructions occupied an important place. But it is sufficient to point out here that this doctrine was not historically related to the New England town mandate.

XV

DECLINE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MANDATE

With the rise of the American nationality came the decline of many New England provincialisms. Some of these provincialisms have been eminently persistent, including, of course, the essential features of the town-meeting government in the small towns. The practice of voting instructions to deputies, however, disappeared in the early part of the nineteenth century. This did not occur without a struggle. In 1794, the Anti-Federalists at a Boston town-meeting attempted to instruct the representative of Boston's district in the United States Congress.³ And a few years later the towns of Berlin and Belfast in Maine actually voted *positive mandates* to their congressional Repre-

¹ Register of Debates, 1833-1834, p. 636; Congressional Globe, 1833-1834, p. 193; Richmond Enquirer, February 25, 1834.

² Register of Debates, 1835-1836, p. 636; Niles' Register, l. 25; Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, December, 1835 (Richmond, 1835), p. 171; Richmond Enquirer, March 2, 1836; Richmond Whig, March 4, 1836; L. G. Tyler, Letters and Times of the Tylers, i. 537.

³ Boston Records, xxxi. 347, 348; Boston Gazette, February 10, 24, 1794; Columbian Centinel, February 12, 15, 26, March 8, 1794; Independent Chronicle, February 13, 17, 27, March 3, 6, 13, 1794.

sentatives.¹ The town of Wells at the same time undertook to discipline a member of Congress by a vote of censure.²

While the extreme particularism of the New England towns failed to establish the custom of instructing Representatives in Congress, the exaggerated *ego* of these little democracies died hard. The New England towns which, as John Adams naïvely said, had made war upon the British "kings, lords, commons, governors, councils, representatives, judges, and whole armies," could not easily shake off their excessive individuality. And in the early days of our federal history we find them solemnly engaged in carrying on a correspondence with the chief magistrate of the nation. Many of them made bold to address the President of the United States in rather haughty tones; and, as a result of this supreme confidence in local autonomy, the curious visitor may read to-day preserved in the archives of several New England villages the autograph letters of our first Presidents answering in painstaking manner the protests of some persistent town-meeting against the policies of the national government or explaining in tactful phrases the gravest matters of state.³

Boston, in particular, was loathe to abandon the exalted position which the town had occupied in the American Revolution, when the Bostonians had led Massachusetts, and Massachusetts had led the other States in the contest with George III. The town made several attempts in the first decades of our federal history to revive this leadership; notably in 1808, when it invoked a uniform voting of memorials to President Jefferson against the Embargo; and again in 1812 by an address to the other towns of the Commonwealth for the purpose of securing a strong public opinion back of the movement in the General Court to oppose the war with England.⁴ The response in the latter case was not so general as in the year 1808. Pittsfield, for instance, passed a resolution to this effect: "That it will conduce

¹ Houghton, *History of Berlin*, p. 49; Williamson, *History of Belfast*, p. 696.

² Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 592.

³ Notably in the town records of Andover, Cambridge, Duxbury, Gardner, Haverhill, Ipswich, Lynn, Newburyport, and Rowley.

⁴ Boston Records, xxxiii. 380, xxxv. 237, 239, 316. Among other towns, Longmeadow on August 9, 1808, "Voted to send a Petition to the President of the United States for the Removing of the Embargo Law, and Voted that this Petition be in form and words conformable to a like Petition from the Town of Boston" (*Centennial Celebration of the Town of Longmeadow*, p. 174).

much to the quiet of the state, if the inhabitants of the town of Boston would attend more to their own concerns, and cease to harass the good people of the commonwealth with their impracticable 'notions' and their ambitious and illusory projects." ¹

On all sides nationalism was triumphing over particularism. The American people were even beginning to think in terms of empire. It is true that sectionalism in America has always produced demands that the representative should faithfully reflect the opinions of his constituents. But the new era brought repeated assertions of the principle that freedom of action should be vested in the representatives of a great and prosperous people.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the custom of voting instructions to the members of the State legislatures was on the decline. Town-meetings still continued to vote occasional mandates to their representatives; but these instructions were largely limited to local business. For example, the town of Goshen in 1811 instructed its representatives to prevent a proposed division of the county of Hampshire.² And Pelham in 1821 instructed its representatives to oppose the setting off the East Parish as a separate town.³ Boston had long since outgrown the town-meeting system. There were ten times as many freemen as could crowd into Faneuil Hall if all should make up their minds to attend a particular town-meeting. But Boston traditions are stubborn traditions; and it took a long hard fight on the part of the progressives to beat the antiquarians and change the old town-government into a modern city. This was finally accomplished in 1822.⁴

Josiah Quincy, whose father had been one of the foremost opponents of the movement for a reform in the Boston government, has left us a vivid picture of the town-meeting in its last days in Boston:

When a town meeting was held on any exciting subject in Faneuil Hall, those only who could obtain places near the moderator could even hear the discussion. A few busy or interested individuals easily obtained the management of the most important affairs, in an assembly in which the greater number could have neither voice or hearing. When the sub-

¹ Smith, *History of Pittsfield, 1800-1876*, p. 231.

² Barrus, *History of Goshen*, p. 27.

³ Parmenter, *History of Pelham*, p. 186.

⁴ Cf. *Publications of this Society*, x. 345-356.

ject was not generally exciting, town meetings were usually composed of the selectmen, the town officers, and thirty or forty inhabitants. Those who thus came were, for the most part, drawn from some official duty or private interest, which, when performed or attained, they generally troubled themselves but little, or not at all, about the other business of the meeting.¹

The absurdity of the situation was illustrated when the lamp-lighters of Boston were in the majority at a certain town-meeting and carried a vote to raise their own wages!²

The venerators of tradition, however, were reluctant to obliterate one of the instrumentalities by the means of which the American Revolution had been won. Said one:

We earnestly hope . . . that the Bostonians may never destroy the Temple of Democracy, in which was kindled the flame of the revolution of 1776, the nursery of genius, and the bulwark of liberty. It was in the town meetings of that town we so often witnessed the triumph of plebian genius over purse proud dulness, and the pedantry of the schools.³

On the other hand, the opponents of reform felt that the abandonment of the town-meeting government would deprive the people of a means to express their demands in authoritative tones to their representatives in the General Court and in Congress. A writer in the *Boston Patriot* under the *nom de guerre* of "A Native Bostonian" extolled the town-meeting as the instrument of the people to control officials, instruct representatives, and generally in a *legal* way to express the wishes of the people. A town-meeting in Faneuil Hall was the "organized capacity of the town" whereby the people possessed not only the means of expressing their opinions but also of enforcing them.⁴

In reply to the arguments of the "Native Bostonian," the advocates of reform assured the good people of Boston that the incorporation of their town would not put an end to the public meetings of

¹ Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston, p. 28. Cf. Report of the Committee appointed at a Town Meeting on the 22d day of October (Boston, 1821), p. 5; Journal of the Convention to Revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1820, p. 193.

² Boston Patriot, December 12, 1821.

³ New-England Galaxy, January 4, 1822.

⁴ December 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 1821.

protest for which Faneuil Hall had been so justly famous.¹ The doors of Faneuil Hall would always remain open for the aggrieved to assemble there and exercise their ancient privilege of declaring their wrongs and demanding their rights.

Regardless of the merits of the controversy in its entire aspect, the modern student must admit that there was much truth in the contention of the "Native Bostonian." The act of incorporation destroyed the "organized capacity of the town in Faneuil Hall assembled." Hitherto the pronouncements of these assemblies had been clothed with the peculiar effectiveness conferred by the corporate nature of the town-meeting. But thereafter the meetings of inhabitants in Faneuil Hall assumed the character of mere mass-meetings of citizens. The Cradle of American Liberty gave dignity and historic adornment to such occasions; but the resolutions debated and adopted in these meetings were hereafter no more authoritative than similar action taken by a mass-meeting of citizens in New York City or a gathering of farmers in some prairie church on the banks of the Mississippi.

Other large towns in Massachusetts followed Boston's example and secured charters of incorporation from the General Court. But the majority of the towns, in fact all of the small towns, made no change in their form of government. They have retained to this very day the ancient town-meeting system, a system which is peculiarly well adapted to the needs of a small community. In these minor towns the annual election of officers is customarily followed by the general town-meeting at which the selectmen give their report and receive their instructions. But no longer are instructions voted to the members of the House of Representatives. The growth of political parties and the attendant loyalty to party organization, the rapid development of legislative business which has obscured the individual legislator in a maze of committees and rules and precedents, the appearance of a new economic and social system following upon the industrial revolution in America, and finally, the redistricting of the constituencies of the General Court in 1857, have drawn the towns more and more away from the old relationship with the General Court which was so eminently characteristic of the Massachusetts system

¹ Cf. the articles signed "Franklin" and "Amicus Civitatis" in the Boston Patriot, December 19, 1821, and the New-England Palladium, December 21, 1821.

in the eighteenth century.¹ And to-day the representative in Massachusetts is quite as independent of the vote of a town-meeting as the representative in any other State is independent of the resolutions passed by any assemblage of citizens within his district. Both of these votes are expressions of public opinion, but neither of them imposes an obligation of obedience upon the representative.

Mr. JULIUS H. TUTTLE made the following remarks:

It is interesting when a tradition relating to an event can be verified;² and the more so when after nearly two centuries and a half of wandering the much desired information about it drifts back to the vicinity of its source and final resting place. An entry from a diary authenticating such a tradition is found pasted into a scrap-book which has recently come into the possession of the Dedham Historical Society. This tradition which has persisted in the Fisher family of Dedham relates to Lydia Fisher (1652-1737), who was said to have waited upon the Regicides Goffe and Whalley for a time while they were in hiding at Hadley.

The entry in question is from the Diary of the Rev. Jonathan Townsend, and runs as follows:

Needham. July. 17. 1737. This Day died here M^{rs} Lydia Chickering in the Eighty Sixth Year of her Age. She was born at Dedham in New-England on July 14th 1652, and about the Year 1671 went up thence to Hadley where, for the space of about a Year, she waited upon Col: Whalley, and Col. Goffe (two of King Charles Ist's Judges) who had fled thither from the men who sought their life. She was the Daughter of Capt: Daniel Fisher of Dedham, one of the Magistrates of this Colony under the Old Charter. Having lived a virtuous life, she died univer-

¹ One instance of the use of instructions as late as the year 1851 should be cited. In the spring of this year a deadlock in the General Court prevented the election of a United States Senator. Twenty-three Democrats and all the Anti-slavery Whigs were opposed to Charles Sumner. In a town-meeting on April 12, 1851, the town of Fall River instructed its representative, Nathaniel Borden, to vote for Sumner. Mr. Borden changed his vote as instructed; and the shifting of a few other votes broke the deadlock on April 24, 1851. This secured the election of Sumner. Cf. Pierce, *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner*, iii. 242; Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, ii. 349. Mr. George W. Rankin has kindly verified for me the vote of instructions in the town records of Fall River.

² For two remarkable cases of the verification of family traditions, see *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, xlii. 193-195.

sally respected, and came to her grave in a full age as a shock of corn cometh in in his season.¹

Lydia Fisher was married at Dedham on December 3, 1674, to Nathaniel Chickering, and for twenty years they lived on Dedham Island. In 1694, they removed to that part of Dedham which is now Dover, where he died on October 21 of that year, leaving her with six children. She later moved across Charles River into that part of Dedham which became the town of Needham in 1711. In 1720, the Rev. Jonathan Townsend (H. C. 1716) was settled there as the first minister of the church, and counted Lydia Chickering as one of his parishioners. His statement of the fact of her service to the Regicides, kept as her long secret, was without doubt given by her word of mouth to him, and is not only of local interest, but of wider historical significance.

The reasons for her undertaking such a perilous mission from Dedham to Hadley in 1670 or 1671 can only be surmised. Hadley was then a frontier town but recently settled, with the Rev. John Russell (H. C. 1645) as its first minister, in whose house the Regicides were secreted. It so happened then that her brother, Sergeant Daniel Fisher, was making journeys to the Pocumtuck region about twelve miles north of Hadley. He was one of the Dedham proprietors of lands there, and went to aid in the laying out of the new grant of eight thousand acres at Pocumtuck to the town of Dedham in place of that part of her home plantation which the General Court had set apart for the Natick Indian township. On one of these occasions Lydia Fisher, then only nineteen years of age, may have gone to Hadley with her brother Daniel; and then later have returned with him to her home in Dedham.

There is another tradition about Lydia Fisher and the Regicides: that her father, Captain Daniel Fisher, "concealed the Regicides near his house in Dedham for a time, and that Lydia here ministered to them and rode behind one of them on a pillion to Hadley." Nothing has yet been found to substantiate this statement. Her probable going with Daniel may have led to the confusion in the matter.

It was in May, 1660, that Charles II took steps to avenge the execution of his father in 1649, which was ordered by the High

¹ For a facsimile of this entry, see p. 453, below.

Court of Justice. Of the judges of this court who escaped from England, Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell reached Boston in July, 1660, and on February 26, 1661, they began their nine days' journey through Dedham to New Haven. If Captain Daniel Fisher secreted them as stated, and was interested in protecting them during their sojourn in the Colony, there might appear to be some reason to influence Lydia Fisher ten years later, when Goffe and Whalley had gone to Hadley to live, to go there on her mission.

The scrap-book, the medium through which this valuable entry from the Townsend Diary comes to our hands, was originally an account book of "Family Expenses," from August 10, 1784, to October 12, 1798, kept at Halifax by Gregory Townsend, the youngest child and son of the Rev. Jonathan and Mary (Sugars) Townsend, of Needham. Gregory, who was born on November 28, 1732, and died at Halifax on October 22, 1798, left Boston with the loyalist refugees in 1776, and was proscribed in 1778. At the time of his death Horatio Townsend, of Dedham, his nephew, went to Halifax, and probably brought the book back with him. This book was used by Horatio's daughter, Mary, who married John B. Derby, from about 1818 to 1841, for the purpose of pasting in cuttings of newspapers, letters, and a few pieces of the diary of her great-grandfather, the Rev. Jonathan Townsend. In this way the cutting about Lydia Fisher happened to be saved. Recent correspondence with a bookseller in Atchison, Kansas, who wanted to sell the book and who had written to me to learn whether the book was wanted here as it had some Dedham, Needham, and Medfield items in it, sent the book for examination. The discovery of the item in question quickly brought the book into the possession of the Dedham Historical Society. It was previously owned by Dr. F. D. Morse, of Lawrence, Kansas, who received it from his grandfather, Andrew Morse, a native of Sherborn, who probably obtained it from the Derby family.

Lydia Fisher deserves to be remembered for her courageous and it may be timely service; and no one can now fully tell its importance in behalf of the Bay Colony.

Another passage in the same diary is of interest in connection with Mr. Matthews's recent paper¹ on Early Sunday Schools in Bos-

¹ See pp. 259-264 and notes, above. Mr. Matthews tells me that since writing his paper he has found a pamphlet to which it is worth calling attention: "Report

ton. The extracts there quoted show that New England pastors catechized the children of their parishes during the seventeenth century. Under date of April 4, 1737, the Rev. Jonathan Townsend wrote:

I began again to *Catechize* the Children after it had been discontinued for some time: I propose to repair to several parts of the Town that the Children may attend it wth the more ease, & conveniency: about six or seven places may be sufficient; I begin with a short prayer, then proceed to Catechize, afterwards read part of M^r *Vincent's* Explanation of y^o Assembly's Catechism,¹ (or some other instructive Book) and then make a somewhat longer prayer, & so conclude. I design to attend it about once a month, more or less. I made my application to the Selectmen for y^o Year 1736, desiring 'em to tell me which they judg'd were the most convenient places, & they nam'd to me Six Houses, viz: The Meeting House, *Jon^a Smith's*, Capt: *Fisher's*, *Samuel Parker's*, *Samuel Smith's*, & *John Goodenow's*.

Mr. HENRY H. EDDES read copies of the two following receipts, dated 26 and 30 April, 1776, showing that the record books and papers of the Middlesex Registry of Deeds had been lodged for safekeeping at the house of John Reed of Bedford:

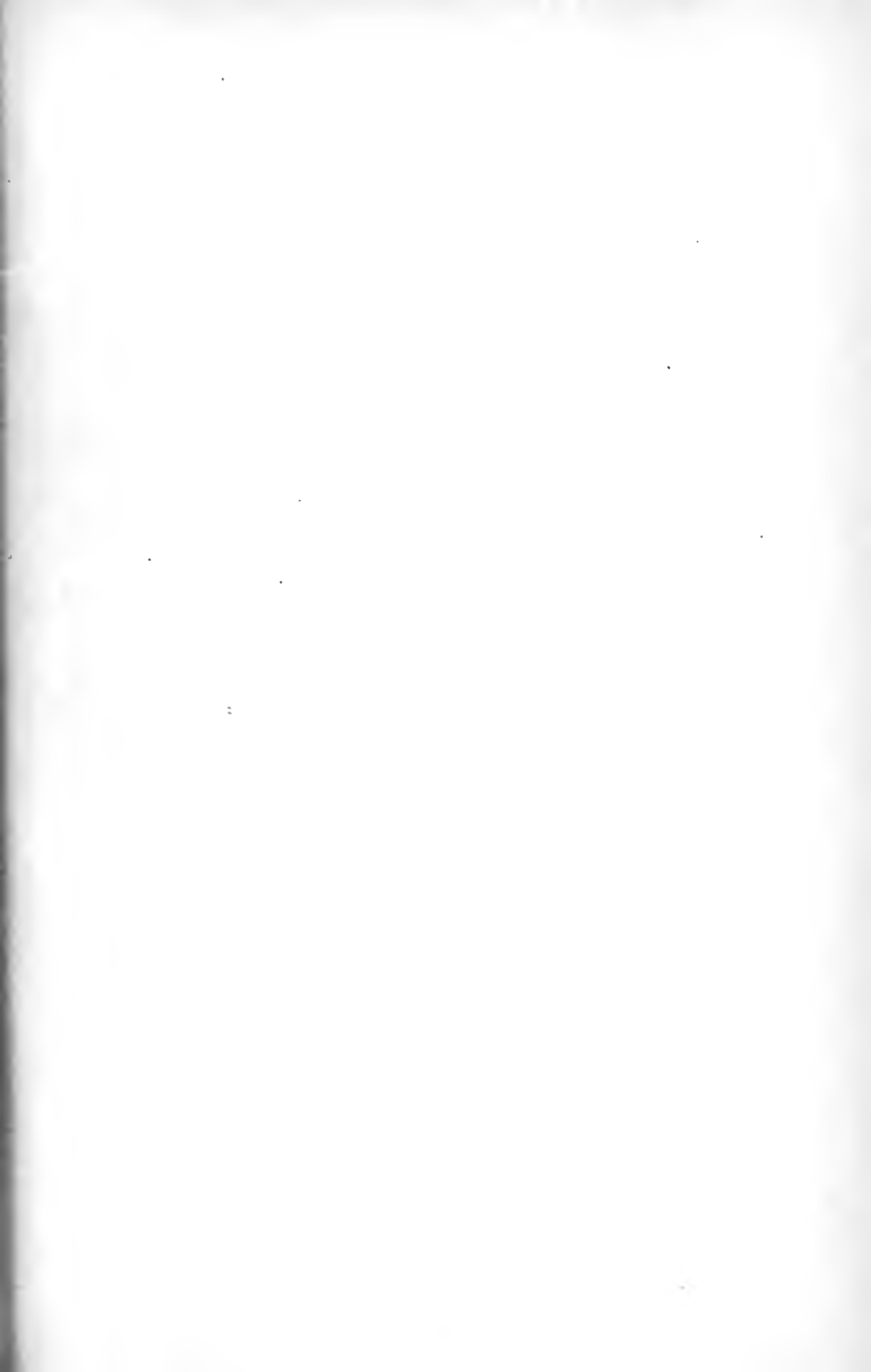
CAMBRIDGE April 26: 1776

JOHN REED of Bedford Esq.

Please deliver into the hands of Thaddeus Mason Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Middlesex for his safe-

of the Union Committee of the Sunday Schools of the three Baptist Societies in Boston. Together with an Address, delivered at the General Meeting of the Schools, October 29th, 1817. By Rev. Daniel Sharp, A. M. Boston . . . 1817." In the Report, written by the Rev. James M. Winchell, we read: "It was in June, 1816, that the females of the Third Baptist Church and Congregation, formed the first Sunday School in this town" (p. 5). In his Address, Mr. Sharp said: "The attention of some pious females in this town, was called to the subject, by accounts which they received in private letters of the first meetings in New-York. . . . It became the topic of conversation; and on June 1, 1816, the first female Sabbath School was organized in Boston. Others followed in succession, till seven schools were formed among the Baptist churches in this town. We are happy to say that since these were organized, similar societies have been formed by the members of the church in Park Street, and of the Old South" (p. 12).

¹ The Rev. Thomas Vincent's Explanatory Catechism: or, an Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism, was republished at Boston in 1729.



Bedford April 30: 1776

Recd into my Custody the Chests above mentioned
containing the Record Books of the Registry of Deeds &
Paper as now lodged in the House of the above named
John Reed Esq; att: Shadrach Clerk of the
Common Pleas.

J. W. Jenks
C. J. W. Jenks

ENGRAVED FOR THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES WILLIAM JENKS. ESO.



keeping at your House Those Chests containing the Record Books for
ye County of Middlesex and you'l oblige your very H'ble Servt

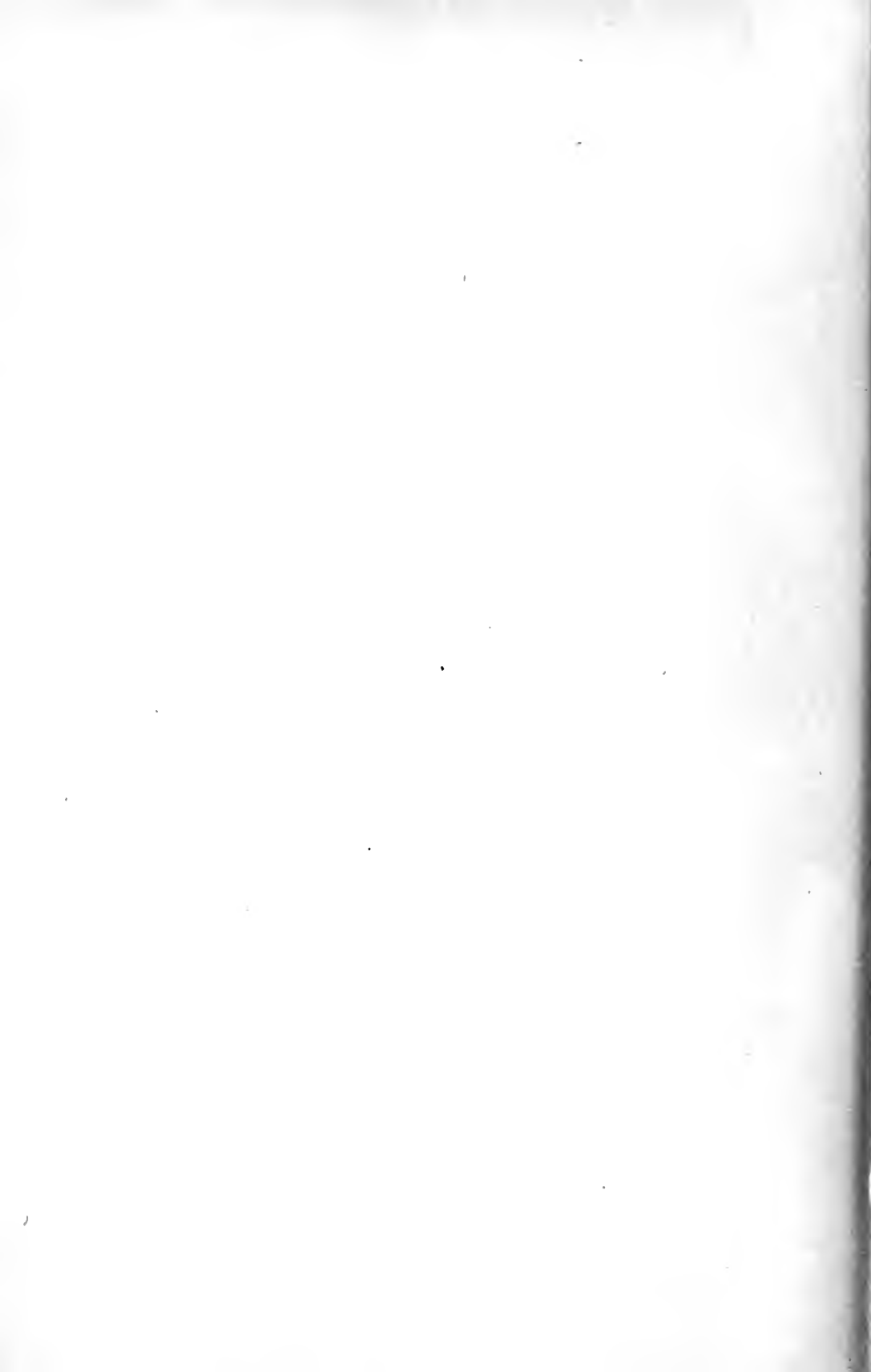
JOHN FOXCROFT

BEDFORD April 30 1776.

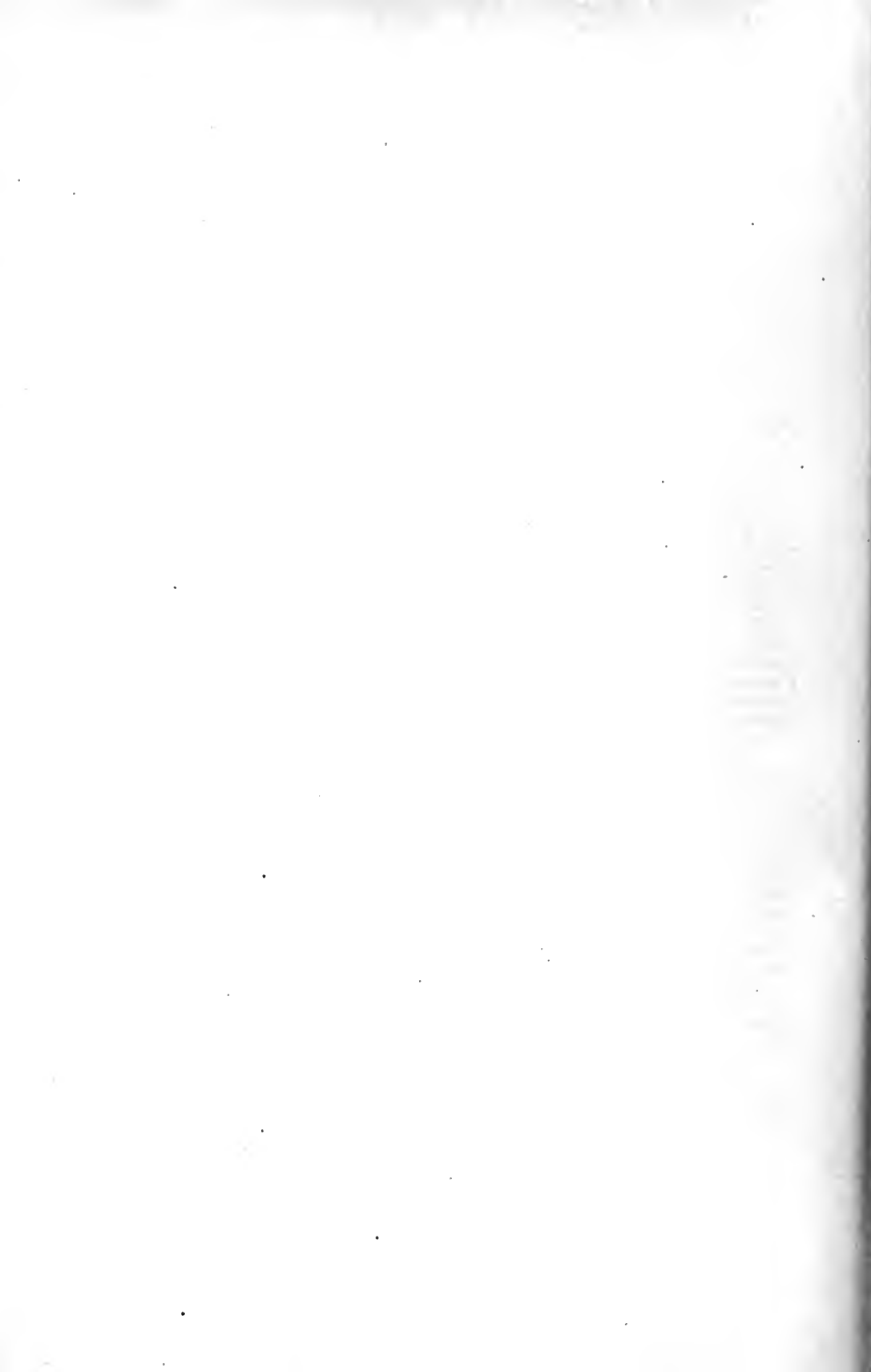
Recd. into my custody the chests above mentioned, containing the
Record books of the Registry of Deeds & Papers as now lodged in the
House of the above named John Reed Esq.

Att. THAD MASON
Clerk of the Common Pleas.

<p>Dudham.</p>	<p>July 17. 1737. This Day died here M^{rs} Lydia (Pickers) Eighty Sixth Year of her Age. She was born at Dudham in New-England on July, 14. 1652, and about the Year 1671, went up from Thence to Hadley where, for the Space of about a Year, she waited upon Col: Whalley, and Col: Coffe (two of King Charles, 2.^d Judges) who had freed her from the men that sought their life. She was then Daughter of Capt: Daniel Fisher of Dudham, one of the Magistrates of this Colony under the old Charter. Having lived a virtuous life, she died universally respected, and came to her grave in a full age as a flock of corn smooth in in the season.</p>
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INDEX



INDEX

Places are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated
Names of vessels are grouped under the heading Ships
Names of Indians are grouped under the heading Indians

- ABBOT**, Rev. Abiel (*d* 1828), 279, 279 *n*
Adams, Brooks, 88 *n*; quoted, on New England theocracy, 40; on R. Child's religious connections, 61
— Charles Francis (*d* 1915), 88 *n*; cited, on right of appeal to Parliament, in Massachusetts, 81
— John, President, quoted, on Boston politics, 418, 419; opinion of, on annual elections, 427; writer of Braintree's instructions to deputy, concerning the Stamp Act, 437; cited, on importance of town mandates, 439; assists North Carolina in framing constitution of 1776, 442; quoted, on power of New England towns, 445
— Lydia K., active in establishing Sunday school in the West Church, Boston, 277, 278
— Gov. Samuel, 138; member of Caucus Club, 419; quoted, on system of instructions to deputies, 436; Boston instructions written by, 436, 437; assists Pennsylvania in making constitution of 1776, 442
— Rev. William (H. C. 1671), quoted, on L. Hoar, 364 *n*, 365
Addison, Joseph, quoted, on F. M. Pinto, 234
Agrippa, Henry Cornelius, 102 *n*, 125
Alabaster, Rev. William, 220
Alchemy, modern prejudice against, 123; popularity of, in seventeenth century, 124
Alleine, Rev. Joseph (*d* 1668), 264 *n*
Allen, Bozon, 38 *n*, 55 *n*
— John, of Barbados, agreement in behalf of, with J. Jackson, 254-256
Alligator, description of, 239
Allin, Rev. John (*d* 1671), 74 *n*; Overseer of Harvard College, 167 *n*; his careful church records in Dedham, 259
Amber, Irish superstition concerning, 122 *n*
American, An, quoted, on Loyalists, 439 *n*
American Antiquarian Society, owns book by Comenius, given to R. Mather, 1661, 181, 181 *n*; water-color view of Harvard College, about 1807, belonging to, exhibited, 257
Ammoncongion River, Me., 308, 308 *n*
Anabaptists, 23, 27, 90; harshness against, in Massachusetts, believed detrimental to the colony, 29 *n*; H. Dunster's connection with, 146, 148 *n*
Anchoranus, Joannes, edits book by Comenius, 180, 195
Anderson, John, Jr., 287
Andover, represented by non-resident deputy, 432 *n*
Andrew, Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1681), 184
— Samuel (Y. C. 1711), son of Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1681), 184
— Samuel (Y. C. 1739), son of Samuel (Y. C. 1711), 184
— James (*d* 1714), 332 *n*, 350, 350 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 332
Andros, Gov. Sir Edmund, 71, 416, 426; M. Hooke's petition to, 57, 57 *n*; land warrants issued under, 1687-1688, communicated by J. H. Tuttle, 292-363; commissioned Governor of New England, 292; prohibits town-meetings, 430, 440
Anti-Federalists, 444
Antimony, interest of alchemists and physicians in, 128 *n*

- Apollonius, Willem (*d* 1657), 74 *n*
 Appeal to Parliament, question of right of, in colonies, 32, 48, 49, 64, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 86
 Arnold, —, 61 *n*
 — Benedict, Governor of Rhode Island, interpreter, in dealings with Indians, 44 *n*
 Arriscott. *See* Harriseket
 Ashbury, Bishop Francis (*d* 1816), 262 *n*
 Ashland, land grant in, 1688, 355, 355 *n*
 — Magunco (Magaguncock) Hill, 355, 355 *n*
 Ashmole, Elias (*d* 1692), interested in alchemy, 100; meets R. Child and R. Fludd, 100; W. Cooper's letter to, 132
 Ashurst, Henry (*d* 1680), 366 *n*; benefactor of Harvard College, 366
 — Sir Henry, son of Henry (*d* 1680), 170 *n*
 Aspinwall, William, 16 *n*; commands trading expedition to the Delaware, 15 *n*
 Atkins, —, 353
 Atwater, John, 346, 346 *n*
 Avery, Jonathan, son of William (*d* 1687), alchemical studies of, 124
 — William (*d* 1687), alchemical studies of, 123, 124
 Awbrey, William, connected with iron works in Massachusetts, 13 *n*
- BACHSTROM**, Johann Friedrich, sketch of, 145 *n*
 Bacon, Sir Francis, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, cited, regarding small-pox, 110, 110 *n*; his design for a universal college, 165
 Bacstrom, —, unidentified writer, cited on Philalethes, 145. *See also* Bachstrom
 Baillie, Rev. Robert (*d* 1662), 2; attitude of, toward aberrant sects, especially Independents, 72, 87–91
 Baker, Thomas, land grants to, 1688, 326, 349
 Ball, Rev. John (*d* 1640), 74 *n*
 — Hannah (*d* 1792), 264 *n*
 Ballatt, Samuel (*d* 1708), 297 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 297
 Bancroft, George, his treatment of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17 *n*, 85 *n*; his doubt of I. Thomas's story of Eng-
- BANCROFT** (*continued*)
 lish Bible printed in Boston about 1752, 286, 286 *n*
 Banks, Dr. Charles Edward, 89 *n*; quoted, on treatment of Remonstrants of 1646, 74 *n*
 — John (*d* 1685), 161 *n*
 Baptism, of children of non-churchmembers, 22, 22 *n*; by immersion, 153
 Barclay, Alderman. *See* Berkeley, William
 Barefoot, Walter, Deputy Governor of New Hampshire, 307 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 307
 Barlow, Capt. —, 53, 53 *n*
 Barnacles, legend that geese develop out of, 115, 116
 Barnard, Henry (*d* 1900), probable author of statement about Comenius, 147 *n*
 — Rev. John (H. C. 1700), 186; gives books by Comenius to Harvard College, 184, 185; autograph of, 185
 Barney, Jacob, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56
 Barry, Rev. John Stetson, 89 *n*
 Bartholomew, Henry, 38 *n*
 — William, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Bartlet, —, 137
 Bartlett, Rev. John (*d* 1849), establishes charity schools in Boston, 277, 278
 Bartol, Rev. Cyrus Augustus, his account of establishment of a Sunday school in the West Parish, Boston, 278
 Baskett, John (*d* 1742), printer of Bibles, 290 *n*
 — Mark, printer of Bibles, 1761–1769; I. Thomas's statement of use of his name on Bible printed in Boston about 1752, 285; Bibles of, in various libraries, 287, 288 *n*; period of his printing, 290; Thomas's use of his name probable error for Thomas Baskett, 291
 — Thomas (*d* 1763), son of John, printer of Bibles, 1742–1761, 291; title-page of his Bible of 1752, 291 *n*
 Baylie. *See* Baillie
 Beaver trade, monopoly for, granted by Massachusetts General Court, 15
 Beex (Beex), John, interested in iron works in Massachusetts, 13, 13 *n*, 14,

BEEB (*continued*)

- 65 *n*; buys interest in Saco patent, 65; one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67
- Belcher, Andrew (*d* 1717), 356 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 356
- Gov. Jonathan, son of Andrew (*d* 1717), 430
- Belfast, Me., votes mandate to congressional representative, 444
- Bell, Shubael, assists in establishing a Sunday school in Christ Church, Boston, 273, 275 *n*; revises the Youth's Manual for its use, 274
- Thomas, one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67
- William, jumps bail, 1641, 29 *n*
- Bellingham, Gov. Richard, 8, 38, 39, 152, 175 *n*, 257; on committee to answer the Remonstrance of 1646, 30; complains of S. Maverick to Sir W. Morice, 1665, 68
- Dr. Samuel, son of Gov. Richard, 137 *n*
- Bendall, Edward, 27
- Bennett, Edward, land grant to, 1688, 327
- Berigard, Claude, his alleged transmutation of mercury into gold, 133, 144
- Berkeley, William (*d* 1653), suit of Mme. la Tour against, 29 *n*
- Berlin, Me., votes mandate to congressional representative, 444
- Bermuda, government and church conditions in, 1647, 36, 36 *n*
- Berry, Margaret (Rogers), wife of Thomas (H. C. 1685). *See* Leverett
- Thomas (H. C. 1685), 183, 183 *n*
- Thomas (H. C. 1712), son of Thomas (H. C. 1685), 183
- Beverly, earliest Sunday school in Massachusetts claimed for, 265, 265 *n*, 271, 276, 277
- Bible, English, I. Thomas's statement of first printing of, in America, about 1752, 285; this doubted by G. Bancroft and others, 286; paper on the question by C. L. Nichols, 286–292
- Bickford, Thomas, land grant to, 1688, 326
- Bigelow, Frank Barna, 189 *n*
- Black Point, Me., 293. *See also* Scarborough, Me.
- Blakeslee, George Hubbard, 409
- Blanchard, Joshua, Boston bookseller, 384 *n*
- Blodgett, James Harvey, 151
- Blue Hills, survey of lands near, ordered, 1688, 328; grant of lands near, 358
- Blue Point, Me., 293, 332. *See also* Scarborough, Me.
- Blyth (Blydon), Stephen Cleveland, sketch of, 265 *n*
- Boate, Dr. Arnold, 114, 117 *n*, 118 *n*, 123 *n*; cited, on caviare, 63; his annotations on R. Child's Large Letter, 108, 109, 109 *n*, 116; spelling of his name, 109, 109 *n*; practises in Dublin and later settles in Paris, 117; dies when returning to England, 119, 119 *n*
- Dr. Gerard, brother of Dr. Arnold, 109 *n*, 116; sketch of, 116, 117 *n*; his Natural History of Ireland, 118, 119, 122; appointment as State Physician for Ireland, 118; death of, 118
- Body of Liberties, adoption of, 424
- Bolton, —, 112 *n*
- Bond, Nicholas, 10 *n*
- Bonington, Richard, buys interest in Saco patent, 63
- Boot. *See* Boate
- Borden, Nathaniel, 449 *n*
- Boston, makes land grants for iron works, 12; Maurist Fathers in, acknowledgment to, 143 *n*; map of, in 1648, by S. C. Clough, exhibited, 251; Early Sunday Schools in, paper by A. Matthews, 259–285; condition of education in, 1818, 267 *n*; land grants in, 1687, 301, 303; 1688, 319, 351, 352, 354, 356; records of early mandates to representatives of, 415–416, 427; committees appointed to prepare mandates, 417; leadership of, 438, 445; change in, from town to city government, 1822, 446
- Baptist churches, establishment of Sunday schools in, 1816, 271, 272 *n*, 276, 452 *n*
- Brattle Street Church, 1773, architect of, 418
- Caucus Club, 418, 419
- Christ Church, Sunday school, 270 *n*; history of, 273–275; first called Salem Street Sunday School Society, 275

BOSTON (*continued*)

- City Missionary Society, establishment of, 268 *n*
- Faneuil Hall and the town-meeting, 447-448
- First African Baptist Church, Sunday school established in, 1816, 272, 272 *n*
- Hell-Fire Club, 433
- Latin School, probably used textbooks by Comenius, 179, 185
- Merchants' Club, 419
- Noddle's Island, deeded by S. Maverick to his son, 57; later to G. Briggs, 57 *n*; granted to S. Shrimpton, 1688, 352
- Old South Church, invites L. Hoar to its ministry, but releases him to accept presidency of Harvard College, 363; early parsonage of, 418; its Sunday school, 452 *n*
- Park Street Church, Sunday school, claimed to be first in Boston, 266; history of, 266-271, 270 *n*, 271 *n*, 452 *n*
- St. John's Ecclesiastical Seminary, Brighton, acknowledgment to staff of, 143 *n*
- Salem Street Academy, 274, 275, 275 *n*
- Salem Street Sunday School Society, 275, 275 *n*
- Ship Tavern, 431
- South, Sunday school established in, 1817, 269, 269 *n*
- Town Dock, 252
- West Boston Charity School, 277, 278, 279
- West Church, Sunday school, history of, 277-279, 277 *n*; claimed to be first in Boston, 279; Gleaning Circle, 278; Sewing School, 279
- Boston Athenæum, books by Comenius in, 182
- Boston Neck, R. I., 300 *n*; land grant in, 1687, 300
- Boston Recorder, quoted, on establishment of Sunday schools, 1816, 266 *n*; quoted, on care of schools, 270 *n*
- Boston Sabbath School Union, formation of, 270 *n*
- Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, 266 *n*; takes charge of all Sunday schools in Boston about 1817, 267-269, 270 *n*;

BOSTON SOCIETY (*continued*)

- its first report quoted, 268; succeeded by the City Missionary Society, 1841, 268 *n*; establishes Sunday school in West Boston, 1822, 277 *n*
- Boswell, Sir William, 10 *n*, 161 *n*, 173 *n*; letter of, to Sir H. De Vic, in behalf of J. Winthrop, Jr., 164; quoted, on J. Winthrop, Jr., 174
- Bourne, Maj. Nehemiah, 39 *n*, 93 *n*
- Bouvé, Ada, daughter of Thomas Tracy, 410
- Emily Gilbert (Lincoln), wife of Thomas Tracy, gives to Harvard College a photograph of water-color view of the College by H. d'Orgemont, 410
- Bowdoin, Peter (*d* 1716), 309, 309 *n*, 310 *n*, 342; land grant to, 1687, 310
- Bowles, Joseph, buys land in Maine, 63 *n*
- Bowman, George Ernest, 264 *n*
- Boyle, Richard, first Earl of Cork, with Lord Chancellor Loftus destroys St. Patrick's Purgatory, 1632, 115, 116
- Robert (*d* 1691), son of Richard, first Earl of Cork, 98, 107, 115, 118 *n*, 119, 120 *n*, 122, 161 *n*, 166 *n*, 366, 369; friend of R. Child, 98 *n*; of G. Stirk, 101, 101 *n*, 176; urged to assist in continuing G. Boate's *Naturall History of Ireland*, 119; Irish interests of, 120; one of founders of Royal Society, 124; correspondent of J. Winthrop, Jr., 178, 186; Governor of Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, 187 *n*
- Roger, first Earl of Orrery, son of Richard, first Earl of Cork, 234 *n*
- Bradford, William, Governor of Plymouth Colony, quoted, on E. Winslow's conduct of case for the Massachusetts Bay Colony against the Remonstrants of 1646, 65; visited by Gov. Winthrop, 431
- Bradstreet, Gov. Simon, 16 *n*, 38
- Brahe, Tycho (*d* 1601), letters of, in Winthrop papers, 179 *n*
- Braintree, iron works at, 11, 14, 60, 61; land grants in, 1688, 335, 336, 337
- Bramhall, George (*d* 1690), 342 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 342
- Breedon, Capt. Thomas, one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67, 67 *n*

- Brereton, Sir William (*d* 1661), quoted, on A. Hill's plantation in Ireland, 122
 — William (*d* 1680), third Baron Brereton of Leighlin, 161 *n*, 171; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 160 *n*
 Bret, —, 112 *n*
 Brewster, Jonathan, son of William (*d* 1643), 23; alchemical studies of, 123, 124, 124 *n*
 — William (*d* 1643), 124
 Bridges, Capt. Robert, 13, 43
 Briggs, Capt. George, Noddle's Island deeded to, 57 *n*
 BRIGHAM, CLARENCE SAUNDERS, A.M., 181 *n*, 182 *n*
 Brinley, Francis (*d* 1719), 300 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 300
 — George (*d* 1875), 286
 Brooke, Lord. *See* Greville, Robert
 Brookfield, survey of, ordered, 1688, 335
 Brookline, Muddy River early name of, 298, 298 *n*
 BROWN, REV. HOWARD NICHOLSON, D.D., elected Resident Member, 231, 404
 — John Carter, 286
 — Marianna Catherine, quoted, on early Sunday schools, 264 *n*
 — William Garrott, 387 *n*, 388 *n*; his Calendar of Harvard College manuscripts, 392 *n*
 Browne, John, 339; land grant to, 1688, 321
 — Joseph (H. C. 1666), 391, 393; Fellow of Harvard College, 368, 369, 369 *n*, 370, 396, 396 *n*, 402
 — William, assignment of charter party to, by C. Clarke, 257
 Brownists, 87, 90
 Bruen, Obadiah, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Brydges, Sir Egerton, 107 *n*
 Bulfinch, Charles, 419 *n*
 — John, 95 *n*; informs against Maj. J. Child, 96; asks hearing, 97
 Bull, Alfred, identifies two books owned by J. Harvard, 230 *n*
 Bullard, Rev. Asa, quoted, on first mention of Sunday schools in the United States, 266 *n*
 Bumstead, Josiah (*d* 1859), Sunday school in house of, 270 *n*
 Bunny, Francis, 225
 Burnet, Gov. William, complains of Boston's action in conflict concerning Governor's salary, 430; death of, 430; in 1729 declares Massachusetts aims at independence, 440
 Burrage, William, land grant to, 1688, 319
 Burton, Margaret (Otis), wife of Thomas, 24, 26 *n*
 — Sarah, daughter of Thomas, baptism of, 26
 — Thomas, 59, 67; a signer of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17, 24, 24 *n*, 25, 26, 28, 29; tried and sentenced, 37; with other Remonstrants tried a second time for conspiracy against the government and sentenced, 1647, 50-56
 Bury St. Edmund's, Eng., Free Grammar School, J. Winthrop, Jr., and F. Winthrop students at, 156 *n*
 Buryada, Gaetano, 5 *n*
 Bushnel, —, 54, 54 *n*
 Byfield, Nathaniel (*d* 1733), 299 *n*
- V
- ČADA, František, 149 *n*
 Cæsalpinus, Andreas, R. Child's reference to his *De Metallicis*, 113 *n*
 Caillet, Albert L., 145, 145 *n*
 Calamorie, description of, 246
 Cambridge, land grant in, 1688, 356; resolution of, describing Massachusetts political system, 427
 Čapek, Thomas, 151 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 150 *n*
 Capisick River, Me., 306, 306 *n*, 308, 308 *n*
 Cardilucius, Johann Hiskias, quoted, on association of G. Stirk and S. Hartlib, 176, 176 *n*
 Carleton, Edward, connection of, with trials of the Remonstrants of 1646, 38 *n*, 55, 55 *n*, 56
 — Osgood, his survey of Boston, 1795, 252
 Carnobie, name of an alchemist perhaps identical with Eirenzæus Philalethes (G. Stirk), 144, 145
 CARTER, FRANKLIN, LL.D., death of, xv, 410
 Casco Bay, Me., 293; land grants at, 1687, 296, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311; 1688, 323, 330, 333, 337, 359. *See also* Falmouth; North Yarmouth

- Cavendish, Sir Charles (*d* 1654), 166 *n*
 Caviare, discussed by R. Child, 63
 Chalmers, George, quoted, on the Remonstrance of 1646, 85 *n*
 Chambers, Edmund Kerchever, cited, on identity of Philalethes, 141
 Champlin, William (*d* 1713), 295 *n*;
 land grant to, 1687, 295
 Chandler, John (*d* 1703), 359 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 359
 CHANNING, EDWARD, Ph.D., appointed delegate to annual Conference of Historical Societies, Cleveland, 410
 Chapman, Ralph, land grant to, 1687, 301
 Charles I, King of England, 21 *n*, 83, 165, 449
 Charles II, King of England, 71, 143, 450; colonial attitude toward, 50; appoints royal commissioners to regulate affairs in New England, 1664, 68, 71; interest of, in alchemy, 143 *n*; correspondent of J. Winthrop, Jr., 178
 Charlestown, land grants in, 1687, 296, 297, 298; 1688, 355, 356, 357, 361
 — Female Society for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools, 272
 — First Baptist Church, Sunday school, 275
 — First Parish Church, history of Sunday school work in, 272, 276
 — Stinted Pasture, 355
 Charter Oak incident, 426
 Chase, Samuel (*d* 1811), upholds right to instruct representatives, 443
 Chauncy, Rev. Charles, President of Harvard College, 149, 172 *n*, 368; inauguration of, 1654, 147, 154, 163; preceding negotiations, 153; death of, 363, 364, 364 *n*, 369; his salary as President of Harvard College, 365 *n*
 Checkery. *See* Chickering
 Chelmsford, 352 *n*; land grant in, 1688, 351
 Chelsea, 319 *n*; land grants in, 1688, 319, 360
 Chichester, Sir Edward, Baron Chichester of Belfast and Viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus, 122
 Chickering, Henry, 259, 259 *n*
 — Lydia (Fisher), second wife of Nathaniel, her service to the regicides, Goffe and Whalley, 449-451
 — Nathaniel, nephew of Henry, 450
 Child, John, 4, 4 *n*
 — Maj. John, son of John, 4, 4 *n*, 17 *n*, 47, 61, 64, 72, 94 *n*; quoted, on the Remonstrance of 1646, 17; on controversy regarding baptism, 24 *n*; his book, *New-Englands Jonas*, 35, 45, 45 *n*, 46, 46 *n*; quoted, on status of Presbyterians in Massachusetts, 71; his importance in the Presbyterian party, 84; quoted, on Independents, 87; on toleration, 91; home of, 93, 95 *n*; commands an insurrection in Kent, 1648, 93-96; later life of, 97
 — Mary, wife of Maj. John, petitions for husband's release, 97
 — Peter de la, 4 *n*
 — Dr. Robert, son of John, 63 *n*, 67; paper on, by G. L. Kittredge, 1-146; general statement of Child's work and his clash with the government of Massachusetts, 1-3; sketch of, 4-8, 4 *n*-8 *n*; his religious connection, 8-9; his interest in chemistry, alchemy, vine-growing, etc., 9, 9 *n*; takes part in establishment of iron works in Massachusetts, 8-15; H. Peter's letter concerning, 16; purchases rights under Saco patent, 1645, 16, 16 *n*, 65 *n*; with others, presents to the General Court, in 1646, a "Remonstrance and humble petition," demanding rights of freemen for "all truly English," with extension of church privileges and English law, 17-18, 74; his associates in the Remonstrance, 20-27; their real purpose the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Massachusetts, 28-30, 85, 86, 96; summoned by the General Court and given opportunity to retract, which is refused, 31-32; tried by General Court, 1646, and sentenced to pay fines, 37-39; fines not paid and Child arrested on eve of departure for England, and revolutionary papers seized, 39-41; bound over to next Court of Assistants, 41; at Court of Assistants, 1647, case referred to next General Court, and Child imprisoned, 42; two cases against him, 43; his hopes dashed by letter from the English commissioners to the Governor and Company, 48-50; tried, with others, a second time,

CHILD (*continued*)

- for conspiracy against the government and sentenced, 1647, 50-56; payment of his fine, 60, 61 *n*; accused of being a Jesuit, 61-63, 61 *n*; his departure from New England, 63; sale of his Saco lands, 63, 65, 65 *n*; his discussion of caviare, 63; end of his fight over the Remonstrance, 64, 65; his quarrel with F. Willoughby, 64; his reverses of fortune, 65; his purpose to procure abrogation of Massachusetts charter, 69, 70, 86; wrong views of Child's case, 74-76; not punished for petitioning, 76; connection of Child's Remonstrance and the Gorton petition, 80; conspiracy against the government, 82; the Remonstrance intended for English eyes, 82-85, 87; Child violently anti-Independent, 87; no champion of religious liberty, 83 *n*, 89 *n*, 91; but so regarded by some, 88 *n*; his friendship with J. Winthrop, Jr., unbroken, 91, 92, 98, 99; from England, writes of lead mining projects, 92, 99, 114; of political disturbances, 93; interest of, in alchemy, agriculture, etc., 93, 93 *n*, 98, 100; J. French's book dedicated to, 102, 102 *n*; his Large Letter concerning English Husbandry included in Samuel Hartlib his Legacy, 103-108; his answer to A. Boate's annotations, 109; his observations on New England products, 110-112, 115; goes to Ireland and is desired by Hartlib to continue G. Boate's Natural History of Ireland, 99, 108, 119-122; death of, 122; never married, 123; his alchemical pursuits, 123-126, 128-131; rumor that he discovered secret of transmutation, 133; belief that he wrote the Philalethes tracts, 133, 135-137, 140, 141, 144; confusion of, with G. Stirk and T. Vaughan, 143-146; multifarious interest of his life, 146; acquaintance of, with New England men, 175, 175 *n*
- Thomas, 4 *n*
- Church, Benjamin (*d* 1718), joins in purchase of lands at Pocasset, R. I., 299 *n*
- Cider, R. Child quoted on making of, 5 *n*
- Clap, Roger (*d* 1691), 302 *n*; request for land grant considered, 1687, 302
- Clarendon, Earl of. *See* Hyde
- Clark, Katherine, wife of William (*d* 1647), 52, 52 *n*
- Thomas, assists in establishing a Sunday school in Christ Church, Boston, 275 *n*
- William (*d* 1647), of Salem, an associate of the Remonstrants of 1646, 42; affairs of, at Salem, 51, 51 *n*; active regarding petition to commissioners, 51; death of, 51
- Clarke, Christopher, assignment of charter party to, by J. Jackson, 256, 257; assigns it to W. Browne, 257
- Nathaniel (*d* 1718), 333 *n*; Clark's Island, Plymouth, granted to, 1688, 333
- Thaddeus (*d* 1690), 306, 308
- Thomas, member of fur trading company, 15 *n*
- Clay, Henry, 441
- Cleaves, George, 310, 310 *n*
- Clement (Clements), Richard, 306 *n*; warrants to, for survey of land grants, 306, 307-312, 332
- Clements, Robert (*d* 1658), connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56
- Cleverly, John, requests land grant, 1688, 337
- Clod (Clodius, Claudius), —, London physician, 119 *n*
- Clogie, Rev. Alexander, quoted, on A. Boate, 117 *n*
- Cloice (Clayce, Cloyes, Cloyse), Thomas (*d* 1690), 322 *n*, 344, 348; land grant to, 1688, 322
- Clotworthy, Sir John, first Viscount Massereene, J. Winthrop, Jr., at house of, 159; letter of, quoted, 159 *n*; interested in S. Hartlib, 159 *n*
- CLOUGH, SAMUEL CHESTER, 120 *n*; cited, on location of house of keeper of Boston prison, 1647, 43 *n*; on Committee on Memorials, 231; exhibits his map of Boston in 1648, and speaks on labor involved in such work, 251-254; cited, on location of T. Dawes's house, Boston, 419 *n*
- Cobbet, Rev. Thomas, Overseer of Harvard College, 167 *n*
- Coddington, William, Governor of Rhode Island, 29 *n*, 100 *n*; writes of R. Child, 100

- Coe, Elizabeth (Wakely), wife of Matthew, 348 *n*
 — Matthew, 348, 348 *n*
- Cogswell, Joseph Green (*d* 1871), 286
- Colegrove, Kenneth, his paper, New England Town Mandates, 411-449
- College, the, a term often applied to Harvard College, 170 *n*
- Collier, Rev. William (*d* 1843), Sunday school work of, 276, 276 *n*, 277 *n*
- Collings, Abraham, land grant to, 1688, 340
- Collins, Edward (*d* 1689), 356, 356 *n*
 — Rev. John (H. C. 1649), recommends L. Hoar for presidency of Harvard College, 369 *n*
- Colman, Rev. Benjamin (H. C. 1692), 380, 418
- COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS, Annual Meeting, 403
 — Auditing Committee, appointed, 231; report of, 408
 — Corresponding Member, death of, 410
 — Corresponding Secretary, reports new members, 1, 231; election of, 408; reports death of member, 410. *See also* Park, Charles Edwards
 — Council, Annual Report of, 403-406; member of, elected, 408
 — Memorials, Committee on, appointed, 231
 — Nominating Committee, appointed, 231; report of, 408
 — President, 231, 403, 410; election of, 408. *See also* Robinson, Fred Norris
 — Publications, report of progress on, 404
 — Recording Secretary, election of, 408. *See also* Cunningham, Henry Winchester
 — Registrar, election of, 408. *See also* Johnson, Alfred
 — Resident Members, election of, 1, 231, 404
 — Stated Meetings, 1, 231, 410
 — Treasurer, Annual Report of, 406-407; election of, 408. *See also* Edes, Henry Herbert
 — Vice-Presidents, election of, 408. *See also* Davis, Andrew McFarland; Rugg, Arthur Prentice
- Colonies, middle and southern political conditions in, 422, 442
- Comenius, John Amos, 154 *n*, 155 *n*, 160 *n*; and Harvard College, paper by A. Matthews, 146-190; C. Mather's statement that he was offered the presidency of Harvard College but was diverted to Sweden, 146, 155; this not mentioned in histories of the College, 147; various versions of the story, 147-150; possible sources, 150 *n*; Mather apparently only authority, 148 *n*, 150, 150 *n*; truth of statement doubted by W. S. Monroe and P. H. Hanus, 151; formal offer not possible, 154, 160, 163, 167; travels of Comenius and possibility of meetings with J. Winthrop, Jr., who may have mentioned Harvard presidency as future possibility, 155, 157, 157 *n*, 159, 161 *n*, 163, 165-170, 166 *n*; losses of, in sack of Liassa, 1656, 160, 160 *n*; date of his birth, 163 *n*; his possible personal knowledge of or correspondence with New England contemporaries, 170, 171, 177, 178; books of, early owned and used in New England, with present whereabouts and former owners of, 179-186, 181 *n*, 182 *n*, 189
- Concord, instruction of, to deputy, 1787, 428 *n*; represented by non-resident deputy, 431
- Conference of Historical Societies, delegates to, appointed, 410
- Congin River, Me., 308 *n*
- Congregationalism in New England, as described in the Remonstrance of 1646, 91 *n*
- Conti, Natale, works of, 215
- Continental Congress, support of, voted by Massachusetts towns, 1776, 425
- Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis, 409
- Cooke, Elisha (H. C. 1657), son of Richard, 184, 184 *n*, 185, 185 *n*
 — Elisha (H. C. 1697), son of Elisha (H. C. 1657), 184, 184 *n*, 185 *n*; active in politics, 430
 — Elkanah, son of Richard, 185
 — Middlecott (H. C. 1723), son of Elisha (H. C. 1697), 185 *n*; gives books by Comenius to Harvard College, 184, 184 *n*
 — Richard, 184
 — family, 184 *n*
- Cooper, Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1743), his pamphlet, *The Crisis*, 435 *n*

COOPER (*continued*)

- William, English bookseller, quoted, 132
- William (*d* 1809), brother of Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1743), 419
- Copland, Rev. Patrick, 101; quoted, on voyage of the Supply to England, 34 *n*
- Cork, Earl of. *See* Boyle, Richard
- Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, 187 *n*; work of, for Indians, 187, 188
- Corwin, John (*d* 1683), 334 *n*
- Margaret (Winthrop); wife of John (*d* 1683), 334 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 334
- Cotting, John Ruggles, teacher in Salem Street Academy and Salem Street Sunday school, 274, 275 *n*
- Cotton, Rev. John (*d* 1652), 8, 175 *n*; quoted, on intolerance in New England, 30 *n*; warning of, to persons carrying complaints to Parliament, 34, 35; quoted, on Jesuit feeling toward New England, 62; invited to England to advance cause of the Independents, 73; controversial writings of, 74 *n*, 91
- Rev. John (H. C. 1657), son of Rev. John (*d* 1652), 263 *n*; quoted, on catechizing of children in the First Church, Plymouth, 262 *n*, 263 *n*
- County, shire, or parish, basis of representation in middle and southern colonies, 421
- Coxe, Dr. Daniel (*d* 1730), land grant to, 1687, 304, 304 *n*
- Cramp-fish, description of, 246
- Cranberries, R. Child quoted on, 107; gift of, from J. Winthrop, Jr., to S. Hartlib, 171
- Creiling, Johann Conrad, quoted, on Philaethes and his identity, 143
- Crisis, The, pamphlet on the Excise Bill, 1754, 435 *n*
- Cromwell, Oliver, 178
- Crossthaite, Charles, land grant to, 1687, 304
- Cummings, Rev. Preston, quoted, on establishment of Sunday schools, 262 *n*, 263 *n*
- CUNNINGHAM, HENRY WINCHESTER, A.B., elected Recording Secretary, 403
- Curtis, Jonathan, land grant to, 1688, 361
- Thomas, land grant to, 1688, 361

- Cushing, Seth, 385 *n*
- Lt.-Gov. Thomas, 419
- Cutler, Dr. Elbridge Gerry, 409
- John, Jr. (*d* 1708), 297 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 297

DAMANT, John, 259

- Damatt (Damant), surname in Dedham, seventeenth century, 259
- Dand, John, 43, 89 *n*; a signer of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17, 21, 22, 28, 29, 67; tried and sentenced, 37; revolutionary papers found in possession of, 39–41, 53 *n*, 54 *n*, 69, 85; arrested, 41, 42; with other Remonstrants, tried a second time for conspiracy against the government and sentenced, 1647, 50–56; imprisonment and release of, with remission of fine, 56, 59; one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67
- Danforth, Rev. John (*d* 1730), son of Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 138
- Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 395; Fellow and Tutor of Harvard College, 368, 370, 370 *n*, 393, 396, 396 *n*, 401, 402; ordained pastor at Roxbury, 368
- Judge Samuel (*d* 1777), son of Rev. John (*d* 1730), 137, 138 *n*, 140 *n*; sketch of, 138; a student of alchemy, 123, 126 *n*, 138; his library, 139
- Dr. Samuel (*d* 1827), son of Judge Samuel (*d* 1777), 139 *n*, 140 *n*; sketch of, 139; believed Philaethes to be R. Child, 140
- Thomas (*d* 1699), brother of Rev. Samuel (*d* 1674), 189, 367 *n*; quoted, on L. Hoar's election to presidency of Harvard College and his inauguration, 366, 367; named as treasurer in Harvard College charter of 1650, 396
- Dr. Thomas, son of Dr. Samuel (*d* 1827), 139 *n*
- Dangerfield. *See* Truro
- Danson, George, 303, 303 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 303
- Davenport, Rev. John (*d* 1670), 21 *n*, 26, 74 *n*, 158 *n*, 172 *n*; invited to England to advance cause of the Independents, 73; anxious to have a college founded at New Haven, 170; letters of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 171, 172, 173; friend of J. Durie and

- DAVENPORT (*continued*)
 Sir W. Boswell, 173 *n*; S. Mather quoted on letter of, to Durie, 173 *n*; book by Comenius sent to, by S. Hartlib, 180
 — John (H. C. 1721), at Harvard College, 186
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND, A.M., 195, 207; prints from original record, list of books given to Harvard College by J. Harvard, 191; his estimate of their number, 191; quoted, on Harvard College charter of 1672, 374, 378; his statements answered, 382, 393; elected Vice-President, 408
 — Benjamin (*d* 1704), 301 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 301
 — Edward, land grant to, 1688, 324
 — Isaac, 340
 — John, 1659, 256
 — John (H. C. 1781), 367, 371 *n*; quoted, on L. Hoar's election to presidency of Harvard College and his inauguration, 364; on committee (1812) to defend rights of Harvard College before the General Court, 371
 — Lawrence, 343
 — Silvanus (*d* 1703), 306 *n*, 317, 321, 322, 325, 329, 340, 342, 350; land grant to, 1687, 306; his sawmill, 308, 348
- Dawes, Thomas (*d* 1809), sketch of, 418, 418 *n*, 419 *n*
 — William (*d* 1703), manager of iron works in Massachusetts, 13 *n*
- Deane, Silas, 438
- Dedham, early surnames in, 259; land grant to, at Pocumtuck, 450
- Dedham Historical Society, secures scrap-book, originally an account book of G. Townsend, containing extract from diary of J. Townsend, relating to Lydia Chickering, 449
- Denis, Robert, 358
- De Normandie, Rev. James, claims First Church, Roxbury, had first Sunday school in the new world, 261
- Deptford, R. I., 295 *n*; sometimes wrongly called Bedford, 295 *n*
- Derby, John Barton, 451
 — Mary (Townsend), wife of John B., scrap-book made by, 451
- Devereux, Col. Nicholas, 97
- De Vic, Sir Henry, 164
- Dexter, Rev. Henry Martyn, quoted, on the Remonstrants of 1646, 30 *n*
- Digby, Sir Kenelm (*d* 1665), 7, 7 *n*, 128, 175 *n*, 178; extraordinary stories told by, 115; his alchemical pursuits, 124; friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., 175
- Dirks, Henry, 107 *n*
- Dixwell, John, regicide, comes to New England, 451
- Dolphin, description of, 239
- Dorchester, land grant in, 1687, 302; 1688, 356
- Douglass, Dr. William, quoted, on J. Winthrop, Jr., 128 *n*
- Dover, N. H., instructs its deputy, 1658, 416
- Downname (Downham), Rev. John, his Christian Warfare, owned by J. Harvard, now extant, 192, 204, 206
- Downing, Emanuel, 175; his connection with the attempt at iron manufacture in Massachusetts, 10 *n*, 11, 11 *n*, 12 *n*, 14; signs petition for alteration of laws against Anabaptists, 1645, 23 *n*; agent in England for promoting lead-mining schemes of J. Winthrop, Jr., 114; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 158 *n*
 — Lucy (Winthrop), wife of Emanuel, 157 *n*; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 160 *n*
- Downshire, Marquesses of, descendants of Col. Arthur Hill, 121
- Dowse, William Bradford Homer, 409
- Draper, John (*d* 1762), 433
- Duane, Rev. Charles Williams, quoted, on Christ Church Sunday school, 275 *n*
- Du Bartas, Guillaume de Saluste, 233
- Duck Manufactory, gentlemen proprietors of, request approbation of the selectmen of Boston for a Sunday school, 280
- Dudley, Gov. Joseph, son of Gov. Thomas, 292, 293, 295 *n*, 304 *n*, 432; land grants to, 1687, 298, 304; 1688, 313, 314
 — Mary (Winthrop), first wife of Rev. Samuel, son of Gov. Thomas, letter of, quoted, 158 *n*
 — Gov. Thomas, 8, 175 *n*, 393; member of committee to answer the Remonstrance of 1646, 30
- Dummer, Richard (*d* 1678), 16 *n*; connection of, with second trial of the

DUMMER (*continued*)

Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56, 331 *n*

— Rev. Shubael (H. C. 1656), son of Richard (*d* 1678), 331 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 331

— Lt.-Gov. William, 380

Duncan, Nathaniel, on committee to answer the Remonstrance of 1646, 30

Dunster, Rev. Henry, President of Harvard College, 149, 154 *n*, 167, 190, 395; his connection with the Anabaptists, 146, 148 *n*; his resignation, 1654, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, 154, 168; manner of his election, 367; of his resignation, 368; whips students, 377 *n*

Dunton, John (*d* 1733) Again, paper by C. N. Greenough, 232-251; his visit to New England, and accounts of it, in his *Life and Errors*, and *Letters from New England*, 232; suspicious character of his descriptions of sea animals alleged to have been seen on his voyage, 232-234; much of his matter borrowed from older books, by T. Roe, J. Swan, and D. Pell, 234, 235; borrowings shown by arrangement of parallel columns, 236-249; summary of his indebtedness, 249; method of finding his sources, 250; his extraordinary methods, 251

— Lake, brother of John, 232

Durant, Moses, land grant to, 1688, 326

Durie (Dury), Rev. John, son of Rev. Robert, friend of S. Hartlib, 161 *n*, 180; in correspondence with New England clergy, 172, 172 *n*, 173 *n*; sketch of, 173 *n*

— Rev. Robert, 173 *n*

Dutch West India Company, letter of, to P. Stuyvesant, 1662, cited, 162 *n*

Dymock, Cressy, 107 *n*

EATON, Ann Yale, second wife of Theophilus, tried by New Haven church, 1644, 27

— Rev. Asa, 273 *n*; establishes a Sunday school in Christ Church, Boston, 273, 275 *n*; publishes the *Youth's Manual* for its use, 274

— Nathaniel, brother of Theophilus, 5 *n*

EATON (*continued*)

— Samuel, son of Theophilus, 170 *n*, 396

— Theophilus, Governor of New Haven, 27, 158 *n*, 161 *n*, 170 *n*; arrives in Connecticut, 26

Eclipse, The, pamphlet on the Excise Bill, 1754, 435 *n*

EDES, HENRY HERBERT, A.M., 1; elected Treasurer, 408; reads two papers regarding early record books of Middlesex County, 452

Edgar, Eliasz., 103 *n*, 104 *n*

Edmonds, John Henry, 409

Edmunds, Robert, 332

Election law of 1716, in Maryland, 422 *n*

Eleuthera, one of the Bahama Islands, people from, settled at North Yarmouth, Me., 339, 339 *n*

Elias (Helias) Artista, mythical adept in alchemy, traditions concerning, 129, 131, 132, 133; title bestowed on Eirenaeus Philalethes (G. Stirk), 132

Eliot, Charles William, President of Harvard College, son of Samuel Atkins (*d* 1862), quoted, as to S. A. Eliot's authorship of statement about Comenius, 147 *n*

— Rev. John (*d* 1690), charges the petitioners of 1646 with being Jesuited agents, 62; quoted, on E. Winslow's conduct of the case, 65; on religious instruction of youth on Sunday, 260, 261

— Rev. John (*d* 1813), quoted, on S. Danforth, 138

— Samuel Atkins (*d* 1862), possible author of statement about Comenius, 147 *n*

Elizabeth, Queen of England, 359 *n*; book approved by, for schools, 193

Ellicott, Vines, Hog Island, Me., granted to, 1688, 326

Elliot, Robert (*d* 1720), 330 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 330

Embargo Law, petitions against, 1808, 445, 445 *n*

England, use of mandates to representatives in, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 422

— Commissioners for Plantations, letters of, to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, concerning appeals to Parliament in matters

ENGLAND (*continued*)

- under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts government, 48-50, 64
 — Long Parliament, 71
 — Parliament, electoral reform of 1832, 440
 English, James, land grant to, 1687, 306
 — William, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Euer, —, 130
 Evanson, Capt. —, 94
 Evelyn, John, quoted, on A. Boate, 117 *n*
 Everett, Joanna (Prince), wife of Ebenzer, active in organizing a Sunday school in Beverly, 1810, 265 *n*
 Evers, —, 302
 Eyre, Charles, printer of Bibles, 290, 290 *n*
 — John (*d* 1700), 351 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 351

FABRE, Dr. Pierre Jean, 9, 9 *n*

- Fairbanks, George, 314
 Fairfield, William, 419
 Fairfield, Ct., recalls deputies, 1687, 426
 Falmouth (Portland), Me., establishment of, 1658, 293; land grants in, 1687, 306, 308, 309; 1688, 316, 317, 319-325, 329, 330, 332, 337-350
 — Fort Loyal, 306, 306 *n*, 308, 338
 Fanshawe, Ann, Lady, quoted, on Sir K. Digby's story-telling habits, 115
 Farwell, George, land grant to, 1688, 361
 — JOHN WHITEMORE, Litt.B., exhibits charter party (dated 1659), between J. Jackson, master of the Ketch Rebecca, and M. Munnings, merchant, in behalf of J. Allen, 254-257
 Fast Days, appointed by General Court, 1646, 36
 Fearing, Daniel Butler, his collection of books on angling, in Harvard College Library, 250, 250 *n*
 Felt, George (*d* 1676), 350, 351; marriage of, 350 *n*
 — George, son of George (*d* 1676), 350 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 350
 — Jonathan, son of George (*d* 1676), 350 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 350

FELT (*continued*)

- Rev. Joseph Barlow, quoted, on fear of Jesuits in New England, 62 *n*
 — Samuel, son of George (*d* 1676), 350 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 350
 Ferdinand III, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, his alleged use of alchemic gold, 129, 130
 Ferguson, John, 145, 145 *n*
 Ferrar, Virginia, experiments with silkworms, 104, 105 *n*
 Feversham, R. I., land grants in, 1687, 295; sometimes wrongly called Haversham, 295 *n*
 Field, Darby, 15
 Fiennes, William, first Viscount Saye and Sele, with Lord Brooke commissions J. Winthrop, Jr., to found and govern a colony in Connecticut, 159, 164; correspondent of Winthrop, 178
 Figuier, Guillaume Louis, his account of Philaethes, 145, 145 *n*
 Fines, as punishment, at Harvard College, 374, 376-377
 Firmin, Giles, quoted, on H. Peter, 30 *n*
 Fish, as fertilizer, 106
 Fisher, Daniel (*d* 1683), 449, 452
 — Daniel, son of Daniel (*d* 1683), 450
 — Lydia, daughter of Daniel (*d* 1683).
See Chickering
 Fiske, William, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Flajšhans, Václav, cited, on Comenius, 150 *n*
 Fleet, Thomas (*d* 1758), 433
 Fludd, Dr. Robert (*d* 1637), a Rosicrucian, 100, 129
 Flying fish, description of, 236
 Flynt, Henry (H. C. 1693), 381, 381 *n*, 383
 Foley, Thomas, 13 *n*
 Foot, Joshua, 13
 Fowle, Thomas, 25, 36, 37, 37 *n*, 39 *n*, 50; a signer of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17, 23, 28, 29, 29 *n*, 67; ship of, attached by Alderman Barclay, of London, 29 *n*; summoned to Court in matter of the Remonstrance, 31-32, 32 *n*, 33; sails for England, 33, 35; work of, there, for the Remonstrance, 47; ill fortune of, 64
 Foxcroft, John (*d* 1802), 453
 Foy, Capt. —, 53, 53 *n*, 54

FOY (*continued*)

- Dorothy, wife of Capt. John (d 1715), 53 *n*
 — Capt. John (d 1715), 53 *n*
 — Capt. John (d 1730), son of Capt. John (d 1715), 53 *n*
 Franchise, in New England colonies, 441
 Franklin, Benjamin, 433; scorns alchemy, 126 *n*
 — James, brother of Benjamin, his course as publisher of New England Courant, 433
 Frederick III (d 1659), Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 129; correspondent of J. Winthrop, Jr., 131, 131 *n*
 Freeholders, in New England colonies, proportion of, 441, 441 *n*
 Freeman's oath, 51, 54 *n*, 82
 Freeport, Me., Indian name of, 339 *n*
 French, Dr. John (d 1657), dedicates book to R. Child, 102, 102 *n*
 Fresh River, Dutch name for the Connecticut, 163, 163 *n*
 Fuchs, Georg Friedrich Christian, 137

GAGE, Gen. Thomas, summons House of Representatives to meet at Salem, 437; interdicts town-meetings, 440

- Gale, Edmund, 316; land grant to, 1688, 333
 Galilei, Galileo, 178
 Gannett, Rev. Ezra Stiles, letter of Rev. C. Lowell to, 277
 Garbet, Dr. —, 93, 98
 Gardener, Henry, quoted, on treatment of Church of England men, in Massachusetts, 31
 GARDINER, ROBERT HALLOWELL, A.B., on Committee on Memorials, 231
 — Samuel Rawson, 235 *n*
 Gary, Nathaniel, 298, 298 *n*
 Gaston, William Alexander, 418 *n*
 Gavius of Consa, 81
 Gay, Frederick Lewis, his knowledge of R. Child's work, 108
 Gedney, Bartholomew (d 1698), 328 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 328
 Geer, Laurence de, son of Ludwig de, 160
 — Ludwig de, 160; agent of Swedish government in negotiation with Comenius, 150, 150 *n*, 166

- Geese, legend that barnacles develop into, 115, 116
 Gendall, Walter (d 1688), 296, 311 *n*, 332, 338 *n*, 339, 340, 347; land grant to, 1687, 311; 1688, 329, 338
 George II, King of England, 290 *n*
 George III, King of England, 445
 Gessman, Gustav W., his account of Philaethes, 145
 Gibbons, Edward, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Gifford, John, 65 *n*; manager of iron works, 12, 13, 13 *n*, 14; one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67, 67 *n*; various projects of, 67 *n*
 Gilbert, William, land grant to, 1688, 347
 Gillam, Benjamin, 16 *n*
 Gilman, Arthur, quoted, on book by Comenius in Gilman family, 182 *n*
 — Joseph (d 1823), 182 *n*
 — Rev. Nicholas (d 1748), 182 *n*
 Glauber, Johann Rudolf, 178
 Gloucester, recalls representative, 1644, 425; this action not sustained by General Court, 425
 Godfrey, Edward, Governor of Maine, one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67, 67 *n*
 Goffe, William, regicide, service of Fisher family to, 449-451
 Gold, transmutation of other metals into. *See* Transmutation of metals
 Golding, Rev. William, 33, 34 *n*
 Goodenow, John, of Needham, 452
 Goodwin, Rev. John (d 1665), a leader of Independency, 21, 21 *n*
 — William Watson, 333 *n*
 Gookin, Daniel (d 1687), his account of J. Jacoomis and C. Cheeshahteau-muck, 187-189
 Goose livers, R. Child's opinion of, as a delicacy, 6
 Gordon, Rev. William, quoted, on town-meetings, 417
 Gore, John (d 1705), 303 *n*; warrants to, for survey of land grants, 303-305
 Gorton, Samuel, references to his quarrel with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 19, 25, 30, 44, 44 *n*, 45, 46 *n*, 47, 48, 49, 64, 65, 66; Maj. J. Child's opinion of, 46; appeals to Commissioners for Plantations, 79, 80

- Goshen, in 1811, instructs representatives, 446
- Governor's Ring, mountain, East Hadam, Ct., 127, 128, 169 *n*
- Grahame, James, quoted, on transfer of R. Vines's interest in Saco patent to R. Child, 16 *n*, 65 *n*; on intolerance in colonial times, 85 *n*
- GRAY, MORRIS, LL.B., 404; elected Resident Member, 1; accepts, 231
- Greason, Robert, 348, 348 *n*
- Great Britain. *See* England
- GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT, A.M., tribute to, 404
- Timothy (*d* 1763), partnership of, with S. Kneeland, 290 *n*
- Greene, John, associate of S. Gorton, 44
- Nathaniel, 356
- GREENOUGH, CHESTER NOYES, Ph.D., on Nominating Committee, 231, 408; his paper, John Dunton Again, 232–251
- Greenwich, R. I., name changed to Deptford, 1686, 295 *n*
- Greville, Robert, second Baron Brooke, with Lord Saye and Sele commissions J. Winthrop, Jr., to found and govern a colony in Connecticut, 159, 164; correspondent of Winthrop, 178
- Gross, Pastor, alleged transmutation of tin and mercury into gold, in presence of, 134, 134 *n*, 144
- Grutcrus, Janus, 193
- Guise, Charles de Lorraine, Duke of, 176 *n*
- H**ADLEY, refuge of regicides, 450
- Hale, Rev. Edward Everett (H. C. 1839), 156 *n*
- Hales, John Groves, his survey of Boston, 1814, 252
- Hammersmith, iron works at, 12, 14
- Hammond, Franklin Tweed, 409
- Hampton, N. H., instructs representative, 1655, 416
- Hancock, Belcher (*d* 1771), son of Nathaniel (*d* 1755), 383 *n*, 384 *n*, 385 *n*; elected tutor at Harvard College, 383
- Gov. John, 285 *n*, 419; Bible said to have been possessed by, printed in Boston, 1752, not discoverable, 285, 286; Harvard College record books
- HANCOCK (*continued*)
- carried off by, 392 *n*; restored about 1862, 392 *n*
- Lydia (Henchman), wife of Thomas, uncle of Gov. John, 285 *n*
- Thomas, uncle of Gov. John, 285 *n*
- Hanover, Va., Sunday school established in, 1785, 262 *n*
- Hanson, Alexander Contee, opposes right to instruct representatives, 443
- Rev. Harold Libby, 276 *n*; quoted, on Sunday school of the First Baptist Church in Charlestown, 275
- Hanus, Paul Henry, 182 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 148; doubts offer of presidency of Harvard College to him, 151; quoted, on use of his text-books in America, 179; on Harvard College customs, about 1731, 186
- Harding, Capt. Thomas, 33, 33 *n*; sent against Narragansett Indians, 1645, 44 *n*
- Harris, John, land grant to, 1688, 342
- Harriseket, Indian name of Freeport, Me., 339 *n*
- Harte, Rev. Walter, 107 *n*; commends R. Child's Large Letter concerning English Husbandry, 105
- Hartlib, Samuel, 98 *n*, 115, 116, 120 *n*, 172, 172 *n*, 176; friend of R. Child, 1, 98, 175 *n*; his Legacie: or Discourse of Husbandry, including R. Child's Large Letter, 5, 6 *n*, 103, 103 *n*, 107, 107 *n*, 108, 108 *n*, 109; letter of, to Child, urging his consideration of Irish natural history and husbandry, 108, 115; quoted, on death of A. Boate, 119; desires Child and R. Boyle to continue G. Boate's Naturall History of Ireland, 119, 122, 122 *n*, 166 *n*, 175; Sir J. Clotworthy's interest in, 159 *n*; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., cited, 160 *n*; letter of, to J. Pell, quoted, 161 *n*; association of, with Comenius, 165, 166, 171; friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., 171, 172, 174, 177, 178; of J. Davenport, 172, 174; of Sir K. Digby, 175 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 176; sends book by Comenius to J. Davenport, 180; issues English translation of book by Comenius, 184
- Harvard, Rev. John, owned book by Comenius, 179; catalogue of his library, by A. C. Potter, 190–227; only one or two books now extant, 192,

HARVARD (*continued*)

204, 206; character of his books, 192; list of authors, editors, etc., mentioned in catalogue, 228-230; relatives of Harvard victims of the plague 1625, 212; a play among his books, acted while he was a student at Cambridge, 220

Harvard College, C. Mather's statement that presidency of, was offered to J. A. Comenius, 146; this not mentioned in the college histories, 147; President Dunster's resignation, 1654, 146, 152, 153, 154; C. Chauncy inaugurated, 1654, 147, 154; New Haven Colony contributes to support of, 170 *n*; often referred to as "the college," 170 *n*; first LL.D. granted by, 1773, 177 *n*; text-books by Comenius perhaps used in, 179; original record of books given by J. Harvard, 190; water-color view of, about 1807, exhibited by W. Lincoln, 257; print of this view in the College Library, 257; record book destroyed in fire of 1764, 365 *n*; low condition of, in 1672, 369; London ministers interested in, and recommend L. Hoar for President, 369 *n*; punishments used at and power of punishment, 376; water-color view of, by H. d'Orgemont, 1795, exhibited by W. C. Lane, 410

— Board of Overseers, 152; elects C. Chauncy President, 1654, 147, 153, 154; accepts President Dunster's resignation, 153, 154; composition of first board and its reorganization, 167; powers given to, by General Court, 168; action of, on President's salary, 1672, 365 *n*; question of election of L. Hoar as President by, 367-370; act of General Court, 1810, reorganizing the board, repealed, 1812, 371-372; powers of, 376, 384, 386, 387

— Catalogues, notes on, 366 *n*, 373 *n*

— Charters: some provisions of the charter of 1650, 167, 367; A. Matthews's paper, The Harvard College Charter of 1672, 363-402; this charter first mentioned in College publications in 1812, 370-371; statements of the Corporation regarding the charters, 371-372; quotations from Peirce, Quincy, and others declaring that the charter of 1672 was not re-

HARVARD COLLEGE (*continued*)

corded by the College, was without validity, etc., 373-375; summary of points asserted, 375; these points answered, 375-388; ten copies of the charter of 1672 described, 388-391; error of historians regarding it, 391; purpose of this charter, 393; draught of charter of 1672 reproduced, 394; text of charters of 1650 and 1672, 395-402

— Corporation, 168; provisions of charter of 1650 concerning, 167, 367; members of, 1672, 368; question of election of L. Hoar as President by, 367-370; statement of, 1812, concerning charters of the college, 371; appoints committee to defend rights of the College before the General Court, 1812, 371; publishes pamphlet, The Constitution of the University, 1812, 372, 372 *n*; powers of, under various charters, 375-377, 386, 387; official name of, not clearly fixed in early times, 378, 378 *n*; number of members of, 379; vote of, regarding preservation of college documents, 392 *n*; right of, to elect presidents, 393; members of, 1692-1700, appointed by General Court, 393

— Fellows, care of the college committed to, in interim of presidencies, 1654, 153, 154; early position of, 168; names of, 1672, 368; grading of, 370 *n*

— Harvard Hall, T. Dawes's receipts for work on, 419 *n*

— Laws, extract from earliest code of, 376

— Library, books by Comenius in, 179, 184-186; J. Harvard's books bequeathed to, remarks on, and catalogue of, by A. C. Potter, 190-227; catalogue of library published, 1723, 191; destruction by fire, 1764, 192, 206; the Fearing Collection on angling, 250

— President, salary of, 1672, 365, 365 *n*, 374

— Widener Memorial Building, book given by J. Harvard the first carried into, 206

Hastings, Jonathan (H. C. 1730), 258 *n*

Hathorne, William (*d* 1681), 65 *n*; promoter of fur trading company, 1645, 16 *n*

- Havers, George, translator of the *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, 234, 234 *n*
- Haversham, a name sometimes wrongly given to Feversham, R. I., 259 *n*
- Hawkins, Capt. Thomas (*d* 1648), 34 *n*
- HAYNES, GEORGE HENRY, Ph.D., 115
- Hayward, William, 256-257
- Helbig, Johann Otto von, 136 *n*; cited, on the *Philalethes* tracts, 136; passage quoted, in Dr. S. Bellingham's translation, 136 *n*
- Helmont, Jan Baptista van, 119, 128 *n*; alchemist, 129, 144; correspondent of J. Winthrop, Jr., 178, 179
- Helvetius, Johann Friedrich, 143; his alchemical work, and tract, *The Golden Calf*, 132
- Henchman, Daniel (*d* 1761), 285, 285 *n*
- Lydia, daughter of Daniel (*d* 1761). *See* Hancock
- HENSHAW, SAMUEL, A.M., 250 *n*
- Hertodt, Johann Ferdinand. *See* Todtenfeld, Johann Ferdinand Hertodt von
- Hewes, Joshua, 15 *n*
- Heydon, John, practices astromancy and geomancy, 125, 125 *n*
- HIGGINSON, HENRY LEE, LL.D., death of, xv, 405
- Hill, Col. Arthur, son of Sir Moyses, Irish landowner and friend of R. Child, 121-123
- Hamilton Andrews, quoted, on the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, 268
- Hannah, active in organizing a Sunday school in Beverly, 1810, 265 *n*
- Sir Moyses, 121
- Richard, writes to J. Winthrop, Jr., on black lead in New England, 114
- Valentine (*d* 1662), 15 *n*
- Hillsborough, Viscounts and Earls of, descendants of Col. Arthur Hill, 121 *n*
- Hinckes, John, 305 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 305
- Hingham, troubles incident to a military election at, 17 *n*, and petition sent to England, 1645, 25, 26
- Hoar, Rev. Leonard, President of Harvard College, 363 *n*, 378 *n*, 391, 396, 401, 402; questions connected with his administration, 363; sketch of, 363; invited to ministry of Old South Church, but released to accept presidency of Harvard College, 363, 365;
- HOAR (*continued*)
- his election and inauguration, 364, 366, 366 *n*, 367, 374; his salary, 365; quoted, on accepting the position, 366, 369; question of the manner of his election, 364, 367-370; difficulties confronting him and his probable desire for, and work upon, a new charter, 1672, 374, 393; handwriting of, 391 *n*
- Hobart. *See also* Hubbard
- Joshua, brother of Rev. Peter (*d* 1679), 38 *n*, 55 *n*
- Rev. Peter (*d* 1679), practice of, concerning baptism, 24, 24 *n*; takes part in quarrel about a military election in Hingham and joins in petition to England, 1645, 25, 26, 35; refuses to observe fast day appointed in December, 1646, 36
- Peter (*d* 1879), 271 *n*; cited, on early history of Park Street Church and Sunday school, 270 *n*
- Hogg, Daniel, land grant to, 1688, 326
- Hogg Island, Mass., land grants on, 1688, 360
- Hog Island, Me., grant of, to V. Ellicott, 1688, 326
- Holden, Randall, associate of S. Gorton, 44, 79, 80; manifesto of, quoted, 80 *n*
- Hollman, John, land grant to, 1688, 343
- Holyoke, Rev. Edward, President of Harvard College, 379; statement of, concerning storage of N. Prince's goods, 383 *n*
- Hook, Rev. William (*d* 1677), 172, 172 *n*
- Hooke, Francis (*d* 1694), marriage of, 57 *n*
- Mary (Maverick) Palsgrave, wife of Francis (*d* 1694), petition of, to Andros, 57, 57 *n*
- Hooker, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1647), 74 *n*, invited to England to advance cause of the Independents, 73
- Hopkins, Ann, wife of Gov. Edward, 27 *n*
- Edward, Governor of Connecticut, 27 *n*, 41, 169 *n*
- Horace, quoted, 182 *n*
- Horr, Rev. George Edwin, quoted, on Sunday school of the First Baptist Church of Charlestown, 276
- Housing, Peter (*d c* 1673), 338, 338 *n*
- Peter, son of Peter (*d c* 1673), land grant to, 1688, 337

- Howard, Robert, 256
 — William. *See* Hayward, William
- Howchin, Jeremy (*d* 1670), 13
- Howell, John, land grant to, 1688, 318
- Howes, Edward, 15, 15 *n*; friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., and student of alchemy, 126, 129, 174
- Hubbard. *See also* Hobart
 — William, member of fur trading company, 1645, 16 *n*
 — Rev. William (*d* 1704), son of William, 17 *n*
- Hull, John, quoted, on L. Hoar's invitation to Old South Church, Boston, and his appointment as President of Harvard College, 365; represents several towns while resident of Boston, 431
- Humfrey, John (*d* 1651), 8, 167 *n*, 175 *n*; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 166 *n*
- Hungerford, Sir Edward, 236 *n*
 — Lady Margaret, wife of Sir Edward, 236 *n*
- Hunnewell, Richard, 318 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 318
- Huntington, Rev. Joshua, 268 *n*; president of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, 268
- Husbands, Maj. Azariah, 94 *n*; puts down insurrection in Kent, Eng., 1648, 94
- Hutchinson, Anne, 40
 — Edward (*d* 1752), 381, 381 *n*
 — Gov. Thomas, 17 *n*, 41 *n*, 370; quoted, on R. Child's medical studies, 5; on L. Hoar, 367; on Harvard College, 379, 379 *n*; on J. Dudley, 432
- Hyde, Edward, first Earl of Clarendon, 178; cited, on S. Maverick, 68
- I**NDEPENDENTS, struggle of, with Presbyterians, for control of England, 3, 72-74; Maj. J. Child and R. Baillie quoted on, 87. *See also* Presbyterians
- Indian corn, J. Winthrop, Jr., sends gift of, to S. Hartlib, 171
- Indians: at Harvard College, 186-189; order of General Court for religious instruction of, 1644, 259; Sunday school for, on Martha's Vineyard, perhaps first in the new world, 260, 261
- INDIANS (*continued*)
 — Chackamuck. *See* Kewegue
 — Cheeshahteaumuck, Caleb (H. C. 1665), 186 *n*; sketch of, 187-189
 — Hiacooms. *See* Jacoms
 — Jacoms (Hiacooms, Iacomoes), 187, 187 *n*; teaches Sunday school for Indians at Martha's Vineyard, 1660, 260; C. Mather quoted on, 260 *n*
 — Jacoomis (Jacoms), Joel, son of Jacoms, 186 *n*, 260 *n*; autograph of, 186; student at Harvard College, 187; D. Gookin's account of, 187-189
 — Kewegue, land bought of, 300 *n*
 — Mamanewatt, land bought of, 299 *n*
 — Mohawks (Maquaes), 158 *n*
 — Mohicans, 158 *n*
 — Narragansett tribe, trouble with, 1645, 44 *n*
 — Tacomus, gives land to J. Winthrop, 334 *n*
 — Wompatuck, Josias, 302
- Ingersoll, George, 317 *n*, 321 *n*, 343 *n*, 344 *n*, 347 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 343
 — George (*d* c 1730), son of George, 321 *n*, 325; land grant to, 1688, 321
 — John (*d* 1716), brother of George, 322, 344 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 344
 — Joseph (*d* 1700), son of George, 322, 343 *n*, 347 *n*, 348 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 347
 — Samuel, son of George, 317 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 317
- Ingraham, Joseph Wentworth, his account of Christ Church Sunday school, 273-275, 275 *n*
- Initiative, in politics, use of, in colonial New England, 411, 423
- Ipswich, instructs deputies never to resign liberties, 429
- Ireland, land of promise for English investors and speculators, in seventeenth century, 120
- Irish forfeited lands, money made and lost in, in seventeenth century, 117, 117 *n*
- Iron works in Massachusetts, J. Winthrop, Jr., and R. Child interested in, 7, 9, 10, 10 *n*, 11, 12 *n*, 15; foundries at Braintree and Lynn, 11, 12, 14; disappointing results, 13-14, 66 *n*

- JACKSON**, Andrew, President, 444
 — John, seaman, 257; and M. Munnings, agreement between, concerning use of a ship, 1659, 254-256; assigns right to C. Clarke, 256, 257
 Jakubeč, Jan, 149 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 149 *n*
 James II, King of England, 71, 292
 Jaquith, Harry J., quoted, on Park Street Church and Sunday school, 270 *n*
 Jeffarel, John. *See* Gifford, John
 Jefferson, Thomas, President, 445
 Jeffries, —, manager of iron works in Massachusetts, 12 *n*
JENNEY, HON. CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.B., 409
 Jesuits, in New England, 61, 61 *n*, 62; their feeling toward New England, 62
 Jocelyn, Abraham, 310, 310 *n*
 — Henry, brother of Abraham, 310 *n*
 Jogand-Pagès, Gabriel Antoine (*d* 1907), extraordinary hoax of, concerning T. Vaughan, 142, 142 *n*, 143, 143 *n*
JOHNSON, ALFRED, Litt.D., elected Registrar, 408
 — Capt. Edward (*d* 1672), 17 *n*, 85 *n*; quoted, on iron works at Braintree, 14; on signers of the Remonstrance of 1646, 20
 — Humphrey, land grant to, 1687, 313
 — Nathaniel, land grant to, 1688, 359
 Jones, Isaac (*d c* 1690), 339, 345 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 345
 — John (*d c* 1690), 345 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 345
 Jordan, Dominicus (*d* 1703), son of Rev. Robert, 315 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 315
 — Rev. Robert (*d* 1679), 305 *n*, 315, 315 *n*
 — Sarah (Winter), wife of Rev. Robert, 305 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 305
 Josselyn, John, brother of Abraham
 Jocelyn, 310 *n*
 Judkins, Eliza M., 258, 258 *n*
- KEATINGE**, Maurice Walter, quoted, on movements of Comenius, 166 *n*
- Keayne, Anna, daughter of Benjamin. *See* Paige
 — Benjamin, son of Robert, 319 *n*
 — Robert (*d* 1656), 13 *n*, 14, 319, 319 *n*
 Keayne, Sherman *vs.*, 415
 Keffler, Abraham, friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., 174, 175 *n*
 — Dr. John Sibert, friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., 172 *n*, 174, 175 *n*, 178
 Kent, Eng., insurrection in, 1648, 93-96, 96 *n*
 Kepler, Johann, 178, 179
 Kerker, Henry, 157 *n*
 Kiesewetter, Joannes Augustinus, his account of Philalethes, 145
 Kilkenny, Ireland, project for new academy at, 99
 King's Province, location of, 293; survey of, ordered, 1687, 294; land grant in, 1687, 295. *See also* Narragansett Country
 Kingsbury, Frederick John, quoted, on C. Mather, 169 *n*
 Kingston, R. I., name changed to Rochester, 1686, 295 *n*
 Kinsley, Steven, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*
 Kirby, Francis, letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., quoted, 164 *n*
 Kircher, Rev. Athanasius, his fantastic theory of barnacles and geese, 116
 Kirkland, Rev. John Thornton, President of Harvard College, 258 *n*, 371; with T. Parsons, prepares pamphlet, *The Constitution of the University*, 372 *n*
 Kittery, Me., land grant in, 1687, 307
KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, LL.D., 174, 175 *n*, 176 *n*, 178 *n*; his paper, *Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant*, 1-146; quoted, on inscription by I. Mather, 182 *n*
 Kneeland, Samuel (*d* 1769), partnership of, with T. Green, 290 *n*
 Kneeland & Green, alleged printing of Bible by, at Boston, about 1752, 285, 286 *n*, 289, 291, 292
 Knowles, Rev. John, reference to letter of, 1671, to Overseers of Harvard College, 369 *n*; recommended for presidency, 369 *n*
 Kopp, Hermann, quoted, on Philalethes, 141

- L**
LAKE, Rev. Kirsopp, 409
 — Thomas, 171
 Lake discovery, 15, 16
 Lamb, George, his map of Boston, 251
 Lambarde, William (*d* 1601), his Justice, 213
 Lambert, William G., superintends Sunday school in West Boston, 278 *n*
 Lamp-lighters, majority in a Boston town-meeting, 447
 Lancaster, iron mine at, 15
 Land warrants, issued by Gov. Andros, 1687-1688, 292-361; list of grantees and locations, 362
 Landholders, proportion of, in New England colonies, 441, 441 *n*
 Lane, James, 281
 — John, land grant to, 1688, 323
 — Mary (Wellington), wife of James, 281, 281 *n*
 — Oliver Wellington, son of James, 283 *n*; his Sunday school, at Boston, 1791, 280; sketch of, 281, 281 *n*; obituary notice of, 282
 — Susanna (Newman), wife of Oliver Wellington, 281
 — WILLIAM COOLIDGE, A.B., 5 *n*; describes print in Harvard College Library, from water-color view of the college, about 1807, 257; exhibits water-color view of Harvard College, made by H. d'Orgemont, 1795, 410
 Lange, Johann, 134
LANMAN, CHARLES ROCKWELL, LL.D., 404
 La Tour, Mme., suit of, against Alderman Barclay, of London, 29 *n*
 Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 8, 142
 Launce, Mary. *See* Sherman
 Lawrence, Robert (*d* 1690), 308 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 308
 Layes, Martha, 358
 Lead mines in Massachusetts, 92, 92 *n*, 99, 112-115; R. Child quoted on, 113
 Leader, Richard, comes to Massachusetts as manager of iron works, 11, 12, 12 *n*, 13 *n*; R. Child confined in house of, 1646, 41, 71; represents Child in financial matters, 60, 61, 61 *n*, 92, 92 *n*; interest of, in Ireland, 120; residences of, in Massachusetts, 120 *n*
 Leane, Henry, land grant to, 1688, 345
 — Job, land grant to, 1688, 345
 — John, land grant to, 1688, 345
 — Samuel, land grant to, 1688, 345
 Leatherby, Thomas, land grant to, 1688, 326
 Lee, Arthur (*d* 1792), 436
 — Henry, cited, on legend of geese and barnacles, 116
 — Rev. Samuel (*d* 1691), 180
 Lenglet-Dufresnoy, Nicolas, 143; quoted, on Philalethes, 141, 141 *n*
 Lenox, James, 286
 Leonard, John, son of Solomon, land grant to, 1679, 299 *n*
 — Samuel, son of Solomon, land grant to, 1679, 299 *n*
 — Solomon, 299 *n*
 Leverett, Gov. John, 33, 67, 67 *n*, 369 *n*
 — John, President of Harvard College, 378, 381 *n*, 389, 393, 399; marriage of, 183 *n*; quoted, on controversy concerning claims of N. Sever and W. Welsted to seats in Harvard College Corporation, 380; on the College charter of 1672, 388; his Diary, 388, 392; identification of, 389 *n*
 — Margaret (Rogers) Berry, wife of President John, 183, 183 *n*
 Lewis, Isaac, 319
 Libbey, Daniel, 326 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 326
 — David, brother of Daniel, 326 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 326
 — Henry, brother of Daniel, 326 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 326
 — John, brother of Daniel, 326 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 326
 — Matthew, brother of Daniel, 326 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 326
 Liberty of conscience, not sympathized with by colonial Congregationalists, or by Presbyterians or Episcopalians of the time, 23, 88, 89 *n*
 Lidgett, Charles (*d* 1698), 296 *n*, 361; land grants to, 1687, 296, 298
 Lime, making of, in New England, 105
 Lincoln, Nathan, 411
 — WALDO, A.B., exhibits water-color view of Harvard College, about 1807, 257
 Lindsey, Theophilus (*d* 1808), 264 *n*
 Liquor, various materials used for, as observed by R. Child, in his travels, 110

- Lissa, Poland, sack of, 1656, 160, 161 *n*
 Little Chebeag, island, Me., 306, 306 *n*
 Little Compton, R. I., incorporation of, 299 *n*; land grant in, 1687, 299
 Livermore, George, on printing of Bibles in America before the Revolution, 286, 286 *n*
 Loftus, Adam, first Viscount Loftus of Ely, with the Earl of Cork, destroys St. Patrick's Purgatory, 115, 116
 Longmeadow, vote of, 1808, concerning Embargo Law, 445 *n*
 Lord's Supper, quarrels over right to partake of, 22, 22 *n*; time of celebrating, 153
 Loring, Charles Greely (*d* 1867), 380 *n*
 Losers, proverb concerning, 66, 66 *n*
 Lothrop, Thomas, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56, 56 *n*
 Louis XIV, King of France, 423
 Lowell, Rev. Charles (*d* 1861), 278, 278 *n*; letter of, to E. S. Gannett, on Sunday school of West Church, Boston, 277
 — John (H. C. 1786), brother of Rev. Charles (*d* 1861), 371 *n*; on committee to defend rights of Harvard College before the General Court, 1812, 371
 — JOHN, A.B., elected Resident Member, 231, 404
 Lower Clapboard Island, Me., 351
 Loyalists, Boston's feeling toward, 439; An American quoted on, 439 *n*
 Lucerne, a forage plant, 109, 109 *n*
 Lützow, Frantěšek, Count, 149 *n*, 150 *n*; quoted, on Comenius, 149, 150
 Lynde, Joseph (*d* 1727), 355 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 355
 — Simon (*d* 1687), 294 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 294
 Lynn, iron works at, 12, 60, 61
- M**ACCAMBOY, 115
 McKee, Thomas Jefferson, owned Bible claimed to be the Mark Baskett Bible of 1752, described by I. Thomas, 286, 287-289
 Mader, Wilhelmus, 74 *n*
 Madiver, Joel (*d* 1703), 331, 349 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 349
 Magunco (Magaguncock) Hill. *See* Ashland
 Maine, John, 338 *n*
 Maine's Point, Me., 338, 338 *n*
 Mallet, John, 101 *n*
 Manchaog Farm, grant of, to J. Dudley, 1688, 314
 Mandates. *See* New England Town Mandates
 Manget, Johann Jakob, 134 *n*, 136
 Marblehead, founding of, 412
 Marsh, Thomas (H. C. 1731), 383 *n*, 384 *n*, 385 *n*
 Marshall, Chief-Justice John, opinion of, on Remonstrance of 1646, 76 *n*
 — William, English engraver, 235 *n*
 Martha's Vineyard, Christian Indians on, 187; Sunday school for them, 1660, 260, 261
 Marvin, William Theophilus Rogers, 46 *n*, 88 *n*; his treatment of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17 *n*; quoted, on R. Child, 39 *n*
 Maryland, election law of 1716, 422 *n*; Senate, refuses to obey mandate of constituencies, 1786, 443
 Mason, Jonathan, 281
 — Thaddeus (*d* 1802), 452, 453
 Massachusetts, first use of referendum in, 1641, 424; later use, 425; annual elections in, 426; Excise Bill, 1754, 433-436
 — Colony, contest of, with the Remonstrants, 1646, 2
 — Colony Charter, vacated, 1684, 292, 429, 430; provisions of, for sessions of General Court, and its powers, 411
 — Constitution of 1780, 425; provides for instructing representatives, 427, 442, 443
 — General Court, grants monopoly for iron works to J. Winthrop, Jr., and others, 12; issues call for subscriptions, 13; declares works not likely to continue and grants other privileges, 14, 15; grants monopoly for beaver trade, 15; recommends a synod of the New England churches, 19, 22 *n*; appoints committee to arrange the laws, 20; other measures which may have been influenced by the Remonstrance of 1646, 20; appoints a fast day, 1646, as a reproof of the Remonstrants, 36; tries the Remonstrants, 37-39; tries them a second time for conspiracy against the government, 50-56; order of, on

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT (continued)

- resignation of H. Dunster as President of Harvard College, 152, 168; takes important part in early management of the College, 167; Overseers of, appointed by, 1654, 167 *n*; order of, for religious instruction of Indians, 1644, 259; 1672, concerning salary of President of Harvard College, 365; fills vacancies in Harvard Corporation, 370; orders to be laid before it the charter of the college, with all laws, regulations, etc., 371; repeals, 1812, act of 1810, reorganizing Board of Overseers, 371-372; grants powers to Overseers, 1642, 376; to Corporation, 1650, 1656, 1657, 1672, 377; laws of, relating to Harvard College, 387; general powers of, as granted by Colony charter, 411; in 1641 asks towns to instruct deputies, 414; establishment of two houses in, 1642, 415; does not sustain recall of representative by town of Gloucester, 425; passes Excise Bill, 1754, 433-435; orders referendum on ratification of Articles of Confederation, 438
- House Journal, publication of, 432
- Province Charter, franchise provision of, 441
- Provincial Congress, 437

Massachusetts Historical Society, owns Bible containing memoranda by I. Mather, 181 *n*

Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, report of, 1830, quoted, 270 *n*

Massereene, Viscount. *See* Clotworthy, Sir John

Mather, Cotton, son of Rev. Increase, 106, 112, 147 *n*, 150 *n*, 151, 154 *n*, 168, 169, 169 *n*, 170 *n*, 171 *n*, 173 *n*, 179, 183 *n*, 367 *n*; his tribute to the alchemical knowledge of J. Winthrop, Jr., 127; states that presidency of Harvard College was offered by J. Winthrop, Jr., to J. A. Comenius, 146, 154, 155; sole authority for this tradition, 148 *n*, 150, 150 *n*; possible explanation of it, 154-168; errors in his *Magnalia* perhaps due to printer, 154 *n*, 364 *n*; imitates title of work by Comenius, 155, 155 *n*, 190; his intimacy with Winthrop family, 168,

MATHER (continued)

168 *n*; quoted, on J. Norton's letter to J. Durie, about 1661, 172 *n*; quoted, on Hiacoms, 260 *n*; on use of intermission between Sunday services, 262 *n*; quoted, on L. Hoar's election to presidency of Harvard College, and inauguration, 364, 366, 367

— Rev. Increase, son of Rev. Richard, 168, 190 *n*; sends to his father, 1661, book by Comenius, 180; facsimile of inscriptions in the book, 181; handwriting of, 181 *n*; cites Comenius, 189; addresses Boston town-meeting, 1684, on surrender of the colony charter, 429

— Rev. Richard, 147, 168; appointed by Overseers of Harvard College to confer with C. Chauncy concerning the presidency, 153, 154; book by Comenius presented to, 1661, 180; cites Comenius, 189

— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1671), son of Rev. Richard, 395

— Rev. Samuel, son of Rev. Cotton, 183 *n*; quoted, on letters of J. Norton and J. Davenport to J. Durie, 173 *n*; cites Comenius, 190

MATTHEWS, ALBERT, A.B., 411, 451 *n*; his paper, Comenius and Harvard College, 146-190; his paper, Early Sunday Schools in Boston, 259-285, 451; his paper, The Harvard College Charter of 1672, 363-402

Maverick, Mary, daughter of Samuel. *See* Hooke

— Nathaniel, son of Samuel, Noddle's Island deeded to, 57, 57 *n*

— Samuel, 8, 32, 51, 54 *n*, 78 *n*; a signer of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17, 22, 28; not always law-abiding, 28 *n*; charged with being an informant against his country, 29 *n*; tried, with other Remonstrants, and sentenced, 37, 38; charged with breach of his freeman's oath, 42; tried a second time, with other Remonstrants, for conspiracy against the government, and sentenced, 50-56, 82 *n*; transfer of Noddle's Island in effort to avoid payment of fine, and final payment, 57; petitions General Court for review of his trial, 57-59, 57 *n*, 58 *n*; quoted, on exaction of

- MAVERICK (*continued*)
 fines from himself and other Remonstrants, 59; paper of, concerning the Remonstrance of 1646, 66; one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67, 67 *n*; petitions the King, 1663, 68; appointed one of commissioners for regulation of New England affairs, 1664, 68
- Maxson, Rev. John (*d* 1720), 295 *n*;
 land grant to, 1687, 295
- Mayanexit River, 313 *n*
- Mayhew, Joseph (*d* 1782), 384 *n*, 385 *n*;
 elected Fellow of Harvard College, 383
- Medal, struck by command of Emperor Ferdinand III, from alchemic gold, 130
- Medfield, land grant in, 1688, 314
- Medway, instruction of, to deputy, 438
- Mendon, demands repeal of Impost Act, 1784, 438
- Merrill, John Douglass, 409
- Mersenne, Marin, 166, 166 *n*
- Michelet, Jules, 151
- Middlesex Registry of Deeds, housing of records of, 1776, 452
- Mildmay, Sir Henry, of Wanstead, Essex, Eng., patron of L. Hoar, 363 *n*
 — William (H. C. 1647), son of Sir Henry of Wanstead, 363 *n*
- Milton, John, book of, burned, 21 *n*;
 correspondent of J. Winthrop, Jr., 178
- Milton, land grants in, 1688, 356
- Mines in New England, legislation concerning, 1641, 113 *n*
- Mitchell, Rev. Jonathan (H. C. 1647),
 Fellow of Harvard College, 396
- Mobby, a liquor, 110
- Mobby-faces, 111
- Moges, islands, Me., 346 *n*
- Monroe, Will Seymour, 156 *n*; doubts that presidency of Harvard College was offered to Comenius, 149 *n*, 151, 167; quoted, on Comenius and the Winthrops, 160 *n*, 176 *n*
- Monster of Monsters, The, pamphlet on the Excise Bill, 1754, 1754, 435
- MOORE, Rev. GEORGE FOOT, LL.D., 139 *n*
 — Jacob Bailey, error of, concerning date of arrival of E. Winslow in England, 45 *n*
- Moravians, settlement of, in America, 150, 150 *n*
- Morgan, Maj. —, 122 *n*
- Morgenbesser, Michael, alleged transmutation of lead into silver, in presence of, 133, 134 *n*, 144
- Morice, Sir William (*d* 1676), 68
- Morrell, Robert, land grant to, 1688, 350
- Morrice. *See* Morice
- Morris, Lewis, 422 *n*
- Morse, Andrew, 451
 — Dr. Frederic D., 451
- Mortimer, Dr. Cromwell, 179; quoted, on J. Winthrop (H. C. 1700), 131 *n*;
 his dedication of Philosophical Transactions, vol. xl, to J. Winthrop (*d* 1747) quoted, 177
- Morton, Thomas, 40
- Mosey, Benjamin, 319
- Mosier, Hugh (*d c* 1666), 346 *n*
 — James, son of Hugh, 346 *n*
 — John, son of Hugh, 346 *n*
- Mosiers Islands, Freeport, Me., 346, 346 *n*
- Muddy River, early name of Brookline, 298, 298 *n*
- Munford (Mountfort, Mumford), Benjamin (*d* 1714), 353, 353 *n*
- Munnings (Mallins), George (*d* 1658),
 R. Child confined in house of, 42, 43
 — Hannah, wife of Mahalaleel, 254, 254 *n*
 — Mahalaleel (*d* 1660), 257; and J. Jackson, agreement between, concerning use of a ship, 1659, 254–256; sketch of, 254 *n*
- Munroe, James Pinney, quoted, on Comenius, 149
- Munson, Dr. Æneas, interest of, in alchemy, 123
- Munster, Sebastian, 233
- Muret, Marc Antoine, 193
- Murray, Rev. John (*d* 1815), 282
- Musculus, description of, 245
- Muskrat, 106
- Mystic, Ct., iron found at, 15
- N**AHANT Neck, survey of, ordered, 1688, 354
- Nantucket, shipwreck and murder at, 1665, 188, 188 *n*
- Narragansett Bay, survey of, ordered, 1688, 315

- Narragansett Country, location of, 293; survey of, ordered, 1687, 294; land grant in, 1687, 295. *See also* King's Province
- Nashawake (Lancaster), iron mine at, 15, 15 *n*
- Natick, 450
- Natimnah (Nasinnah), Little Compton, R. I., 299, 299 *n*, 300 *n*
- Native Bostonian, cited, on power of the town-meeting, 447
- Neal, Rev. Daniel, quoted, on J. Goodwin, 21 *n*
- Needham, establishment of, and first minister, 450
- Negroes, Sunday school for, Boston, 1816, 272, 272 *n*
- New England Company, 187 *n*
- New England Town Mandates, paper by K. Colegrove, 411-449; practice of voting mandates to deputies a characteristic of town-meeting system and concurrent with establishment of representative government, 411-414; earliest evidence of town instructions, 414-416; procedure for voting instructions, 417; a typical 18th century Boston election, 418-421; corporate capacity of New England towns as giving authority to instructions, and comparison with conditions in middle and southern colonies and in England, 421-423; initiative and referendum, 423-425; recall, 425-427; specific examples of mandates, 427-431; publicity given to proceedings of General Court a means of ensuring fidelity to mandates, 431-433; infidelity to instructions charged in case of Excise Bill of 1754, 433-436; importance of the mandate system during the American Revolution, 436-440; the town-meeting a school of politics, 440; extent of the franchise in colonial New England, 441; right to instruct representatives declared in many state constitutions, 442-444; decline and disappearance of the town mandate, 444-449; late instance of use of, 449 *n*
- New-England's Jonas, naming of, 35
- Newgate, Nathaniel, 360 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 360
- New Hampshire Gazette, 290
- New Haven, Ct., a college projected at, 1648-1660, 169, 169 *n*, 170 *n*
- New Haven Colony, contributes to support of Harvard College, 170 *n*
- New London, Ct., Fishers Island, 173
- Newman, Susanna. *See* Lane
- New Roxbury, Ct., land grants in, 1688, 359; name changed to Woodstock, 359 *n*
- Newspapers in colonial Massachusetts, 432
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 178
- Thomas, land grant to, 1688, 358
- Newton, in 1689, instructs its deputy to demand more liberal franchise, 416
- New York Society Library, owns books by Comenius, 189, 189 *n*
- NICHOLS, CHARLES LEMUEL, M.D., Litt.D., his paper, Is there a Mark Baskett Bible of 1752? 285-292
- John, 339, 341
- Nicholson, John, 348, 348 *n*
- Robert, brother of John, 348 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 348
- Niell (Niell, Niles), Samuel, 336 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 336
- Nipmug (Nipmuck) Country, location of, 293; land grants in, 1687, 304; 1688, 313, 314, 334, 361
- Nonsuch Farm, Scarborough, Me., granted to S. Jordan and J. Hinckes, 305
- Nonsuch marshes, Me., 346
- Nope, island. *See* Martha's Vineyard
- North Carolina, Declaration of Rights, 1776, 442
- North Yarmouth, Me., land grants in, 1687, 296, 311; 1688, 338, 339, 343, 345, 347; refugees from Eleuthera in, 339 *n*
- Norton, Francis, member of fur trading company, 1644, 15 *n*
- Rev. John (*d* 1663), 74 *n*, 183 *n*; appointed by Overseers of Harvard College to confer with C. Chauncy concerning the presidency, 147, 153, 154; Overseer of Harvard College, 167 *n*; letter of, for New England clergy, to J. Durie, 172 *n*, 173 *n*
- Rev. John (H. C. 1671), nephew of Rev. John (*d* 1663), 183 *n*
- John, unidentified, autograph of, 183
- Norwich, Ct., First Church, catechizing of children in, 261

- Novák, J., quoted, on Comenius, 150 *n*
 Nowell, Alexander (*d* 1672), brother of Samuel (*d* 1688), 370; Fellow of Harvard College, 368, 369, 369 *n*; his funeral oration on C. Chauncy, 370; death of, 370
 — Samuel (*d* 1688), 353
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS, A.B., on Nominating Committee, 231
- O**AKES, Rev. Urian, President of Harvard College, his funeral sermon on C. Chauncy, 369; named as a Fellow of Harvard College in charter of 1672, 396, 396 *n*, 401
 Ockman, John, 339
 Ocland, Christopher, his Anglorum Prælia appointed by Queen Elizabeth to be used in schools, 193
 O'Connor, Rev. Daniel, 116
 Oldenburg, Henry (*d* 1677), 173 *n*, 178
 Orgemont, Houdin d', his water-color view of Harvard College, 1795, exhibited, 410; sketch of, 410
 Orrery, Earl of. *See* Boyle, Roger
 Otis, James (*d* 1783), 24, 419
 — John, 24; will of, 26 *n*
 — Margaret, daughter of John. *See* Burton
 Owen, Thomas, 28 *n*
 Oxenstiern, Count Axel, 149; invites Comenius to Sweden, 147, 155, 166
 Oxford, represented by non-resident deputy, 432 *n*
- P**ADUA, Italy, University of, confers degree on R. Child, 5, 5 *n*
 Paget, Rev. John, 74 *n*
 Paige, Anna (Keayne), wife of Nicholas (*d* 1717), 319, 319 *n*
 — Nicholas (*d* 1717), 319 *n*, 360; land grant to, 1688, 319
 Paine, John, 257
 Painter, Stephen, 101 *n*
 Palfrey, Rev. John Gorham (*d* 1881), 2; his treatment of the Remonstrance of 1646, 17 *n*; quoted, on L. Hoar, and the Harvard College charter of 1672, 374
 Palmer, John, 174, 174 *n*
 Palsgrave, John, marriage of, 57 *n*
 — Mary (Maverick), wife of John. *See* Hooke
- Papists, fear of, in New England, 62
 Paracelsus, Philippus Aureolus, 119, 132
 Pareus, David, 230 *n*
 Parish, —, 62
 PARK, Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS, D.D., Annual Report of Council, presented on behalf of, 403; elected Corresponding Secretary, 408
 Parker, —, 54
 — Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH, A.M., tribute to, 405
 — John, of Gravesend, Eng., 97
 — Samuel, of Needham, 1737, 452
 PARMENTER, Hon. JAMES PARKER, LL.B., 404
 Parsons, —, 302
 — Chief Justice Theophilus, with Pres. Kirkland, prepares pamphlet, The Constitution of the University at Cambridge, 372 *n*
 Patershall, Robert, 120 *n*
 Paucatuck Neck, Westerly, R. I., land grant at, 1687, 294, 294 *n*
 Paul, Rev. Thomas, quoted, on Sunday school for colored children, 272 *n*
 Paulling, Matthew, 340 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 340
 Pawtucket, R. I., earliest Sunday school in New England claimed for, 265, 275 *n*, 276 *n*
 Payne, Henry, instigates charges against Maj. J. Child, 97
 — Robert, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56
 — William, 16 *n*, 120 *n*
 — William Harold, quoted, on offer of presidency of Harvard College to Comenius, 148
 Payson, Giles, 298, 298 *n*
 Peirce, Benjamin (*d* 1831), quoted, on Harvard College charter of 1672, 373; his statements answered, 378, 382
 Pelham, Herbert, 33; petition of, to General Court, 1646, 33 *n*; quoted, on progress of colonial matters, in London, 45 *n*; on E. Winslow's conduct of the case of the Massachusetts Bay Colony against the petitioners of 1646, 66
 — William, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56

- Pelham, instructs representative, 1821, 446
- Pell, Daniel, 250; his Improvement of the Sea borrowed from by J. Dunton, 235, 235 *n*, 236 *n*, 237-240, 243, 244, 247-249; his identity uncertain, 236 *n*
- Rev. John, 166 *n*; quoted, on losses of Comenius in sack of Lissa, Poland, 160 *n*; friend of J. Winthrop, Jr., 161 *n*, 178
- John, son of Rev. John, 161 *n*
- Thomas, brother of Rev. John, sketch of, 161 *n*
- Pemberton, Thomas (*d* 1807), 280; appeal of, for establishment of Sunday schools in Boston, 279
- Pendleton, Brian, connection of, with second trial of the Remonstrants of 1646, 55, 55 *n*, 56
- Penly, Sampson, 331
- Pennsylvania, Constitution and Declaration of Rights, 1776, 442
- Pentograph, invention of Sir W. Petty, 98, 98 *n*
- Pepper, Jacob, 298
- Percival, James Gates, 183
- Perkins, Rev. William (*d* 1602), 262 *n*
- Perry, R. Child quoted on making of, 5 *n*
- Persius, works of, 218
- Peters (Peter), Rev. Hugh, Overseer of Harvard College, 8, 10 *n*, 61 *n*, 175 *n*; quoted, on R. Child, 16; on persecution in the Massachusetts colony, 29 *n*, 30 *n*; G. Firmin's opinion of, 30 *n*; quoted, on right of appeal, 45 *n*
- Rev. Thomas, brother of Rev. Hugh, 93 *n*; fears to sail for England in company of those carrying complaints to Parliament, 34, 34 *n*
- Petræus, Benedictus Nicolaus, 143 *n*; quoted, on Eirenæus Philalethes, 143
- Petty, Sir William, 122 *n*, 166 *n*; invents pentograph, 98, 98 *n*; requested to make inquiries in Ireland for the Royal Society, 116 *n*; government position of, in Ireland, 120; friend of R. Child, 120, 120 *n*
- Philadelphia, Pa., earliest Sunday school of modern type in America in, 264, 264 *n*, 274 *n*
- Society for the Institution and Support of First-Day or Sunday Schools in Philadelphia, 264 *n*, 274 *n*
- Philalethes, Eirenæus, name under which many alchemical tracts were issued, really by George Stirk, 124, 132, 134, 134 *n*, 135, 136, 137 *n*; but attributed also to R. Child, 133, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146; to Bartlet, 137; to T. Vaughan, 141, 141 *n*, 142, 143, 144, 145. *See also* Stirk, George
- Philalethes, Eugenius, pseudonym of T. Vaughan, 125 *n*, 141
- Philes, George Philip, 287
- Phillips, James Duncan, 409
- John (H. C. 1735), note of, quoted, 186
- Samuel, 353
- William, buys Saco patent, 1659, 65 *n*
- Philosopher's stone, references to belief in, 126 *n*, 127, 130, 132, 134, 139, 140 *n*, 144
- Phippen, David (*d* 1703), son of Joseph, 309 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 309
- Joseph, 310, 310 *n*
- PICKERING, HENRY GODDARD, LL.B., 404; on Auditing Committee, 231, 408; on Committee on Memorials, 231
- Pier, Arthur Stanwood, 409
- Pike, Samuel, 350
- Pinto, Ferdinand Mendez, J. Addison quoted on, 234
- Piscator, Johann, works of, 216
- Pittsfield, resolution of, concerning activity of Boston, 1812, 445
- Plymouth, 439
- Clark's Island, granted to N. Clarke, 1688, 333; summer home of W. W. Goodwin, 333 *n*
- First Church, catechizing of children in, 261, 262 *n*; earliest Sunday school claimed for, by Rev. T. Robbins, 262 *n*; J. C. Power quoted on the Plymouth school, 263 *n*; proposed publication of church records of, 404
- Plymouth Colony, passes law providing for instructions to deputies, 1640, 414
- Pocasset, R. I., sale of lands in and near, to B. Church and others, 1680, 299 *n*; land grant in, 1687, 300; incorporated as Tiverton, 300 *n*. *See also* Tiverton
- Pocumtuck, land grant to Dedham at, 450
- Pond Cove, Me., 323, 323 *n*
- Portland, Me. *See* Falmouth, Me.

Portsmouth, R. I., land grant in, 1688, 358

POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN, A.B., identifies book by Comenius, in Harvard College Library, 179; his Catalogue of John Harvard's Library, 190-230

Power, John Carroll, quoted, on early Sunday schools in America, 263 *n*

Powsland, Richard, 320 *n*, 344; land grant to, 1688, 320

Prentice, Henry, 383, 383 *n*

Presbyterians, contest of, with Independents for control of England, 3, 90; Remonstrance of 1646, in Massachusetts, made in interest of, 18, 28, 39, 40, 69, 86, 87; standing of, in New England, 22 *n*, 46, 71, 72, 73; attitude of, toward toleration and liberty of conscience, 23, 89 *n*; attitude of, toward Independents in England, 72; Presbyterianism established in England, 1646, 72, 72 *n*

Press, censorship and freedom of, 432, 433

Presumpscot River, Me., 308 *n*

Prince, Joanna. *See* Everett

— Rev. Nathan, brother of Rev. Thomas (*d* 1758), 370, 383 *n*, 387 *n*, 388 *n*, 390, 390 *n*; quoted, on Harvard College charter of 1672, 378; is removed from his tutorship and fellowship at Harvard College, 382, 384 *n*; writes *The Constitution and Government of Harvard College*, 383, 383 *n*, 385 *n*; quoted, on powers of the Overseers and the Corporation, and on the charters, 384-387; his temporary derangement of mind, 385 *n*; later life, 385 *n*, 386 *n*

— Rev. Thomas (H. C. 1707), note of, on N. Prince, 385 *n*

Proxy voting, origin of, 413 *n*

Puncatest Neck, Little Compton, R. I., 301, 301 *n*

Punkapog, Dorchester. *See* Dorchester

Purchas, Rev. Samuel, borrowed from, by J. Dunton, 236, 249, 250 *n*

Purpoodeuk Point, Me., 323, 323 *n*

Pynchon, William (*d* 1662), quoted, on R. Child and his associates, 41, 41 *n*

— William (*d* 1789), 417

QUANSIGAMOND. *See* Worcester

Quincy, Josiah (*d* 1775), 419

QUINCY (*continued*)

— Josiah, President of Harvard College, son of Josiah (*d* 1775), 367, 389; cited, on size of J. Harvard's library, 191; on L. Hoar's inauguration, 364, 366 *n*; quoted, on Harvard College charter of 1672, 373; his statements answered, 375-382; quoted, on last town-meetings of Boston, 446

Quobeague, survey of, ordered, 1688, 335. *See also* Brookfield

RACKEMANN, CHARLES SEDGWICK, A.M., on Committee on Memorials, 231

Raikes, Robert (*d* 1811), 262 *n*, 265 *n*; purpose of his Sunday schools, 264, 267; date of his first school, 264 *n*

Randolph, Sec. Edward, land grant to, 1688, 353; requests grant of Nahant Neck, 354

Rankin, George W., 449 *n*

Rathbone, William, 74 *n*

Rattle-snake-weed. *See* Snakeweed

Raumer, Karl von, 147 *n*

Ravenscroft, Capt. Samuel, land grant to, 1688, 358

Rawson, Sec. Edward, quoted, on educated Indian youths, 188 *n*; attest of, 377, 388, 390, 398, 399, 401; copy of Harvard College charter of 1672, in Court Records, and passages in other copies, in handwriting of, 389, 395, 402

Raynsford, Edward, 353

Reade, Col. Thomas, 159 *n*

Recall, in politics, use of, in colonial New England, 411, 425-427

Reed, John (*d* 1805), of Bedford, Middlesex County record books kept at house of, 1776, 452, 453

Referendum, use of, in colonial New England, 411, 424

Rehoboth, dismisses J. Wheeler, delegate to Provincial Congress, 1778, 426; proposes state law authorizing recall of representatives, 1778, 426, 426 *n*

Reid, William Bernard, 409

Relapse, *The*, pamphlet on the Excise Bill, 1754, 435 *n*

Remonstrance of 1646, a part of the general struggle between Presbyterians and Independents, 2-3; sub-

REMONSTRANCE (*continued*)

- mitted by R. Child and others, 17; rights of freemen demanded for "all truly English," with extension of church privileges, and English law, 18; effect on the magistrates, 18-20; attempt to satisfy the Remonstrants, 21; sketches of the signers, 21-27; their diversity of views and real purpose, 28; committee appointed by the General Court to make answer to the Remonstrance, and E. Winslow selected to go to England as agent of the colony, 30; Remonstrants summoned and given opportunity to retract, 30-33; copy of the Remonstrance carried to England, 33-36; its authors tried by the General Court, 37-39, 91 *n*; second trial of the Remonstrants for conspiracy against the government, 1647, 50-56, 92 *n*; review of principles involved, 69-87
- Rener, William, quoted, on church and government conditions in Bermuda, 1647, 36 *n*
- Review, The, pamphlet on the Excise Bill, 1754, 435 *n*
- Rhode Island, referendum in, 1647-1663, 424
- Rice, Rev. Edwin Wilbur, 264 *n*
- FRANKLIN PIERCE, tribute to, 405
- Samuel, land grant to, 1688, 361
- Richards, Ann (Winthrop), second wife of John, 334 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 334
- John, Treasurer of Harvard College, 334 *n*, 368, 370, 393, 396, 402
- Richardson, Rev. John (H. C. 1666), 391, 393; Fellow of Harvard College, 368, 369, 369 *n*, 370, 396, 396 *n*, 402
- Richmond, George H., 287
- Richthausen, Johann Conrad von, transmutes silver to gold, 130
- Rives, William Cabell (*d* 1868), 444
- Roads in New England colonies, 431
- Robbins, Rev. Chandler (*d* 1799), son of Rev. Philemon, 262 *n*
- Rev. Philemon, 262 *n*
- Rev. Thomas (*d* 1856), quoted, on first Sabbath school in the United States, 262 *n*
- Robinson, —, 10
- FRED NORRIS, Ph.D., 231, 403, 410; elected President, 408

ROBINSON (*continued*)

- Rev. John (*d* 1625), 263 *n*
- Rev. John (H. C. 1695), 263 *n*
- Rochester, R. I., 295 *n*
- Rodman, John, letter of, cited, 295 *n*
- Roe, Sir Thomas, the Relation of his Voyage into the East-Indies, borrowed from by J. Dunton in his letters from New England, 234, 234 *n*, 237, 240, 245, 249; note on, 234 *n*
- Rogers, Rev. Ezekiel (*d* 1661), 173 *n*; quoted, on the Remonstrants of 1646, 52 *n*
- Rev. John (*d* 1636), 225
- John, President of Harvard College, 183
- Rev. John (H. C. 1684), son of President John, 183, 183 *n*
- Rev. John (H. C. 1711), son of Rev. John (H. C. 1684), 183
- Margaret, daughter of President John. *See* Leverett
- Rogers & Fowle, booksellers, 384 *n*
- Rosenbach, Abraham S. Wolf, 287
- Rosenbach Company, 287
- Rosicrucians, 125 *n*, 126 *n*, 129, 142, 145
- Ross, James, 309, 316 *n*
- John, son of James, 316 *n*, 333; land grant to, 316
- Row, Anthony, land grant to, 1688, 326
- Rowe, John, 419
- Roxbury, land grants in, 1687, 298
- First Church, claims first Sunday school in the new world, 260, 261
- Greyhound Inn, 298
- Ruddock, John, 419
- RUGG, Hon. ARTHUR PRENTICE, LL.D., elected Vice-President, 408
- Ruggles, Samuel, land grant to, 1688, 361
- Rumney Marsh, 319 *n*; land grants in, 1688, 319, 360
- Rupert, Prince, of Bavaria, 178
- Russell, James (*d* 1709), 357 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 357
- Rev. John (H. C. 1645), first minister of Hadley, 450
- Richard (*d* 1676), 29 *n*, 38 *n*, 55 *n*
- Rutherford, Rev. Samuel, 74 *n*, 91
- SACO, Me., land grant in, 312
- Saco patent, R. Child's purchase and sale of, 16, 16 *n*, 63, 65, 65 *n*

- Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. *See* Lord's Supper
- Sadler, Richard, 33; destroys copy of the Remonstrance of 1646, 35
- Sainfoin, a forage plant, 109, 109 *n*
- St. Patrick's Purgatory, Ireland, 115; destruction of, 1632, 116
- Sakonnet, R. I. *See* Little Compton
- Salem, advertisement of projected Sunday school in, 1807, 265 *n*; asserts right to recall deputies, 1686, 426; instructions of, to deputies, 428
- Salisbury, represented by non-resident deputy, 431
- Salter, Rev. Richard (H. C. 1739), 183
- Saltonstall, Sir Richard, 172 *n*
- Richard (*d* 1694), son of Sir Richard, 16 *n*, 38; petition of, to General Court, 1646, 33 *n*; recommends J. Knowles for presidency of Harvard College, 369 *n*
- Sanford. *See* Staniford
- Sargent, Lucius Manlius (*d* 1867), 281; pupil of O. W. Lane, 282
- Sarsaparilla, R. Child quoted on, 115
- Sassafras, R. Child's observations on, 111
- Savage, Thomas, 303
- Saye and Sele, Lord. *See* Fiennes, William
- Sayles, William, Governor of Bermuda, 33, 34 *n*
- Scarborough, Me., establishment of, 293; land grants in, 1687, 305, 305 *n*, 309, 310, 311; 1688, 315, 318, 319, 323, 326, 327, 328, 333, 359
- Schipano, Mario, 234
- Schmieder, Karl, 145 *n*; his History of Alchemy, and belief concerning Philalethes, 144-145
- Schroeder, Wilhelm, Freiherr von (*d* 1688), 137
- Schweinitz, Edmund de, Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, quoted, on offer of presidency of Harvard College to Comenius, 148
- Scituate, land grant in, 1687, 313; instructs deputy to move General Court for law regarding payment of debts, 1665, 427
- Sconce, use of the word in Harvard College charter of 1672, 374, 376, 377
- Scottow, Joshua (*d* 1698), 310 *n*, 318; land grant to, 1687, 310
- Sea-calf, description of, 248
- Seacomb (Seecomb), Richard (*d* 1694), 309 *n*, 316; land grant to, 1687, 309; 1688, 324
- Sea-hog, description of, 237
- Sea-horse, description of, 247
- Seamen, meetings held for, in Boston, about 1821, 278 *n*
- Seccombe, Thomas, error of, concerning date of E. Winslow's arrival in England, 45 *n*
- Sedgwick, Robert (*d* 1656), 15 *n*; charged with being an informant against his country, 29 *n*
- Selectmen, 414
- Sendivogius, Michael, 125
- Sever, Rev. Nicholas (H. C. 1701), 382 *n*, 389 *n*; controversy on claim of, to seat in Corporation of Harvard College, 380, 388, 392; quoted, on the College charters, 381
- Sewall, Rev. Joseph, son of Judge Samuel, 430; possessed book by Comenius when student at Harvard College, 183, 184
- Judge Samuel, 293, 369 *n*; book by Comenius probably given by, to his son J. Sewall, 183, 184; re-names New Roxbury, Ct., 359 *n*; Hogg Island granted to, 1688, 360; cited, on town-meetings, 417, 418
- Shark, description of, 238
- Sharp, Rev. Daniel, quoted, on establishment of Sunday schools in Boston, 452 *n*
- Shaw, Chief Justice Lemuel, 380 *n*
- ROBERT GOULD, A.M., 404; accepts Resident Membership, 1; on Auditing Committee, 231, 408
- Shawomett (Somerset), R. I., land grant in, 1687, 301
- Shays's Rebellion, 428
- Shepard, Rev. Thomas (*d* 1649), 74 *n*; his proposition for maintenance of pootscholars at Harvard College, 170 *n*
- Rev. Thomas (*d* 1677), son of Rev. Thomas (*d* 1649), Fellow of Harvard College, 368 *n*, 396, 396 *n*, 402
- Sheppard, Thomas, land grant to, 1687, 312
- Sherborn, land grant in, 1688, 314
- Sherman, Rev. John (*d* 1685), 311, 311 *n*
- Mary (Launce), second wife of Rev. John (*d* 1685), 311 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 311

- Sherman vs. Keayne, 415
- Shippen, Edward (*d* 1712), 302, 303 *n*;
land grants to, 1687, 303, 332
- Ships: Abigail, 159; Ann Cleve, 10;
Arent, 163, 163 *n*; Hope, 163; Klock,
163 *n*; Lyon, 157 *n*; Rebecca, 254,
256; Supply, 18 *n*, 25, 31, 32 *n*, 33,
34, 35, 47, 54 *n*; Trowe (Trou), 162,
163, 163 *n*
- Shirley, Gov. William, 434
- Shovelboard, law against playing, in
public houses, 51 *n*
- Shrimpton, Samuel (*d* 1698), 352 *n*;
Noddles Island granted to, 1688,
352; property in Boston granted to,
1688, 352
- Sibley, Rev. John Langdon, 376 *n*; note
of, on L. Hoar's inauguration as
President of Harvard College, 364;
quoted, on letter of L. Hoar to R.
Boyle, 366 *n*; on Harvard College
charter of 1672, 374
- Silkworms, 104 *n*; culture of, in Eng-
land, recommended by R. Child, 104;
V. Ferrar's experiment with, 104,
105 *n*
- Simpson, Savill (*d* 1725), 354 *n*; land
grants to, 1688, 354, 355
- Skilling, John, 348; land grants to,
1688, 329, 346
- Slater, Samuel, his Sunday school in
Pawtucket, R. I., 275 *n*
- Slaughter, John, land grant to, 1688,
326
- Small-pox, R. Child quoted on, 110
- Smith, Rev. Arthur Warren, quoted, on
Sunday school of First Baptist
Church in Charlestown, 276 *n*
- John, of Providence, R. I., 43, 59;
a signer of the Remonstrance of 1646,
17, 23, 28, 29; summoned to Court,
31-32, 32 *n*; tried and sentenced, 37;
arrested later, 39, 41, 42; tried and
sentenced, 50-56; his disrespect to
authority, 54, 54 *n*
- John, Deputy Surveyor, appoint-
ment of, 295 *n*; warrants to, for sur-
vey of land grants, 295, 296, 299, 300,
301, 315
- John, of Falmouth, Me., 309,
309 *n*, 339; land grant to, 1688,
317
- Jonathan, of Needham, 452
- Samuel, of Needham, 452
- Snakeweed, R. Child quoted on, 112
- Snyder, H. W., his work as an engraver,
258
- Soland geese, 116
- Solemn League and Covenant, Scot-
land, 1643, efforts to make it effective
in Massachusetts, 28, 40, 85
- Soley, Edward (H. C. 1828), 184 *n*
- Somerset (Shawomett), R. I., land grant
in, 1687, 301
- Southwell, Sir Robert (*d* 1702), 116
- Sparks, Rev. Jared, President of Har-
vard College, note of, on preservation
of Harvard College manuscripts,
392 *n*
- Spencer, Charles Worthen, acknowledg-
ment to, 422 *n*
- John, land grant to, 1688, 320
- Springfield, represented by non-resi-
dent deputy, 432 *n*
- Spurwink, Me., 293. *See also* Falmouth,
Me.
- Spy Pond, survey of land near, ordered,
353
- Squamacack Neck, Westerly, R. I.,
land grant at, 1687, 294, 294 *n*
- Stagg, Capt. —, seizes prize in Bos-
ton Harbor, 79
- Stamp Act, action of Massachusetts
towns concerning, 437, 437 *n*
- Staniford (Sanford), Robert, land grant
to, 1688, 316; various forms of the
name, 316 *n*
- Thomas, land grant to, 1688, 316
- Starkey, George. *See* Stirk
- Starr, Rev. Comfort (H. C. 1647), Fel-
low of Harvard College, 396
- State constitutions, provisions of, con-
cerning right to instruct representa-
tives, 442-443
- State Rights party, 444
- Stetson, Eliot Dawes, 409
- Stevens, Rev. Timothy (H. C. 1687),
184
- William, dismissed as representa-
tive of Gloucester, 1644, 425
- Stiles, Rev. Ezra, President of Yale
College, interest of, in alchemy, 123,
126; disclaims alchemical knowledge,
126 *n*; quoted, on S. Danforth, 138,
139 *n*
- Stirk, Rev. George (*d* 1637), 100
- George (*d* 1666), son of Rev.
George (*d* 1637), 5 *n*, 101 *n*; friend of
R. Child, 1, 100, 125, 176; of R.
Boyle, 101, 101 *n*, 102 *n*, 176; student

STIRK (*continued*)

of alchemy, 100, 101, 123; practices medicine in Boston, 101; goes to England, 1650, 101 *n*; his authorship of the tracts on alchemy issued under name Eireneus Philalethes, 124, 132, 134-136, 134 *n*, 143; as Philalethes, receives title Elias the Artist, 132; work of, confused with that of R. Child and T. Vaughan, 143-146; sketch of, 176; friend of S. Hartlib, 176; of J. Winthrop, Jr., 178

Stone, Rev. Samuel (*d* 1663), 163 *n*

Story, William, 419

Stoughton, Israel (*d* 1644), will of, 26 *n*

— Rebecca, daughter of Israel (*d* 1644). *See* Taylor

— Lt.-Gov. William, son of Israel (*d* 1644), 293, 304 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 304; 1688, 313, 314; 1688, 356

Stoughton, instruction of, to deputy, 438

Strafford, Earls of. *See* Wentworth, Sir Thomas; Wentworth, William

Strahan, William (*d* 1785), 290 *n*

Stubbe, Dr. Henry, quoted, on drink called mobby, 110

STURGIS, RICHARD CLIPSTON, A.B., on Committee on Memorials, 232

Stuyvesant, Peter, Governor of New Netherland, 161, 162 *n*; letter of, to J. Winthrop, Jr., 162, 162 *n*; salute to, 163

Suchten, Alexander von, 128, 128 *n*, 129

Sugar, price of, in Barbados, 1659, 255

Sugars, Mary. *See* Townsend

Sully, James, quoted, on early impressions, 271 *n*

Sumner, Charles, election of, as Senator, 1851, 449 *n*

— William Hyslop, 89 *n*, 281

Sunday Schools, in Boston, Early, paper by A. Matthews, 259-285; seventeenth century forerunners of the modern Sunday school, 259-263; religious instruction of the Indians, 259; instruction of children in First Church of Roxbury, 260, 261; in Norwich, Ct., 261; in Plymouth, 261; modern Sunday school movement begun in eighteenth century, by R. Raikes and others, 264, 264 *n*; original purpose to give secular instruction to the poor, 264, 264 *n*; change to religious instruction, 1791-1819, 264 *n*; schools

SUNDAY SCHOOLS (*continued*)

claimed to be earliest in the United States, in New England, in Massachusetts, 264-266, 265 *n*; schools in Boston before 1819, 266-284; in Park Street Church, 266-271, 270 *n*, 452 *n*; in North Bennet Street and in Hawkins Street, 269; in Baptist churches, 271, 272 *n*, 452 *n*; in First Parish, Charlestown, 272; in Christ Church, Charlestown, 273-275; in First Baptist Church, Charlestown, 275, 275 *n*; in West Church, 277-279, 277 *n*; in Old South Church, 452 *n*; O. W. Lane's school, 280; earliest known allusion to Sunday schools in a Boston newspaper, 283; chronological list of, before 1819, 284

Sutton, land grant in, 1688, 314 *n*; instruction of, to representative, 1787, 428 *n*

Swan, John, 250; his *Speculum Mundi* borrowed from by J. Dunton, 235, 235 *n*, 242, 245, 246, 249; his identity uncertain, perhaps of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 235 *n*

— John, of Queens College, Cambridge, 235 *n*

— John, of Trinity College, Cambridge, 235 *n*

— Rev. Josiah (H. C. 1733), 186

Swarton, John, 296 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 296

Swift, Rev. John (H. C. 1697), 186; autograph of, 185

Sword-fish, description of, 242

Symonds, Samuel (*d* 1678), 16 *n*

TAILER, Lt.-Gov. William, 357 *n*

Tantousq (Sturbridge), black lead mine at, 10, 113-115

Taxation without representation, protest against, in Watertown, 413

Taxil, Léo. *See* Jogand-Pagès, Gabriel Antoine

Taylor, Rebecca (Stoughton), wife of William (*d* 1682), 357 *n*; real estate belonging to, 357

— William (*d* 1682), 357 *n*

Temple, Sir Thomas (*d* 1674), 171

Teney, John, land grant to, 1688, 327

Thayer, Rev. Christopher Toppan (*d* 1880), 279, 279 *n*

- THAYER (*continued*)
 — JOHN ELIOT, A.M., on Committee on Memorials, 232
 — Nathan, 410
 — Richard, request for land grant considered, 1687, 302
 — WILLIAM ROSCOE, LL.D., appointed delegate to annual Conference of Historical Societies, 410
 Thomas, George Clifford, 287
 — Isaiah, his statement that an English Bible was published in Boston about 1752, 285; this doubted by G. Bancroft and others, 286; discussion of the question, 286-292
 Thomason, George, 45 *n*, 46, 46 *n*, 236 *n*
 Thompson, Maj. Robert, 304 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 304
 Thor, George, 132
 Thresher, a fish, description of, 242
 Through, as a verb, 55 *n*
 Thurston, William, 268 *n*; first superintendent of Park Street Church Sunday school, 267; vice-president of Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, 268
 Tinge. *See* Tyng
 Tiverton, R. L., incorporation of, 300 *n*
 Tobacco, R. Child quoted on, 112
 Tobias, Rabbi, of Poland, 126 *n*
 Todtenfeld, Johann Ferdinand Hertodt von, 136 *n*, 143; cited, on authorship of Philalethes tracts, 135-137
 Toleration, not sympathized with by colonial Congregationalists, or by Presbyterians or Episcopalians of the time, 3, 23, 88; W. Vassall's efforts for, 47, 47 *n*
 Tompson, Benjamin (*d* 1714), extract from his Funeral Tribute to J. Winthrop, Jr., 127
 Torpedo (cramp-fish), description of, 246
 Torrey, William (*d* c 1691), 58 *n*
 Tortoise (sea-turtle), description of, 249
 Town, in New England, basis of representation, 421, 421 *n*; districts rearranged, 1857, 422 *n*
 Town Mandates, New England, paper by K. Colegrove, 411-449
 Town-meeting system of New England, 411, 413, 417-420, 430, 436-441, 446-449
 Towns of Massachusetts, action of, on the Stamp Act, 437, 437 *n*
 Townsend, Gregory (*d* 1798), son of Rev. Jonathan (*d* 1762), sketch of, 451; account-book of, recovered, 451
 — Horatio, 451
 — Rev. Jonathan (*d* 1762), 451; extract from diary of, relating to Lydia Fisher's service to the regicides Goffe and Whalley, 449; same in facsimile, 453; first minister of Needham, 450; quoted, on catechizing children, 452
 — Mary, daughter of Horatio. *See* Derby
 — Mary (Sugars), wife of Rev. Jonathan (*d* 1762), 451
 Transmutation of metals, alleged cases of, 129, 129 *n*, 130, 133, 144
 Treaty of Paris, 1783, 439
 Trerice, Nicholas, 29 *n*
 Trumbull, Jonathan (*d* 1785), Governor of Connecticut, 127 *n*; quoted, on relation of colonies to Parliament, 78
 Truro, ordinance passed in, regarding removal of shells which might be useful for lime, 105
 Tucker, John, 332
 Turfrey, George (*d* 1714), 359 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 359
 TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON, LL.D., 411 *n*; appointed delegate to annual Conference of Historical Societies, 410
 — Ralph, 308
 TUTTLE, JULIUS HERBERT, speaks on early surnames in the Bay Colony, citing two from Dedham church records, 258; communicates Land Warrants under Andros, 1687-1688, 292-363; exhibits scrap-book containing extracts from a diary of Rev. J. Townsend, 449-452
 Twisleton, Col. John, 97
 Tydye, Robert, land grant to, 1688, 326
 Tyler, Harry Walter, 409
 — John, President, 444
 Tyng, Edward (*d* c 1701), nephew of William (*d* 1653), 308 *n*, 311, 311 *n*, 338, 344, 348; land grant to, 1687, 308
 — Jonathan (*d* 1724), brother of Edward (*d* c 1701), 351 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 351
 — William (*d* 1653), 15 *n*, 180

UNITED States, Articles of Confederation, a referendum on ratifying, ordered by Massachusetts General Court, 1778, 438

Urbiger, Baron, 143, 143 *n*

Usher, Hezekiah (*d* 1697), 172, 172 *n*

— John (*d* 1726), brother of Hezekiah (*d* 1697), 295 *n*, 353

Ussher, James, Archbishop of Armagh, 117, 117 *n*

VAGAN, Thomas de. *See* Vaughan, Thomas

Valle, Pietro della, 234 *n*, 250; his Travels into East India, 234

Vassall, William, 36, 39 *n*; efforts of, to get up petitions to Parliament, against New England government, 18, 18 *n*, 25, 34 *n*, 35, 54 *n*; connection of, with the Remonstrance of 1646, 33, 47; authorship of New-England's Jonas ascribed to, by E. Winslow, 46 *n*, 47 *n*; petitions of, rejected, 48, 48 *n*; no copy known, 47 *n*

Vaughan, Diana, alleged descendant of Thomas, really Gabriel Antoine Jogand-Pagès. *See* Jogand-Pagès

— Henry (*d* 1695), brother of Thomas (*d* 1665), 141, 141 *n*

— Thomas (*d* 1665), his Anthroposophia, 99, 125; death of, 125, 142; writing under pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes is confused with Eirenaeus Philalethes, 141, 143, 144; extraordinary hoax concerning, by L. Taxil, 142, 142 *n*, 143; J. C. Creiling's inferences concerning, 144, 145

Veazie, William, requests land grant, 1688, 335

Verres, Caius, cited, by C. F. Adams, 81; his treatment of Gavius of Consa, 81, 82

Vines, Richard (*d* 1651), 326, 326 *n*; conveys interest in Saco patent to R. Child, 1645, 16, 16 *n*, 63, 63 *n*, 111

Vose, Thomas, article by, on Sabbath schools cited, 266 *n*

WADE, Jonathan (*d* 1689), 297, 297 *n*

Wadsworth, Rev. Benjamin, President of Harvard College, 206, 366 *n*, 379,

WADSWORTH (*continued*)

388, 389, 389 *n*; college records compiled by, 365 *n*; quoted, on L. Hoar's inauguration, as President of Harvard College, 366; on his resignation, 368 *n*

Waite, Arthur Edward, exposes L. Taxil, 142 *n*; quoted, on T. Vaughan, 145; on mysterious alchemical adept, 145 *n*

— Thomas, 299 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 300

Wakely, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas. *See* Coe

— Thomas, 348, 348 *n*

Walker, Rev. James, President of Harvard College, 380 *n*

Wall, Capt. John, 79

Walley, John (*d* 1714), 299 *n*

Wallis, John (*d* 1690), 330 *n*, 340 *n*, 349; land grant to, 1688, 330

— Nathaniel (*d* 1709), 341, 349; land grant to, 1688, 339

Walpole, Sir Robert, first Earl of Orford, 423

WARE, HORACE EVERETT, A.B., death of and tribute to, 405

Warner, John, cited, on S. Gorton, 44 *n*

Warrants to survey lands, issued by Gov. Andros, 1687-1688, 292-363

Watertown, land grant in, 1687, 311; 1688, 353; early protest of, against taxation without representation, 413

Watts, Henry, 319

Webb, Henry (*d* 1660), 13, 13 *n*, 14

Webber, Joseph, son of Mary, 324 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 324

— Mary, 324 *n*; land grant to, 1688, 325

— Rev. Samuel, President of Harvard College, view of college dedicated to, 258, 258 *n*

Webster, Arthur Gordon, 409

Wedel, Georg Wolfgang, identifies Philalethes with T. Vaughan, 141, 141 *n*, 143

Weld, Capt. John, suit brought against, by Alderman Barclay, of London, 29 *n*

— Samuel, 298

— Thomas, 298

Wellington, Mary. *See* Lane

Wells, Philip, warrants to, for survey of land grants, 294, 296-298, 301-303, 311, 313-361; sketch of, 294 *n*

- Wells, Me., censures member of Congress, 445
- Welsted, Rev. William (H. C. 1716), controversy on claim of, to seat in Corporation of Harvard College, 380, 388, 392
- Wenham, represented by non-resident deputy, 431
- Wentworth, Sir Thomas, first Earl of Strafford, 8 *n*, 117, 117 *n*
— William, second Earl of Strafford, 115
- Wesley, Rev. John, 262 *n*
- West, Dep.-Sec. John (*d* 1691), signature of, to documents, 313, 314, 359
— Rev. Samuel (*d* 1807), 126 *n*
- Westerly, R. I., land grants in, 1687, 294, 294 *n*, 295; name changed to Feversham, 1686, 295 *n*
- Westfield, represented by non-resident deputy, 431
- Weston, Sir Richard, his Discours of Husbandrie, 103 *n*
- Weymouth, instruction of, to deputy, 438
- Weysemitt, 352 *n*; land grant in, 1688, 351
- Whale, description of, 243
- Whalley, Edward, regicide, service of Fisher family to, 449-451
- Wheeler, Capt. John, delegate to Provincial Congress, from Rehoboth, dismissed, 1774, 426
- Whipping, at Harvard College, 376, 376 *n*
- White, Nathaniel, 341; land grant to, 1688, 341
— Rev. William, Bishop of Pennsylvania, first president of Society for the Institution and Support of First-Day or Sunday Schools in Philadelphia, 264 *n*, 274 *n*
— William, miner, 1647, 63 *n*
- Whiting, Rev. Samuel (*d* 1679), Overseer of Harvard College, 167 *n*
- Whitmore, William Henry, cited, on maps of early Boston, 251, 252
- Whittemore, Samuel, 384 *n*
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 88 *n*; quoted, on treatment of R. Child, 74 *n*
- Wigglesworth, Rev. Edward (*d* 1765), 384 *n*, 385 *n*
— GEORGE, A.M., on Committee on Memorials, 232
- Wilcox, Daniel, 299 *n*; land grant to, 1687, 299
- Wild, John, 230 *n*
- Willard, Rev. Joseph, President of Harvard College, 258 *n*
— Sec. Josiah, son of Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1659), 399; attest of, 388, 389, 390
— Rev. Samuel (H. C. 1659), 183, 183 *n*
- Willett, Thomas (*d* 1674), 158 *n*, 162
- William and Mary College, 169 *n*
- WILLIAMS, MOSES, A.B., death of, xv; tribute to, 405
— Rev. Roger, 74 *n*
— Samuel Gardner, quoted, on Comenius, 148
- WILLISTON, SAMUEL, LL.D., 404; elected Resident Member, 1; accepts, 231; elected Member of Council, 408
- Willoughby, Dep.-Gov. Francis, quarrel of, with R. Child, 64
- Wilson, Rev. John (*d* 1667), 8, 158, 175 *n*
- Winchell, Rev. James Manning, 272, 452 *n*
- Wing, Edward. *See* Tyng
- Winslow, Edward, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 33, 34 *n*, 39 *n*, 44, 45 *n*, 47 *n*, 79; quoted, on R. Child, 5, 6, 7; quoted, on Remonstrance of 1646, 19, 21; on P. Hobart, 24 *n*; goes to England as agent of the Massachusetts colony in the Gorton business, 30, 36, 45, 45 *n*; quoted, on voyage of the Supply, 1646, 35; on fines of the Remonstrants, 38 *n*; issues Hypocrisy Unmasked, 45; New-Englands Salamander, 46; quoted, on New-Englands Jonas, 46 *n*; his conduct of case for the Colony against S. Gorton and R. Child, 47-50, 65-66, 76
- Winslow, Josiah (*d* 1674), brother of Gov. Edward, 13 *n*
- Winter, Irvah Lester, 409
— John, 305 *n*
— Sarah, daughter of John. *See* Jordan
- Winthrop, Adam, father of Gov. John (*d* 1649), 156 *n*
— Adam (*d* 1652), son of Gov. John (*d* 1649), 16 *n*; letter of, quoted, 158 *n*
— Adam (*d* 1700), son of Adam (*d* 1652), 177 *n*

WINTHROP (*continued*)

- Adam (*d* 1743), son of Adam (*d* 1700), 177 *n*
- Ann, daughter of John, Jr. (*d* 1676). *See* Richards
- Forth, son of Gov. John (*d* 1649), 156 *n*; may have met R. Child, at Cambridge, Eng., 175 *n*
- Francis Bayard, gives Winthrop Library to New York Society Library, 189 *n*
- Gov. John (*d* 1649), 8, 26, 40, 43, 45 *n*, 58 *n*, 78, 93 *n*, 150 *n*, 159 *n*, 179, 220, 415; quotations from, 10 *n*, 29 *n*, 33 *n*, 34 *n*, 36 *n*, 39, 41 *n*, 77 *n*, 79; letters to, quoted, 16, 19, 66; on committee to answer the Remonstrance of 1646, 30; quoted, on the Answer, 31; on conduct of the case, 32, 38 *n*, 39, 41 *n*; on P. Hobart, 36; re-elected Governor, 1647, 43; quoted, on renewal of charter, 1641, 77 *n*; G. Stirk commended to care of, 101, 176; said to have met Comenius, 148, 155; not in Europe after 1630, 156; at Cambridge University, 156 *n*; on first Board of Overseers of Harvard College, 167; land given to, by Tacomus, 334, 334 *n*; quoted, on early government of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 412; character of his rule, 412-413, 424; visits Gov. Bradford, at Plymouth, 1632, 431
- John, Jr. (*d* 1676), Governor of Connecticut, son of Gov. John (*d* 1649), 93, 98 *n*, 101, 148, 149, 150 *n*, 156, 156 *n*, 161 *n*, 169 *n*, 170, 174, 179, 179 *n*, 367; intimacy of, with R. Child, 7, 8-11, 91, 92, 93, 99; sails for Boston, 10; interest of, in iron mines in Massachusetts, 10-12, 10 *n*, 14, 15; mention of, and extracts from, letters to, 33 *n*, 34 *n*, 38 *n*, 39 *n*, 42, 44, 74 *n*, 93 *n*, 100, 114 *n*, 120, 120 *n*, 131 *n*, 141; connection of, with payment of R. Child's fine, 60, 61 *n*; interest of, in lead mines in Massachusetts, 92, 112, 113, 114, 114 *n*; friend of Sir K. Digby, 115; alchemical pursuits of, 123-129, 128 *n*; a founder of the Royal Society, 124, 178; his library, 128, 128 *n*, 129; believed by Bacstrom to have been Eirenaeus Philalethes, 145; C. Mather's statement that he invited Comenius to become Presi-

WINTHROP (*continued*)

- dent of Harvard College, 146, 155; confusion of, in this matter, with other Winthrops, 150, 150 *n*, 155; education of, 156, 156 *n*; travels of, and possibility of meetings with Comenius and mention of Harvard Presidency as future possibility, 156-164, 157 *n*, 158 *n*-160 *n*, 162 *n*, 163 *n*, 166-168, 166 *n*, 171, 171 *n*, 177; his commission to found and govern colony in Connecticut, 159, 164; duration of his governorship, 170, 170 *n*; friend of S. Hartlib, 171, 172, 172 *n*, 174, 180; of H. Oldenburg, 173 *n*; of many men of note, 175-179, 175 *n*, 176 *n*; extensive correspondence of, with distinguished men, 178; letter of, to R. Boyle, about Indian students at Harvard College, 1663, 186; books by Comenius owned by, 189, 189 *n*; daughters of, 334 *n*; gift of, to Harvard College, 369
- John (*d* 1707), Governor of Connecticut, son of John, Jr. (*d* 1676), 179; friend of C. Mather, 168; deeds land to sisters, 334 *n*
- John (*d* 1747), son of Wait (*d* 1717), 128, 131 *n*, 177 *n*, 179, 179 *n*; friend of C. Mather, 168, 168 *n*; Fellow of the Royal Society, 177, 178
- John (*d* 1779), son of Adam (*d* 1743), 177 *n*
- Margaret, daughter of John, Jr. (*d* 1676). *See* Corwin
- Richard Charles, erroneously named by Count Lützow as Governor of Massachusetts, 150, 150 *n*
- Robert Charles (*d* 1894), 150 *n*; quoted, on C. Mather's knowledge of the Winthrop family, 168, 169 *n*
- Stephen, son of Gov. John (*d* 1649), 14; suit brought against, by Alderman Barclay of London, 29 *n*; quoted, on severity toward Anabaptists, 29 *n*; quoted, on establishment of Presbyterian government in England, 74 *n*; agent in England for promoting lead-mining schemes of his brother, John, Jr., 114, 114 *n*
- Wait (*d* 1717), son of John, Jr. (*d* 1676), 156, 177, 177 *n*, 179; friend of C. Mather, 168; deeds land to sisters, 334 *n*

- WINTHROP (*continued*)
 — family, C. Mather's epitaph on, 127; his special interest in, 168, 168 *n*; several Winthrops members of Royal Society, 177; genealogical table of, 177 *n*; papers of, 179
 Winthrop Library, 189 *n*
 Wiswall, Enoch, 346, 346 *n*
 — John, 254
 — Hannah, daughter of John. *See* Munnings
 Witchcraft, alchemy unjustly associated with, 123
 Wollnough, Joshua, one of thirteen petitioners to the Council for Foreign Plantations, 1661, 67
 Wood, Anthony à, cited, on Eireneus and Eugenius Philalethes, 141 *n*
 — Rev. Nathan Eusebius, quoted, on early Sunday schools in Boston and vicinity, particularly in the Baptist churches, 271
 WOODBURY, JOHN, A.B., on Committee on Memorials, 232
 Woods, HENRY ERNEST, A.M., death of, xv, 405; on Nominating Committee, 231
 Woodstock, Ct., land grants in, 359; naming of, 359 *n*
 Worcester, land grants in, 1687, 303, 304, 305; instructions of, to deputies, 428, 428 *n*
 Worsley, Benjamin, 118 *n*, 122 *n*; friend of R. Child, 98 *n*, 120, 120 *n*; government position of, in Ireland, 120, 120 *n*
 Worthington, Rev. John (*d* 1671), quoted, on Soland geese, 116
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 178
 Wright, Thomas Goddard (*d* 1919), 180 *n*, 182 *n*, 189 *n*
 Wylbour, —, sent against Narragansett Indians, 1645, 44 *n*
- Y**ALE, Ann, wife of David. *See* Eaton
 — David (*d* 1690), a signer of Remonstrance of 1646, 17, 26, 27 *n*, 29, 29 *n*, 67; tried and sentenced, 37; not concerned in second case against the Remonstrants, 50
 — Elihu (*d* 1721), son of David (*d* 1690), 26, 27
 — Ursula, wife of David (*d* 1690), 26
 Yale College, founding of, 169 *n*
 — Library, owns books by Comenius, 181 *n*, 182 *n*
 Yardly, John, requests land grant, 1688, 336
 York, Me., land grant in, 1688, 331
 Young, Dr. Thomas (*d* 1777), 138
 Young People's Religious Union, 261
 Youth's Manual, published by A. Eaton and revised by S. Bell, for Sunday school use, 274; copy in Boston Athenæum, 274 *n*
- Z**ACHARIAS, Chrystopolitanus, works of, 202
 Zcheil, 143, 144, 145. *See* Child, Dr. Robert



