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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I.

OF THE THIRD SERIES.

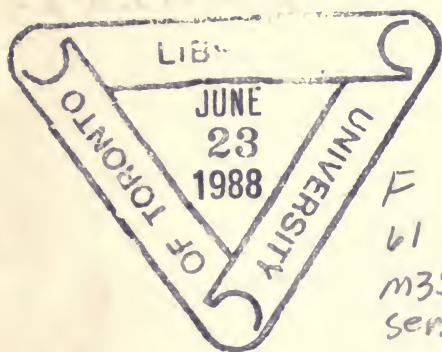
BOSTON

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CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

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CONTENTS.

Hutchinson Papers.

Article	Page
I. Letter of Randall Holden	1
II. Letter of Emanuel Downing to Gov. Winthrop	15
III. Expenses of Courts, 1643	16
IV. Letter of Benjamin Hubbard	20
V. Letter of Richard Andrews to Gov. Winthrop	21
VI. Letter of Thomas Peters to Gov. Winthrop	23
VII. Letter of William Pead to Gov. Winthrop	25
VIII. Letter of Ezekiel Rogers to Gov. Winthrop	26
IX. Indenture between Gov. Winthrop and J. Mainfort	27
X. Letter of Widow of D'Aunay	28
XI. Marmaduke Matthews' Defence	29
XII. Letter of Nathaniel Briscoe	32
XIII. Letter of Gov. Endecot, &c. to Sir H. Vane	35
XIV. Woburn Memorial for Christian Liberty	38
XV. Michael Powell's Apology	45
XVI. Letter of Peter Bulkeley	47
XVII. Support of Ministers	49
XVIII. Letter of Gov. Endecot	51
XIX. Letter of William Brenton	54
XX. Representation of Adventurers to Cape Fear	55
XXI. Proceedings against Petitioners, 1666	59
XXII. Letter of Goffe, the Regicide's, Wife	60
XXIII. Letter of J. Knowles to Gov. Leverett	62
XXIV. Letter of Count Frontenac	64
XXV. Letter of J. Knowles to Gov. Leverett	65
XXVI. Instructions to Gov. J. Winslow in Philip's War	66
XXVII. Letter of Thomas Savage to Gov. Leverett	68
XXVIII. Letter of Roger Williams to Gov. Leverett	70
XXIX. Letter of Charles II. to Massachusetts	72
XXX. Arguments against relinquishing Charter	74
XXXI. Letter of W. Clark to E. Randolph	81
XXXII. French Settlements in Maine	82
XXXIII. Wm. Hubbard's Order to act as President of H. Coll.	83
XXXIV. Proclamation for Fast, 30 January, 1688	83

Article	Page
XXXV. Committee for contribution to Church of England	84
XXXVI. Andros's Account of Forces	85
XXXVII. Indian Attack on Cocheco	87
XXXVIII. Letter of Benjamin Church to Gov. Bradstreet	91
XXXIX. Account of New England, 1689	93
XL. Declaration of S. Davis about his Captivity	101
XLI. Treaty of Peace with Eastern Indians	112
XLII. Gov. De Meneuil's Complaint against Gov. Phips	114
XLIII. Letter of John Cotton	117
XLIV. Petition to the King	120
XLV. Reasons against sending a Governour to New England	121
XLVI. Proposals to and from Capt. Kidd	122
XLVII. Examination of Witches	124
XLVIII. Political Fables of New England	126
XLIX. Ministers' Proposal for Mission to Eastern Indians	133
L. Letter of John Nelson	134
LI. Letter of Cotton Mather	137
LII. Letter of Jeremiah Dummer	139
LIII. Letter of Secretary Willard to Whitefield	147
LIV. Letter of Gov. Pownall to Gov. Hutchinson	148
LV. Letter of Gideon Hawley to Gov. Hutchinson	150
=====	
LVI. Account of Boston, 1742	152
LVII. Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire	153
LVIII. Instances of Longevity in New Hampshire	155
LIX. Seven Letters of Roger Williams	159
LX. Two Letters of Hugh Peter	179
LXI. Letter of William Hooke to Gov. Winthrop of Conn.	181
LXII. Letter of John Maidstone to same	185
LXIII. Plymouth Company Accounts	199
LXIV. Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford	202
LXV. Narrative of Narraganset Country	209
LXVI. Letter of Gov. Haynes to Gov. Winthrop	229
LXVII. Memorial of Jeremiah Dummer about Canada	231
LXVIII. Three Letters of Hen. Jacie to Gov. Winthrop of Conn.	235
LXIX. Condolence of Gov. Talcott of Conn.	246
LXX. Charlestown Church Affairs, 1678	248
LXXI. Memoir of William Jones Spooner	265
LXXII. Branch Bank of the United States at Boston	271
LXXIII. Boston Bills of Mortality, 1818—24	278
LXXIV. Lists of Resident and Corresp. Members of Hist. Soc.	287
LXXV. List of Officers	292
LXXVI. Acknowledgment of Donations	295

COLLECTIONS, &c.

HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

[THE publication of the series of documents, begun in our last volume, under this title, is now continued. It seemed best to follow, in general, the chronological order, and to give the modern orthography. Of the first article now printed, the date is earlier than that of the last in the preceding volume; but as it relates to the unhappy quarrel with Gorton and his companions, the connection with other papers in the same controversy may render this a more proper place for its insertion. In reading the history of Winthrop, a dissatisfaction has always been felt for want of justificatory documents on this transaction, one of the most dangerous, with which the wisdom of our fathers was tried, and in which they seem to have laid aside their usual mildness. Perhaps the readiness felt by our friends in Rhode Island to denounce the proceedings of the Massachusetts Colony towards the planters of Warwick, which were indeed arbitrary in no small degree, [See Vols. VII. 80, VIII. 68, and IX. 199, of our Second Series,] may be somewhat blunted by this address, that proves the complaint against Gorton and his associates to have been first preferred from Providence.

The libel of Holden is so briefly referred to by Winthrop, that we shall do some service by printing it, though it will not indeed excuse the extremity to which the Governour and Council of this colony carried their measures.

From the letter of Downing, Governour Winthrop's brother-in-law, who lived at Salem, which town he represented in the General Court, 1639, we shall observe the temper of even those who were not parties in the controversy, and that the spirit of the age inflamed the best men to bigotry. ED.]

POVIDENCE, *this 17th of November, Anno 1641.*

To the Honoured Governour of Massachusetts, together with the Worshipful Assistants, and our loving Neighbours there.

WE, the inhabitants of the town abovesaid, having fair occasion, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of Samuel Gorton and his company, which came from the island of Acquednick, which continue still as sojourners amongst us, together with John Green and Francis Weston, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceeding in order and government that we could rightly and truly use, for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsis[tence of ourselves] and families, or any that should have fair occasion to go out or come in amongst us; also six or seven of our townsmen which were in peaceable covenants with us, which now by their declamations do cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed to take party with the aforementioned companies, and so intend, for ought we can gather, to have no manner of honest order or government either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words and actions do most plainly show. It would be tedious to relate the numberless number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults and threats, and violent kind of carriage daily practised against all that either with care or counsel seek to prevent or withstand their lewd licentious courses. Yet in brief to commit some few of them to your moderate judgments, lest we ourselves should be deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true copy of their writing enclosed, which Francis Weston gave us the 13th of this present month; they having also set up a copy of the same on a tree in the street, instead of satisfaction for fifteen pounds, which by way

of arbitration of eight men orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could be found, duly and truly examined and considered jointly together, and he the said Francis Weston was found liable to pay, or make satisfaction in cattle or commodities. But on the 15th day of this present month, when we went orderly, openly, and in warrantable way to attach some of the said Francis Weston's cattle, to drive them to the pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction, which Samuel Gorton and his company, getting notice of, came and quarreled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous hubbub, and although for our parts we had beforehand most principally armed ourselves with patience peaceably to suffer as much injury as could possibly be borne, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side; and after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on orderly into the cornfield to drive the said cattle, the said Francis Weston came furiously running with a flail in his hand, and cried out, Help, sirs, help, sirs, they are going to steal my cattle; and so continued crying, till Randall Houlden, John Greene and some others, came running, and made a great outcry and hallooing, and crying, Thieves, thieves, stealing cattle, stealing cattle; and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice, if any men, at any time, in any case, attach any thing that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce be profitably spent; neither need we to advise your discretions, what is likely to be the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents be not either stopped, or turned some other way. For it is plain to us, that if men should continue to resist all manner of order and orderly answering one of another in different causes, they will suddenly practise not only cunningly to detain things one from another, but openly

in publick, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills, disorderly take what they can come by, first pleading necessity, or to maintain wife and family, but afterwards boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood nor any thing will be precious in their eyes. If it may therefore please you, of gentle courtesy and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighbour-like helping hand, and send us such assistance, our necessity urges us to be troublesome unto you to help us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burden of them, at your discretion, we shall evermore own it as a deed of great charity, and take it very thankfully, and diligently labour in the best measure we can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindness, if you should have occasion to command us or any of us in any lawful design. And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answer, we shall take it very kindly, and be ready and willing to satisfy the messenger, and ever remain your loving neighbours and respective friends,

WILLIAM FEILD,
 WILLIAM HARRIS,
 WILLIAM CARPENTER,
 WILLIAM WICKENDEN,
 WILLIAM REINOLDS,
 THOMAS HARRIS,
 THOMAS + HOPKINS'
mark.
 HUGH BEWITT,
 JOSUA WINSOR,
 BENEDICT ARNOLD,
 WILLIAM MAN,
 WILLIAM W. HUNKINGES,
 ROBERT R. WEST.

*To the much Honoured Governour
 of Massachusetts Patent, and to the
 rest of the Worshipful Assistants
 there, these be delivered, carefully
 we pray.*

[The handwriting is that of Benedict Arnold. Ed.]

From our Neck : Curo : September 15th, 1643.

To the Great and Honoured Idol General, now set up in the Massachusetts, whose pretended equity in distribution of justice unto the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a mere device of man, according to the ancient custom and sleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, to subject and make slaves of that species or kind, that God hath honoured with his own image: Read Dan. 3 chap. wherein (if it be not like Lot's door unto the Sodomites) you may see the visage or countenance of your state; for we know the sound of all your musick, from the highest note of wind instruments, sounding and set up by the breath or voices of men, (to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth but they, to do right unto the sons of men) unto the lowest tunes of your stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God made man to be a vassal to his own species or kind, for he may as well be a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth; yea, even in his best perfection, who can lay claim to no title or term of honour but what the dust, rottenness and putrefaction can afford; for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Wo therefore unto the world, because of the idols thereof, for idols must needs be set up; but wo unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of these abovesaid principles, which is the kingdom of darkness and of the devil, you have writ another note unto us, to add to your former pride and folly, telling us again, you have taken Pumhom, with others, into your jurisdiction and government; and that upon good grounds (as you say.) You might have done well, to have proved yourselves Christians, before you had mingled yourselves with the heathen, that so your children might have known how to put a distinction

betwixt you and them in after times; but we perceive that to be too hard a work for yourselves to perform, even in time present. But if you will communicate justice and government with that Indian, we advise you to keep him amongst yourselves, where he and you may perform that worthy work. Yet upon a better ground, we can inform you, that he may not expect former courtesies from us, for now by your note we are resolved of his breach of covenant with us in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly he hath always denied. Let him and you know, therefore, that he is to make other provision for his planting of corn hereafter than upon Mshawomet; for we will not harbour amongst us any such fawning, lying, and cadaverous person as he is, after knowledge of him, as now in part you have given unto us, only he shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corn, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it he pass away in peace and quiet, which might in no case be admitted, if it were so that we lived by blood as you do, either through incision of the nose, division of the ear from the head, stigmaties upon the back, suffocation of the veins, through extremity of cold, by your banishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdom of God and his righteousness, renouncing that of darkness and the devil, wherein you delight to trust; for without the practice of these things, you cannot kiss your hand, bless your idol, nor profess your vows and offerings to be paid and performed. Oh ye generation of vipers, who hath forewarned you or forestalled your minds with this, (but Satan himself) that the practice of these things is to fly from the wrath to come? Whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already, in that mankind so harmonically made in the image of God, is in the exercise of your kingdom, become the torturer and tormentor, yea, the executioner of itself, whilst those of you that are of the same stock and stem, work out, yea, and that cu-

riously, through the law of your minds, the death and destruction of one another, when as in the mean time, the same nature, or subsistence in the way of our Lord Jesus, saves both itself and others.

You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them; why do they not make them known to us? they never complained to us of any thing done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their own mind, for oft we know in what they express unto us, although our wrongs insufferable, done by them, lie still in the dark: For we know very well, we have plenty of causeless adversaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject; therefore we suffer much, that in the perfection and height of their plots, they may receive the greater rebuke and shame for their baseness, in the eyes of all the world.

To which end, we have not only committed our condition unto writings, but them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not be taken by any, or by all the governments of this country as formerly they have been, that so our wrongs might not appear. Therefore, never pick a quarrel against us in these things, for we know all your sleights and devices, that being you now want, such as old malicious Arnold, one of your low stringed instruments to exercise his fiddle amongst us, and we are void of your benediction also, sprung out of the same stock, to make rents and divisions for you to enter, to gain honour unto yourselves in having patients to heal, though they lie never so long under your hands, your chirurgery must be thought never the worse. Wanting these, or such like of the English to betray the liberties God hath given us into your hands, now you work by your coadjutors, these accursed Indians.

But you are deceived in us; we are not a cup fitted for your so eager appetite; no otherwise, than if you take it down, it shall prove unto you a cup of trembling, either making you vomit out your own eternal shame,

or else to burst in sunder with your fellow confessor for hire, Judas Iscariot. For Mr. Winthrop and his copartner Parker may not think to lay our purchased plantation to their island, so near adjoining; for they come too late in that point; though Benedict hath reported, that Miantenomie, one of the sachems of whom we bought it, should lose his head for selling his right thereof to us. As also a minister affirmed, that Mr. Winthrop should say to him, that we should either be subjected unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost blood. Know therefore, that our lives are set apart already, for the case we have in hand, so we will lose nothing but what is put apart aforehand. Bethink yourselves, therefore, what you should gain by fetching of them, in *case it were in your power*, for our loss should be nothing at all,

For we are resolved, that according as you put forth yourselves towards us, so shall you find us transformed to answer you. If you put forth your hand to us as countrymen, ours are in readiness for you; — if you exercise your pen, accordingly do we become a ready writer; — if your sword be drawn, ours is girt upon our thigh; — if you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire, for we are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuit of us, still, to come to your courts, to receive your parcels of justice, undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes, that you see not our answer formerly given in that point, or else you are most audacious to urge it upon us again; also you may take notice, that we take in more disdain than you could do, in case we should importune you, (yea) the chief among you, to come up to us and be employed according to our pleasure in such works as we thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedom unto us, to come down to you and return in safety, we cannot sufficiently vilify this your verbal and perfunctory offer, knowing very well, according to the verdict of your own conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst

us since our coming into this country, you have been the violent agents, and we the patients. To fear therefore to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the case vanisheth in us, so must the effect also. And to fear to come unto you as tyrants, which your grant must necessarily imply, that we cannot, knowing that he that is with us is stronger than he that is in you. Also, the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and when and where he shall call we will go, but not at the will and lust of sorry man, to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparent you desire to do; for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kind, you might well think, that we have better employments than to trot to the Massachusetts, upon the report of a lying Indian, or English, either as your factors and ordinary hackneys do. But know this (oh ye) that so long as we behave ourselves as men, walking in the name of our God, wherever we have occasion to come, if any mortal man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us into question, we dare to give answer to him, or them; nor shall we fail, through God, to give testimony even in his conscience, of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concern the rise or succession either of priest or peer. In the mean time, we sit in safety under the cloudy pillar, while the nations roar and make a noise about us; and though you may look upon us with the unopened eye of Elias's servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloud rests, we know the Lord's return to the many thousands of Israel. In that you say our freedom granted to come unto you takes away all excuse from us, we freely retort it upon yourselves to make excuses, whose laws and proceedings with the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act, (like the horse in the mill) of accusing and excusing, which you do by circumstances and conjectures, as all your fathers have done before you, the diviners and necromancers of the world, who are gone to their own place, and have their reward. But for the true nature,

rise and distribution of things, as they are indeed, and shall remain and abide as a law firm and stable forever, we say and can make it good, you know nothing at all. Therefore, such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing, and executing of such things as must end as the brute beasts do; nay, take them away for present, and they have lost their honour, religion, as also their God, let such, we say, know themselves to be that beast and false prophet, no man of God at all. In the mean time, we look not on the things that are seen, but on the things that are not seen, knowing the one are temporary, the other eternal. Nor do we think the better of any man for being invested into places, or things that will in time wax old as doth a garment; neither judge we the worse of any man for the want of them; for if we should, we must condemn the Lord Christ, as so many do at this day.

We demand when we may expect some of you to come up to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of those foul and inhuman wrongs you have done not to the Indians, but to us your countrymen; not to bring in a catalogue as we might, take this one particular above, you are now acting, in that you abet and back these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed, Pumhom is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession, for having crept into one of our neighbor's houses in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, he was taken coming out again at the chimney top. Socconanocco also hath entered in like manner into one of our houses, with divers of his companions, and breaking open a chest, did steal out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still, to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons, by whom you are so honourably attended in the Court general, as you call it, and would honour us also to come three or four score miles to stand by you and them; we could tell you also, that it is nothing with these fellows, to send our cattle

out of the woods with arrows in their sides, as at this present it appears, in one even now so come home ; and it is well they come home at all ; for sometimes their wigwams can receive them, and we have nothing of them at all. Yea, they can domineer over our wives and children in our houses, when we are abroad about our necessary occasions ; sometimes throwing stones, to the endangering of their lives ; and sometimes violently taking our goods, making us to run for it if we will have it ; and if we speak to them to amend their manners, they can presently vaunt it out, that the Massachusetts is all one with them, let the villany they do be what it will ; they think themselves secure, for they look to be upheld by you in whatever they do, if you be stronger than them which they have to deal withal. And they look with the same eye yourselves do, thinking the multitude will bear down all, and persuade themselves (as well they may) that as you tolerate and maintain them, in other of their daily practices, as lying, Sabbath breaking, taking of many wives, gross whoredoms and fornications ; so you will do also in their stealing, abusing of our children, and the like ; for you have your diligent ledgers here among them that inculcate daily upon this, how hateful we are unto you, calling us by other names of their own devising, bearing them in hand, we are not Englishmen, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us ; and that if we have any thing to do with you, the very naming of our persons shall cast our case, be it what it will ; as it is too evident, by the case depending between William Arnold and John Warner, that no sooner was the name of Mr. Gorton mentioned amongst you, but Mr. Dudley disdainfully asking, Is this one joined to Gorton ? and Mr. Winthrop, unjustly, upon the same speech, refused the oath of the witness, calling him knight of the post. Are these the ways and persons you trade by towards us ? are these the people you honour yourselves withal ? the Lord shall lay such honour in the dust, and bow down your backs with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to be

apostatizers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God, only to please men and serve their own lusts; that can give thanks in their publick congregations, for their unity with such gross abominations as these. We must needs ask you another question from a sermon now preached amongst us, namely, how that blood relisheth you have formerly sucked from us, by casting us upon straits above our strength, that have not been exercised in such kind of labours, no more than the best of you in former times; in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us; when you are about your dished-up dainties, having turned the juice of a poor silly grape, that perisheth in the use of it, into the blood of our Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of your magicians, which doth make mad and drunk so many in the world, and yet a little sleep makes them their own men again; so can it heal and pacify your consciences at present; but the least hand of God returns your fears and terrors again. Let our blood, we say, present itself together herewith. You hypocrites, when will you answer such cases as these? and we do hereby promise unto you, that we will never look man in the face, if you have not a fairer hearing than ever we had amongst you, or can ever expect. And be it known to you all, that we are your own countrymen, whatever you report of us, though the Lord hath taught us a language you never spoke, neither can you hear it; and that is the cause of your alienation from us. For as you have mouths and speak not, so have ye ears and hear not. So we leave you to the judgment and arraignment of God Almighty. The joint act, not of the Court General, but of the peculiar fellowship now abiding upon Mshawomet.

RANDALL HOLDEN.

Post Scriptum.

We need not put a seal unto this our warrant, no more than you did to yours. The Lord hath added one

to our hands in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood and horrible massacres now made at the Dutch plantation of our loving countrymen, women and children, which is nothing else but the complete figure, in a short epitome, of what we have writ, summed up in one entire act ; and lest you should make it a part of your justification, as you do all such like acts, provided they be not upon your own backs, concluding them to be greater sinners than yourselves ; we tell ye, nay, but except you repent, you shall likewise perish. For we ask you who was the cause of Mrs. Hutchinson, her departure from amongst you ? was it voluntary ? No ; she changed her phrases according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so she might give you content to abide amongst you ; yet did you expose her, and cast her away. No less are you the original of her removal from Aquethneck ; for when she saw her children could not come down among you, no, not to confer with you in your own way of brotherhood, but be clapt up and detained by so long imprisonment ; rumours also being noised about, that the island should be brought under your government, which if it should, they were fearful of their lives, or else to act against the plain verdict of their own consciences, having had so great and apparent proof of your dealings before ; as also the island being at such divisions within itself, some earnestly desiring it should be delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you ; others denied it, professing their dissent and division from you ; though for what, themselves know not, but only their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings, having their original in you, she gathered unto herself, and took up this fiction, (with the rest of her friends) that the Dutch plantation was the city of refuge, as she had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some certain glimpses or glances of light more than appeared elsewhere, whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might be some hope to exalt

the instruments thereof higher than could be expected from others. But you know very well, you could never rest, nor be at quiet, till you had put it under a bushel, id est, bounded and measured, the infinite and immense word of God, according to your own shallow, human and carnal capacities, which, however it may get the highest seats in your synagogues, synods and Jewish sanhedrims, yet shall it never enter into the kingdom of God to be a door keeper there. Do not therefore beguile yourselves, in crying out against the errors of those so miserably fallen, for they are no other things which they hold, but the branches of the same root yourselves so stoutly stand upon. But know this, that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, whereof you are a part, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, according to the law of that good thing, which the Father knows how to give to those that ask it, shall be cut down and cast into the fire. Neither do you fill up your speeches or tales, (we mean your sermons.) But that we affect not the idolizers of words, no more than of persons or places; for yourselves know the word is no more but a bruit or talk, as you know also your great and terrible word magistrate is no more in its original, than masterly or masterless, which hath no great lustre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore, we look to find and enjoy the substance, and let the ceremony of these things, like vapour, vanish away, though they gather themselves into clouds without any water at all in them. The Lord is in the mean time a dew unto Israel, and makes him to grow like a lily, casting out his roots and branches as Lebanon. We say fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying that she went out without ordinances, for God can raise up out of that stone which you have already rejected, (as children) so also ministers and ordinances unto Abraham. You may remember also, that every people and poor plantation formerly* fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your tenets, nor fetch in one such dove as

you send abroad into our native country, to carry and bring you news.

Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection or government they went; and however hire in other respects, yet the price of a wife and safety of his own life adjoined, carried a minister along with them of the same rise and breeding, together with your own. To add unto the blood so savagely and causelessly spilt, with which a company of such as you take pleasure to protect; for they are all of one spirit, if they have not hands in the same act. We say their death is causeless; for we have heard them affirm, that they would never heave up a hand, no, nor move a tongue against any that persecuted or troubled them, but only endeavour to save themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of persecution; neither of that antichristian opposition and tyranny, the issue whereof declares itself in this so *dreadful* and lamentable *asportation*.

WITTICUM VALE.

[Two or three of the last words are indistinct. ED.]

Sir,

FOR my cousin Deane's business, I see no let nor hindrance but that may proceed with as much expedition as you please, without any further delay than modesty requireth in such occasions; the portion, as I understand, is about £200. If you be content therewith, I suppose the quality and person of the maid will not give cause of dislike. I shall be willing to hasten the despatch thereof, in hope the sooner to enjoy your company here. I am glad my sister will have so good an errand to Groton, for she is like, with God's blessing, to return with a modest, quiet and discreet wife for her son, and one in whom there is good hope of grace.

I suppose my cousin Stephen carried back the ac-

counts, for I cannot yet find them; if they come to hand, I shall return them safe unto you.

I fear the Lord is offended for sparing the lives of Gorton and his companions, for if they all be as busy as this at Salem, there will be much evil seed sown in the country. I hope some of them will be brought to trial next Court for breach of their order; and if yet you shall spare them, I shall fear a curse upon the land. The good Lord direct herein to do what shall be pleasing in his sight. So with my love and service to yourself and all yours, I rest your loving brother,

EM. DOWNINGE.

6. 12. 43.

*To his ever Honoured Brother, JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. }
Governour.*

[The Colony Records inform us, that the prisoner confined at Salem was Randall Holden. Ed.]

*A Note of the Charges for the Magistrates and attendants
at a Quarter Court, the 7th of the 1st month, 1643.*

7th day.	At dinner, persons	7,	. . . . .	10	6
	Attendants,	do.	8,	. . . . .	5 4
	At Supper,	do.	9,	. . . . .	13 6
	Attendants,	do.	6,	. . . . .	4 0
	For beer and bread and fires,		. . . . .	2	6
8th day.	At dinner, persons	8,	. . . . .	12	0
	Attendants,	do.	7,	. . . . .	4 8
	At supper,	do.	8,	. . . . .	12 0
	Attendants,	do.	5,	. . . . .	3 4
	For beer and bread and fires,		. . . . .	2	10
9th day.	At dinner, persons	11,	. . . . .	16	6
	Attendants,	do.	6,	. . . . .	4 0
	At supper,	do.	9,	. . . . .	13 6
	Attendants,	do.	4,	. . . . .	2 8
	For beer and bread and fires,		. . . . .	2	10

10th day. At dinner, persons, 8,	12	0
Attendants, do. 6,	4	0
At supper, do. 9,	13	6
Attendants, do. 6,	4	0
For bread and beer and fires,	3	0
	<hr/>	
Sum is	£7	6 8
	<hr/>	

If all be paid, due is £3 12 for 16 actions entered, whereof 10 were withdrawn.

A Note of the Charges for the Grand Jury at the Quarter Court, 7th of the 1st month, 1643.

7th day. At dinner, persons 18,	18	0
At supper, do. 12,	12	0
For beer and bread and fires,	4	0
3th day. At dinner, persons 17,	17	0
At supper, do. 15,	15	0
For beer and bread and fires,	4	6
9th day. At dinner, persons 16,	16	0
At supper, do. 14,	14	0
For beer and bread and fires,	4	6
10th day. Morning, for beer and bread, and } lodgings 3 nights, }	4	0
	<hr/>	
Sum is	£5	9 0
	<hr/>	

A Note of the Charges for the Magistrates and attendants at a Particular Court, 27th 2d month, 1643.

27th day. At dinner, persons 11,	16	6
Attendants, do. 5,	3	4
At supper, do. 8,	12	0
Attendants, do. 5,	3	4
For beer and fires,	1	0
28th day. At dinner, persons 6,	9	0
Attendants, do. 6,	4	0

At supper, persons 8,	. . . . .	12	0
Attendants do. 6,	. . . . .	4	0
		<hr/>	
		£3	5 2
		<hr/>	

*A Note of the Charges for the Magistrates and attendants
at a Quarter Court, the 6th of the 4th month, 1643.*

6th day. At dinner, persons 10,	. . . . .	15	0
Attendants, do. 4,	. . . . .	2	8
At supper, do. 10,	. . . . .	15	0
Attendants, do. 4,	. . . . .	2	8
For bread and beer,	. . . . .	1	6
7th day. At dinner, persons 13,	. . . . .	19	6
Attendants, do. 6,	. . . . .	4	0
At supper, do. 11,	. . . . .	16	6
Attendants, do. 7,	. . . . .	4	8
For beer and bread,	. . . . .	1	4
8th day. At dinner, persons 10,	. . . . .	15	0
Attendants, do. 6,	. . . . .	4	0
At supper, do. 10,	. . . . .	15	0
Attendants, do. 6,	. . . . .	4	0
For beer and bread,	. . . . .	1	11
		<hr/>	
		£6	2 9
		<hr/>	

*A Note of the Charges for the Magistrates and attendants
at a Particular Court, 27th of the 5th month, 1643.*

27th day. At dinner, persons 5,	. . . . .	7	6
Attendants, do. 2,	. . . . .	1	4
At supper, do. 5,	. . . . .	7	6
Attendants, do. 2,	. . . . .	1	4
For beer and fires,	. . . . .	1	0
28th day. At dinner, persons 10,	. . . . .	15	0
Attendants, do. 5,	. . . . .	3	4
At supper, do. 9,	. . . . .	13	6
For beer and bread,	. . . . .	0	10

29th day. At dinner, persons	5,	. . . . .	7	6
Attendants, do.	4,	. . . . .	2	8
				<hr/>
				£3 1 6
				<hr/>

The 5th day of the 7th month, 1643, at a Quarter Court, at the Magistrates' Table.

5th day. At dinner, persons	12,	. . . . .	16	0
Attendants, do.	4,	. . . . .	2	8
At supper, do.	15,	. . . . .	1	0 0
Attendants, do.	4,	. . . . .	2	8
6th day. At dinner, persons	15,	. . . . .	1	2 6
Attendants, do.	5,	. . . . .	3	4
At supper, do.	13,	. . . . .	19	6
Attendants, do.	4,	. . . . .	2	8
				<hr/>
				£4 9 4
				<hr/>

A Note of the Charges for the Grand Jury, at the Quarter Court, the 5th of the 7th month, 1643.

5th day. At dinner, persons	19,	. . . . .	19	0
At supper, do.	12,	. . . . .	12	0
For beer and bread, and suppers for 3			2	9
the night before,				
6th day. At dinner, persons	20,	. . . . .	1	0 0
At supper, do.	10,	. . . . .	10	0
For beer and bread,		. . . . .	2	0
				<hr/>
				£3 5 9
				<hr/>

4th month, 13, 1643. For a dinner for the Governour and Magistrates, and some Deputies and Strangers, persons 16,	}	1	1	4
Attendants, persons 5, and 10 of the French that dined with the attendants,			14	3
22d day. For a dinner for the Magistrates and Elders, and some of the Deputies,	}	1	11	6

26th day. For a dinner for the Magistrates and Elders, and some of the Deputies up- on occasion of the Dutch Governour sending,	} 1 7 4
5th month, 24th. For a dinner for the Magistrates and some of the Deputies,	} 18 6
6th month, the latter end. For a dinner for the Magistrates and two Deputies,	} 10 6
8th month, 3d day. For a dinner for the Magistrates and Elders, and some of the Deputies,	} 19 6
And dinners for the attendants and messen- gers that came, one from Connecticut, and one from Captain Cooke,	} 5 8
More for diet and beer for the Indians at two or three several times that have come upon publick service,	} 6 10
	<hr/>
	Sum is £7 15 5
	<hr/>

Right Worshipful Sir,

HAVING received so many favours of sundry sorts from you, which from time to time you have been pleased to bestow upon me and mine so freely, as also your kind and good assistance in my so comfortable a voyage, I thought it my duty, as primarily to praise the Lord, so in a due measure to be thankful to your worship, whose testimonial hath been a means to procure me the more favourable acceptance in the sight of sundry gentlemen. I have not yet made trial of my invention concerning longitude before artists, but a time is appointed for it. If the Lord prosper me therein, I hope I shall express more thankfulness to your kindest self, sir. So desiring to enjoy the benefit of your prayers, and that the Lord

would make you every way prosperous, I remain yours
in humble sort at command,

BENJAMIN HUBBARD.

LONDON, 25th 12th, 1644.

To *my much Honoured and Worshipful* }
Friend, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, Deputy }
Governour in Massachusetts Bay, }
present this.

{ *In ROTTERDAM in HOLLAND,*
the 5th January, 1645.

The Worshipful Mr. John Winthrop.

Sir,

My loving and due respects remembered unto you, and having so convenient means of sending per Mr. Graves, whose going hence is much sooner and sudden to me than I expected, although I have hardly time now to write, through other occasions, thought fit to certify you that I received yours of the year 1643, but too late the last year to return answer before the ships might be gone from London; and whereas you seem to conceive little hope of receiving satisfaction from the partners of Plymouth for me, until Mr. Sherley and Mr. Bechamp and myself do agree, of which I conceive less if any hope, by reason of the partners and Mr. Sherley subtly plotted end, if not Mr. Bechamp's head or hand was there also, of which I formerly informed you, and several other the partners' unfair and unjust dealings with me by my late former letters, the which might the more plainly appear by the copies of two of Mr. Ed. Winslow's letters sent therewith, of which or any others I cannot now mention particulars, but their dealings with me for several years seem so apparently unjust and unfair unto me in several particulars, that if they have not given the better satisfaction for me before the next opportunity I

may have of sending, I pray be pleased to certify them that they must not take it ill, if I call them publickly to account for several their dealings towards me, which are very much unbeseeing fair dealing men, who make not so much profession to walk according to the rule of the gospel as they, and yet answer not the same, in not dealing with others as they would that others should deal with them. I hope twice seven years time is long enough to keep my money before they return the principal, and that if either law or conscience bear sway in New England, they shall not be suffered to keep my money remaining in their hands more years upon both false and frivolous pretences, and be accounted men answering their profession. I did once before entreat your worship to certify Mr. Ed. Winslow and the rest in private, of some evil dealings I conceived fit to call some of them to account for, the which I have yet forborne, of which I would wish them to consider, whether I have not now just cause to call them to account how far they can free themselves of my then charge to some other in regard of what remaineth due to me from them, and if there have not been the like endeavours therein, or for part thereof, and let not the partners by longer unjust delays aggravate their unjust and unfair dealings, lest it come heavily on them at the last. I did order Mr. Ed. Winslow, several years since, to deliver your worship my stock of four cows and two calves, with half their increase, to be disposed among the poor of your plantation, but have not heard either from him or yourself what is done therein; wherefore having some occasion of writing to Mr. William Pinchon, I entreated him to inquire and to certify me, and to be assistant to your worships in the prosecution of the partners for the satisfying of what remains due on my account, because I conceive your worships have so many other occasions that it may be some ease to you therein. I have been here at Rotterdam almost one year and a half, since I last came hither, and it may be may not see either Mr. Sherley or Mr. Bechamp in several

years more ; but if I did, will not so end as to make myself seem guilty with them of doing the partners such injuries as they complain of, that Mr. Sherley and Mr. Bechamp may seem the less guilty therein, which seems to me to be one main end in regard of them two in the endeavoured plotted end, yet the partners may have several other ends to themselves therein likewise. Time calls me away, and I must end and rest your loving friend,

RICHARD ANDREWES.

*To the Worshipful Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, }
at Boston, these deliver.....New England. }*

[Thanks were voted to this Mr. Andrews by our General Court this year for his benefaction of £500. Ed.]

Sir,

IF what lately came to my ears bear any truth, I see the malus genius of the country verifies the old adage, regium est quum bene feceris malè audire. And though I cannot but share in your sufferings, yet my confidence in your integrity bids me boldly to encourage you with an hope of a good issue to this as other your temptations. You are not alone in this lot, et ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes nemo recuset. Our great Master was a man of sorrows, and his men may not think to be men of joys in this world. His precaution contradicts that omen, John 16, last. The righteous shall be as the sun when he goes forth in his strength, Judges 5, last. Every counsel of the Holy Ghost is of infinite depth and founded upon strength of reason. Yea, we have all need of patience, and let me beg it may have its perfect work. We know what works it, Romans, 5. 3, and what it works, verse 4, 5. As tribulation hammers this piece of spiritual armour out for a shirt of mail and armour of proof to the saints, so it is accompanied with experience sweet and manifold, both of God, selves and others; and both work up another

piece, hope, and it makes not ashamed. Christ sees a necessity of scandals coming. Oh that we could make improvement of them, and learn of him to advance our spiritual stock of obedience upon every thing we suffer here! Heb. 5. 8. Now as finite and infinite bear no more proportion than something and nothing, so nor any nor all our sufferings to that excessively exceeding weight of glory which shall be revealed in us. Nay, they add to our glories, and therefore give me leave, sir, to put home God's charge to you, as one of his Joshuas in these parts, Joshua, 1. 7, 8. Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito. God hath given you, as him, yea as all the saints, a sure promise, not to leave nor forsake you. Let us all repass the same to his majesty in haec verba. And cast all your cares on him that careth for you, and hath carried them and that talent of lead, all the saints' sins, as the scape goat into the wilderness, yea into the bottom of the sea. But I hold a wax candle before heaven's lamp. My tender respects to your soul transports me. If it be an errour, 'tis amoris. Dear sir, look up above these dusty mists, which each carman's cart-wheel can raise. * Made my due respects, I beseech you, to your dear yokefellow and all yours. Now the God of patience fill your souls with all hope and joy in believing. So prays he who needs more your prayers and consolations.

Verte Folium.

SIR,—I am sorry the former good news holds not, but sadder instead bears truth. The Lord give N. E. hearts to humble and timely look to their ways.

Yours in all humble observance,

THO. PETERS.

SEABROOK, 2d of 4th, 1645.

[Superscribed by Governour Winthrop, *Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Peter, about my trouble, (4) 45.*]

Worthy Sir,

YOURS by Mr. Long well received, and am heartily glad to understand of your health and welfare, which God continue to you and yours, since which time Mr. John Harbert is lately arrived from the Leeward Islands, and have according to my business interested to him, given me a first account of the proceeds of my goods, which I no ways suspect; yet for the goods I directed him in return, have as yet received no satisfaction, being sold and left in the hands of one Mr. Edward Ting, to be sent according to directions (as he informs me) and Mr. Ting his letter infers so much to me sent by Mr. Nathaniel Long, expect them in Mr. John Parris, who (as yet) is not arrived. But it is somewhat strange to me, that Mr. Ting should give directions to Mr. Long to require I should bear the adventure of my goods, being not shipped according to order of Mr. Harbert, wherein I have lost the opportunity of a market, yet will (though Mr. Parris come unseasonably) give a receipt for so much received. I have been credibly informed by some who have been lately in your parts, that cotton wools did yield a better price at that time mine were vended; but the excuse is, that being sold in gross, were less worth than by retail. I know assuredly, my parcel was much better than what was then transported, and could have advanced more, if sent into other parts; but notwithstanding, shall no ways discourage me (if it may stand with conveniency) to be furnished with such commodities as may be beneficial for this place, to adventure once and again (if God permit) for your parts, wherein I humbly crave your assistance. And you shall ever find me ready and willing to serve you in the like or any occasion wherein I may, and ever remain yours to be commanded.

WM. PEAD.

BARBADUS, 31 Martii, 1646.

To his worthy and much respected Friend,
 JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. *these per Mr.*
 JOHN HARBERT, *whom God Almighty*
direct.

Honoured Sir,

The occasion of my writing is a letter, which I received out of England from our brother Welde; who hath desired me to commend some things to the Court and yourself on his behalf, as

1st. That he, having given a full account of all things received and disbursed about this colony, he may have an universal acquittance from you to testify all receipts; and those in one paper to be specified; and for his discharge and credits, he may shew it to all, that are concerned therein.

2d. That the monies may be speedily sent to him, for which he is bound in behalf of this country; and among the rest, £110, with the interest, for which he is bound to Mr. Sherly.

3d. He humbly and earnestly desires, that every thing may be disposed to the right end, for which it was given. Whatsoever is meet to be done in these cases, I hope your pious care hath already done, or determined, so that there shall be no need of my earnest soliciting the same. For your present meeting about publick affairs, I could have desired some speech with yourself, when I was lately at the Bay; but being urged to hasten my return, I could not attain it. And now it may happily be too late, the time being so much spent. Therefore I forbear particulars; only in general, I pray God so to guide you all, that with sweet consent you may express your confidence and courage against all malignant spirits, and your tender care to give all due content to all godly and quiet persons, though some have unwarily been troubled and stirred by the subtilty of malcontents. Thus with my service I commit you to God, resting yours in him to command.

EZ. ROGERS.

ROWLY, 8 of 9, 47.

Intend not these sudden and short lines any further than to yourself; only entreating that the things may be commended to our Honoured Court.

SIR,—Since the writing of this, I thought myself bound to acquaint you, that there is not a little discourse raised, and by some offence taken at the late divorce granted by the Court. How weighty a business that is, as I need not tell you, so I would humbly desire, that some course may be taken so to clear the Court's proceeding, as that rumours might be stopped, and letters of mistake into England prevented. For myself, I am altogether ignorant of the manner of your proceeding about it, and therefore can say nothing to it.

*To the Right Worshipful our Honoured
Governour, JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. }
these present.*

THIS writing indented, witnesseth that John Winthrop, Governour of the Massachusetts, in New England, by and with the order and consent of Mrs. Susanna Winslow, wife of Mr. Edward Winslow of Marshfield, and his agent in this time of his absence in England, for good and valuable consideration had and received from Mr. John Mainford of the Island of Barbados, merchant, have put off and sold unto the said John Mainford, one Indian man, called Hope, servant to the said Mr. Winslow, to have and to hold to him the said John Mainford, his executors and assigns, being Englishmen and no other, according to the orders and customs of English servants in the said Island, both for maintenance and other recompense, for and during the full term of ten years from the day of the date hereof. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents interchangeably have put their hands and seals. Dated this 12 (11) 1647.

JNO. MAINFFORT. [SEAL.]

Witness, GEORGE MANING.

[The draft is in the Governour's hand writing; but the original signature of the purchaser is very plain. This Indian was probably a child, taken ten years before in the war against the Pequots. ED.]

Sirs,

God having somewhat above a year since as you may have understood, disposed of by death, Mons. d'Aunay of happy memory, my most honoured lord and husband, I was left under uncomfortable displeasure, and saw no means in the world to mitigate my grief in such a troublesome state; but the king, out of his bounty, casting his eyes upon my family, was pleased to consider me and my children in the person of Mons. de Charnizay, father of the deceased Mons. d'Aunay, and to gratify us with his letters patents of confirmation in the propriety and government of all the Acady and islands adjacent: to this purpose promising us his royal protection, and the succour of his power, as already it doth appear by the notable assistance of victuals and men, which are come unto us under the conduct of Sieur de St. Mas, our lieutenant. I believed, sirs, that (as you, under the relation of good neighbours and allied, would have taken part with me in my desolation) it was just that I should give you to understand the favours which I receive from God and his majesty, and this is the only occasion of this present and of the message which I send unto you by Sieur de Bel Isle, a man of quality and desert, in whom I do confide, who will assure you of the good intentions which I have to do you service, and of my purpose to maintain that good intelligence which was between us in the time of Mons. d'Aunay. Thus praying God to preserve you, I rest,

Sirs, your most affectionate and good friend,

JANE MOTIN,

Widow of the deceased Mons. d'Aunay.

From PORT ROYAL, this 27th May, 1651.

*To the Gentlemen, Governours and Magistrates }
of New England, at Boston. }*

[And further endorsed, *Madam le Dony letter.*]

[The signature only of this letter is in the handwriting of d'Aunay's wife; and in that his name is spelt d'Aunay. Mons. de Charnizay, his father, spells the name d'Aunay.

Did Bel Isle derive its name from Mons. de Bel Isle above-mentioned?]

Matthewes' Defence.

To the first charge here mentioned, — I do believe and profess, that all sins, of all persons, both under the law and under the gospel, are to be reprov'd, both in unbelievers and others.

And if any words, at any time, in any place, among any persons, have fallen from my lips, or pen, which in the judgment of any seem to sound otherwise, I do not own them as my judgment.

To the second charge here, — If the works of the law could be performed according to the true meaning of the law, they would not be damning evils, but ways of life, but the contempt or dependence of or upon the works of the law or of the gospel for justification, I do believe are to be accounted damning evils. If any words of mine sound otherwise, I approve them not.

To the third charge, concerning loving the things that are in the world, — When I said that there is no love due to the things of the world, I spake from the words of John, 1 John, 2. 15, whence I conceive the Spirit of God doth mean the honours, pleasures and profits of the world, and that he doth nowhere forbid any to love persons according to the relations wherein they may stand to them, either conjugal, parental, filial, fraternal or Christian.

To the fourth charge here mentioned, — The apostle saith, that no other foundation can any man lay than Jesus Christ (that is to say, for justification or salvation) 1 Cor. 3. 11. And as for the Scriptures, I acknowledge no Christ but such a one as is revealed in the Scriptures. And as for believing unto justification, I acknowledge no other faith (in men of years) than such as resteth on Christ declared in the word of grace by the Scriptures. When we read, that the churches are built upon the foundations of the prophets and apostles, I do conceive (under favour) that they are called foundations, in that they laid Christ for the foundation. If any word of mine

may seem to sound otherwise, I would be understood according to these expressions.

To the last charge, concerning variety of righteousnesses, — When I said, that saints have more variety of righteousnesses than Christ hath, it was in the explication of the word in Isaiah 45. 24, which, in the original, is in the plural number, righteousnesses. Surely in the Lord have I righteousnesses and strength; not that they have more variety of righteousnesses than he hath to give; but because they have from him, beside inherent righteousness and moral righteousness, imputative righteousness also, which he needed not for himself.

Such are the conceptions and confessions of

MARMADUKE MATTHEWES.

Boston, 17th 4th m. 1651. — Upon serious consideration of the charges brought in against Mr. Matthewes, together with the answers to them by himself given, as also upon conference with himself concerning the same, we, the committee, yet remain much unsatisfied, finding several particulars weak, unsafe and unsound, and not retracted by him, some whereof are contained in this paper, with his last deliberate answer thereunto.

SIMON BRADSTREET,
WILLIAM HATHORNE,
RICHARD BROWN,
EDW. JOHNSON,
JOHN GLOVER,
ELEAZER LUSHER,
HUMPHREY ATHERTON.

15th 8th, 51. — Being by providence absent, when the committee examined Mr. Mathewes' case, being personally present before them, I cannot speak but only to what appeareth by the writings, and having, with the committee, perused them, I do fully agree with what they have returned to the Court.

SAMUEL SYMONDS.

A Note of some Particulars of the Accusations brought against Mr. Mathewes, being delivered by him as followeth, and owned by himself in his Answer.

1st Charge. For my part I do reprove no sin in persons under the gospel, but unbelief, because all sins are included in unbelief, nor persuade to any duty but to faith, because he that will believe, will obey.

Mr. Mathewes his Answer. I mean all sins of all men ought to be reprov'd, both of believers and others, but I do justify the words to be truth, as the extent of faith was then opened.

Charge. The works of the law are a damning evil.

Ans. I do justify the words with the explanation, which I then delivered, that the works of the law are a damning evil, if contemned, or depended upon.

Charge. There is no love due to the things of the world.

Ans. I meant of conjugal love, excepting persons, meaning things only.

Charge. The gospel of grace and the sacred Scriptures are a false foundation of faith to build our justification upon.

Ans. The Scriptures are the foundation of dogmatical and historical faith, but not of saving faith.

Charge. The saints have more variety of righteousness than Christ hath.

To the Honoured Court,

Marmaduke Mathewes humbly sheweth,

THAT through mercy I am in some measure sensible of my great insufficiency to declare the counsel of God unto his people, (as I ought to do) and how (through the darkness and ignorance that is in me) I am very apt to let fall some expressions that are weak

and inconvenient ; and I do acknowledge, that in several of those expressions, referred to the examination of the honoured committee, I might (had the Lord seen it so good) have expressed and delivered myself in terms more free from exception ; and it is my desire (the Lord strengthening) as much as in me lieth, to avoid all appearances of evil therein for time to come, as in all other respects whatsoever ; which, that I may do, I humbly desire your hearty prayers to God for me, and in special, that I may take heed to the ministry committed to me, that I may fulfil it to the praise of God, and profit of his people.

Your humble servant in any service of Christ,

MARMADUKE MATTHEWES.

28. 8. 1651.

*To my much Honoured Friend, Mr. EDWARD
RAWSON, at his house in Boston, these
present.* }

L. S.

This is to let you understand, that we have done nothing at all in any of our business we went about, but are delayed from time to time. The Parliament sitteth but four hours in a day, and four days in a week, and they do nothing at all that concerns the publick good. Their publick faith, that they took up money upon at the beginning of the Parliament, is now not regarded. Now every man is for himself, but none for the publick good ; not a publick spirit amongst them. They do nothing now but give lands and livings one to another, and to officers of the army, to stop their mouths that they should not stir. Massey is broke out of the Tower, and the rest that were taken at Worcester fight remain in prison still ; and it is thought they dare not try them, for fear lest themselves should be discovered, they

being all thought to be tardy in one kind or another. If so be the Lord do not stir up the soldiery to purge the House again, or to get a new representative, there will never be any thing done by this Parliament that is good. They make themselves rich, and that is all they do. King's lands, and Bishops', Deans' and delinquents' lands sold, and debts not paid, but very few, nor heavy burdens taken off. I could write a great deal more to you of the carriage of things, but I dare not. Those that went to Holland in the Bishops' days, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, and Simson, &c. will prove as great persecutors as the Bishops. A word to the wise is sufficient.

There is little news to you at this time, only we hear that there was five ships came from the East Indies, and be gone into Plimouth, and Sir George Askew and his fleet with them, and there is eighty sail of Hollanders followed them into the harbour, and hath blocked them up there, and General Blake is gone after Van Trump I know not whither. It is feared, there is still some treachery on foot. Massey could not get out of the Tower, without the consent of some. Many do fear, there will be a turn of things. All people are mightily discontented, and well they may. The Presbyterians are continually plotting of mischief one way, and the Independents another ; but both against Christ and his kingdom. Their master Christ's condition, and the apostles', will not serve their turn. It is too mean a condition for them. It seems they deserve more than they did. No less than 500 or 700 pound a year will serve them. And rather than they will part with this, and submit themselves to a mean condition, they will plead and do for Baal again, and set up that again, which formerly they threw down, and all for their honour and the filling of their bellies. But let them alone, God will search them out in the end, without a candle. They had so daubed our churches with untempered mortar by their flattery, that when we came to London, they began all to be corrupted, and to be in a lukewarm condition, ready to be rent to pieces. But

by Mr. Clark's means, under God, they are pretty well recovered again. Mr. Clark in conference or dispute is too hard for them all; both Anabaptists, Independents and Presbyterians; there is none of them dare to meddle with him now. If it had not been for him, they had made the churches of Christ and the world all one again, through their cunning; but he hath so foiled them, that they begin to be ashamed of themselves. He is a precious man, one of a thousand. He is a man free for dispute upon any point, whatsoever it be. He and I am to go down into the country very shortly to dispute the points of freewill, and universal redemption, and spiritual baptism, and seeking, and some other points. The good Lord go along with us, that our labour and travel may not be in vain. Let us hear from you as often as you can, either one way or another. Good news from you to us will be as showers of rain upon the new-mown grass. I am partly promised a place in the Tower of £50 per annum, but had we liberty of conscience with you, I had rather be there with £20 per annum. But the will of the Lord be done.

From the Golden Taylor's Shears in the upper end of Shoe Lane, near Holborn, this 7 of 7ber, 1652.

Your loving father-in-law,

NATHANIEL BRISCOE.

There is a book newly put out against Mr. Peters, and another against the Judges, and lawyers, and courts, setting out their unjust dealings and proceedings with men; all being stark naught, worse for the subject than it was in the King's days, excepting only that we enjoy the liberty of our consciences, to practise what we conceive to be truth for the present. How long it will continue, I know not.

Remember me to all my friends, to Mr. Clark, the chirurgeon, and to Mr. Huson, and to your cousin, and to all other whatsoever. I pray will you remember Nathaniel to forward him, and help him what you can. Remember me to your wife, and to all the rest of your

brethren and sisters. Send me word how all the children do. There are some ships now come in from Barbadoes, but I have not yet spoken with Mr. Cole, whether there be any letters come to me, yea or no.

Tell your wife my uncle Richard Briscoe is dead, about a fortnight since, here.

Loving son, my loving respects remembered unto you, hoping that both you and all yours, and all that are related to me with you, are in health, as I myself am at this present, blessed be God for it.

To his very loving son-in-law,
 Mr. THOMAS BROUGHTON, at
his house in Boston, these. }

THIS, as it is interlined and margined, is a true copy verbatim of that letter of Nathaniel Briscoe to Mr. Thomas Broughton as it was presented to the council here in N. E. and by their order sent by Edward Rawson, Secretary, to the Speaker of the Parliament of England, the Honourable Wm. Lenthall, as do witness, upon due and serious examination and comparing of this with the original, once and again, by us both together. The 11th of March, 1652—3.

JOHN WILSON.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Which we are ready to depose, if need require, the same time.

JOHN WILSON.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Honoured Sir,

WE received your letter bearing date the 15th of April, 1652, written in the behalf of Mr. William Pincheon, who is one that we did all love and respect. But his book and the doctrine therein contained we cannot but abhor as pernicious and dangerous; and are much grieved, that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a Magistrate amongst us, wherein he taketh upon him to condemn the judgment of most, if not of all, both ancient and

modern divines, who were learned, orthodox and godly, in a point of so great weight and concernment, as tends to the salvation of God's elect, and the contrary which he maintains to the destruction of such as follow it. Neither have we ever heard of any one godly orthodox divine, that ever held what he hath written; nor do we know any one of our ministers in all the four jurisdictions, that doth approve of the same, but do all judge it as erroneous and heretical. And to the end that we might give satisfaction to all the world of our just proceedings against him, and for the avoiding of any just offence to be taken against us, we caused Mr. John Norton, teacher of the church of Ipswich, to answer his book fully, which, if it be printed, we hope it will give your honoured self and all indifferent men full satisfaction.

Mr. Pincheon might have kept his judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect, and love. But when God left him to himself in the publishing and spreading of his erroneous books here amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might come to read them, (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts,) we held it our duty, and believe we were called of God, to proceed against him accordingly. And this we can further say, and that truly, that we used all lawful Christian means with as much tenderness, respect and love as he could expect, which, we think, he himself will acknowledge. For we desired divers of our elders, such as he himself liked, to confer with him privately, lovingly, and meekly, to see if they could prevail with him by arguments from the Scriptures, which accordingly was done; and he was then thereby so far convinced, that he seemed to yield for substance the case in controversy, signed with his own hand. And for the better confirming of him in the truth of God, Mr. Norton left with him a copy of the book he writ in answer to him; and the Court gave him divers months to consider, both of the book, and what had been spoken unto him by the

elders. But in the interim (as it is reported) he received letters from England which encouraged him in his errors, to the great grief of us all, and of divers others of the people of God amongst us. We therefore leave the author, together with the fautors and maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth, who judgeth righteously and is no respecter of persons. Touching that which your honoured self doth advise us unto, viz. not to censure any persons for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice or counsel from you, or any of the people of God, according to the rule of God's word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pincheon's case, either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according unto rule, and as we believe in conscience to God's command we were bound to do. All which, we hope, will so far satisfy you, as that we shall not need to make any further defence touching this subject. The God of peace and truth lead you into all faith, and guide your heart aright in these dangerous and apostatizing times, wherein many are fallen from the faith, giving heed to errors, and make you an instrument (in the place God hath called you unto) of his praise, to stand for his truth against all opposers thereof, which will bring you peace and comfort in the saddest hours, which are the prayers of, sir,

Your unworthy servants,

20 October, 1652.

Past by the Council.

JOHN ENDECOT, *Gov'r.*
 THO. DUDLEY, *Dep'ty.*
 RICH. BELLINGHAM.
 INCREAS NOWELL.
 SIMON BRADSTREET.
 WM. HIBBINS.
 SAM. SIMONDS.
 ROBT. BRIDGES.
 JOHN GLOVER.

[Indorsed in the same clerical hand, *The copy of a letter to Sir Henry Vane.*]

To the honoured General Court held at Boston.

WE, the humble petitioners of the church and town of Woburn, with such whose names are under writ, do show : that whereas God, the only wise and sovereign Disposer of all things, having cast the lines of our habitations under the enjoyment of so great privileges of so happy a government, wherein the clear administration of justice doth run in its native channel, with an impartial distribution in all faithfulness to all, whereby our tranquillity is much promoted, and we sit with our families under our vines and fig trees in peace, that impartial mercy of these days : as also considering the great care of religion, which we gladly acknowledge well-beseeming Christian magistrates, being God's ministers, ought to respect God's interest, that his sacred word and ordinances be not profanely vilified by the contumacy of pernicious spirits, to God's great dishonour and the endangering the precious soul of man ; and now that God should dignify us to share in those privileges, wherein is seen the favourable face of God to this commonweal, and each true-hearted member of the same : the which privilege of godly government is given of God through Christ as one of his great blessings, carrying away a treasure of mercy and blessing in it ; the which that it should be our portion we desire now and at all times to acknowledge it with all thankfulness, to God, the great efficient, and to you all, the blessed instruments, the fathers of our country, preservers of our lives, liberties and interest. Nevertheless, the wise God is oft-times pleased to admit some mixture to be intermingled with our sweetest and dearest contents, writing with his own divine hand imperfection on the greatest sufficiencies of this sublunary world, even among his own saints in their purest societies and actions, to humble the creature, that they may know themselves and their need of daily assistance from him, and to long the more after

our Father's mansions, where only all imperfection shall be done away.

Wherefore, much honoured, we most humbly crave liberty, with a spirit of meekness, to express a few differing thoughts touching an order that of late hath past the vote among you, to solicit your wisdoms against the same, professing ourselves sorry that we are necessitated hereunto: which, if we could have pacified our consciences and preserved our hopes of our future enjoyment of our liberties, we should most gladly have rested in silence rather than have busied ourselves and troubled your patience on this wise: especially considering the evil of these days, wherein so many belch forth their venom against government, and the proneness of many to be murmuring, especially on every little occasion, against their superiors, so adding hard measure to the burden of the magistracy by their evil acceptance; or do we desire to manifest a spirit of harshness or pertinacy, but rather with meekness, as briefly as we may, entreating you as fathers, who ought not to provoke children, that your wisdoms would be pleased of your clemency to review the said order touching such as shall be called forth to preach publickly and constantly in places, as also what is expressed, under correction, by your humble petitioners as grounds of our dislike. The order seems to us to yield a full and fair sense in itself, and for any to tell us it only respects new plantations, the calling of private persons to constant and publick preaching and not church officers, the advice of elders in a way of communion of churches, &c. the order seems clearly to us to render these things over scant to reach forth any covering of satisfaction in the case. The preface indeed specifies plantations at their beginning, yet even then they may be church if not churches. Is it not as correspondent to the rule for such as exercise at such beginnings to be brethren approved by the church of which they are members, who best knows their abilities? Yet the order saith expressly, that no person within this jurisdiction shall undertake any constant

course of publick preaching or prophesying without the approbation of the elders of four the next churches, or of the county court; whereby it is evident to us that whatever church within this jurisdiction shall call any person to the work of publick and constant teaching, to such is the order directed: and for some to say it is such as undertake the work, and not such as accept of a call, surely no man can accept of a call but he must undertake the work to which he is called. And for the counsel of elders in a way of communion of churches, surely we cannot disallow of advice in difficult cases; but if this be the right of it we humbly crave help to see it: for here is not the counsels of churches but approbation of elders: again, not of elder absolute but of the county court. By virtue hereof churches need not go to elders for advice in a way of communion of churches, but if they will to the county court. Again, we see not that there is always necessarily so much difficulty in the case as to need the counsel of other churches. Furthermore, we conceive this is not so much a counsel declarative, binding only from the authority of Christ's rule; for so they bind no further than they can make it fasten by convicting demonstration: but an approbation injunctive, and so is superiorative, binding from their authority from whence it doth proceed; forasmuch as it is that which must be heard and must [be] set down as an absolute positive injunction by virtue hereof on penalty of civil prohibition or censure, without any arbitracry or indifferency in it. And whereas some say preachers are not hereby thrust upon churches, yet may they be easily thrust from churches against their wills; and in a sense upon churches, for they must take such as others approve of or none: and if a church, by being hereby interrupted as she may think unduly, sit still in discouragement, what must then be done?

Wherefore we humbly crave liberty to urge a few reasons for what we express, as in our weak sense we are able. With submission [to] better judgments we thus conceive:

First. It tends to the circumvention of the liberty of the church of Christ in interrupting the free course of election and ordination of teaching officers : for though it say no person shall ; yet the same stroke that hits the person called smites also the persons calling : for, no undertaking any such course of teaching by any person in this jurisdiction without said approbation—then no election or ordination to that work but with the said approbation. And this we cannot but conceive to be a taking the free course of church liberty into the hand of civil authority and whom they shall be pleased to bestow it upon. And for the civil magistrate to meddle here-with, or work any interruption in the free course of the said liberty, before a church discover any variation from a rule in her action by leaving her liberty and committing any practical or fundamental error of evil consequence : let the pretence be what it will, we cannot but humbly show our fears, entreating our boldness may be without offence : we cannot but conceive it to be a crossing the lines of their authority, and a coming in to intermeddle before Christ call them hereunto.

Again, whatever liberty may fall in a due proportion with this, may by the same rule of proportion and consequence be interrupted. And we see nothing but all the liberty of the brotherhood in exercising their privilege in the church, or their gift, publickly or privately either, may, by the same rule of proportion and consequence, be interrupted : provided that for number and manner it may be rendered publick and constant in their apprehension that may be in place to judge of it. And though the Court may intend no such thing, yet if it may be screwed up to such a thing or fair beginning toward it, though persons now in place be godly and may act more regular and moderately in it, yet never let us live to follow engages that which posterity may rue when men of worse conceits may be in place : but seeing the first age of our church and government may probably be exemplary, God grant for good and no future danger.

2. We see not any ground in God's word for any such power of the civil authority to call ecclesiastical cases to trial before the word of God sentence them ; and whatever is acted this way by the civil magistrate to prevent error, or in what pretence soever, if it be not warranted by God's word, it will not be sanctified by his Spirit for good : but as all bounds have their antipathies, the more violent from the enmity of contrary principles, so those will never hold that have not good foundation, but rather cause a greater inundation than any good effect.

3. It seems to us to vary from a rule of Christ, for if the church have free liberty of election and ordination, as God's word is most clear, then sure of approbation, according to the rule also ; and sure the apostle, 1 Cor. 14, tells us who should judge ; Let, saith he, the prophets prophesy one by one, and the rest judge. They that hear can best judge of doctrine and person, and the church can best discern whom they can close withal as ministers of food to their souls.

4. We see not that in reason in it to answer the end propounded by it. For how can elders of other churches perform this work ? Say the next ; yet may some, it may be, be twenty mile or more remote. The man perhaps they never saw, his voice they never heard ; yet must they be they that must approve. Again, suppose elders and magistrates grow corrupt, where shall we be then ? Surely churches have the promise of perseverance also. And what is it some men may call heresy ? Surely we will never credit all heresygraphers for his sake who inserts Chereas into his catalogue for apostolical prelacy. If to stand for church's liberty against classical usurpation, come to be accounted heresy, surely after the ways such men call heresy, so worship we God, believing all things written in his word.

5. It seems to us to give a supremacy where Christ gives none. For who is supreme but such as must be sought to, and who is inferiour but they that must prostitute themselves thus to seek unto. Touching mutual

approbation, we conceive churches are to come to the rule in their action ; and so is the magistrate, and so in their mutual approbation, to bear witness each with other that their walking is with a right foot, as becomes the gospel : if they find any gone from the rule, with a spirit of meekness to help them to it again. But now for a church to perform an act proportionable to a rule, as in calling a teacher qualified in measure answering a rule, for, who is sufficient for these things—and to carry forth the act to civil approbation is not, as we conceive, to meet at the rule, but to carry forth the rule and act performed hereby to the judgment and authority of man.

Surely the power of Christ in his church is most supreme. It is the throne of his presence, where he is more immediately present than in the purest civil throne on earth. The civil throne is subservient to his throne ; and whilst churches keep to the rule, they keep to their power and privilege. Our civil power, they must not touch them. If they forsake the rule, they lose their power, then the civil power may help them to it again : and for men of bold and erroneous spirits, if any such set up themselves (or be set up by others) as can neither skilfully nor soundly divide the word of truth, who esteem pernicious prating their greatest eminency ; such we judge the very plague of God on many frothy professors of these days, and the presence of heaven go with the endeavours of all civil magistrates against such creatures and beasts of prey. But till churches swerve from the truth in their action, we cannot see why their proceedings should be brought to trial to be pronounced upon without any accusation. Thus, honoured fathers, we humbly crave a redress, or that our ignorance may be helpt by clearing the order from a rule, and satisfying the reasons propounded ; and that you would be pleased to pardon our boldness in exercising so much of your charity and patience, and wherein we have overshot ourselves to impute our error rather to our ignorance than any stubbornness of ours, who desire no more than what we believe to be the truth of Christ : the which

truth that it may be defended by your authority we hope through the help of Christ to be ever ready to defend the same to our power. In the mean time, we render praise to God for your zeal and courage, and his presence with you and blessing upon your godly endeavours hitherto, humbly craving his further blessings upon you, and that you and we may be so assisted with the same, as that you in governing and we in subjecting, may glorify God by doing the work of our generation; that none of us may outlive their perseverance, but all of us bring forth more fruit in our age; that in the end of our days we may receive that joyful approbation, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. And thus we rest, commending of you and all your affairs, publick and domestick, to the guidance and acceptance of God omnipotent. So prays your humble petitioners,

[Signed]

JOHN KNIGHT.
 JAMES CONVERS.
 ALLIN CONVERS.
 JOSIAH CONVERS.
 ROBERT PEARCE.
 JOSEPH KNIGHT.
 MILES NUT.
 RALPH HILL.
 JOHN TID.
 JOHN RUSSELL.*

* [This is the person, as is believed, who became afterwards a minister of the Baptist denomination. The principles developed in the remonstrance, to which his name is here attached, had become ruling views with those especially, who, on that very account, removed from Massachusetts and founded the colony of Rhode Island. These principles were avowed in Charlestown by a few, who were soon treated with very considerable severity. One of their number writes in 1670, "The Lord hath given us another elder, one John Russell, senior, a gracious, wise and holy man that lives at Woburn, where we have five brethren more that can meet with him, and they meet together a first days when they cannot come to us, [at Noddle's Island,] and I hear there are some more there looking that way with them." Mr. Russell appears to have removed to Charlestown and thence to Boston, where he died, December 21, 1680, having been ordained only the preceding year, on the 28th of July. His "gifts and graces were not small," says the historian of the Baptists, "and his memory is precious." He published a "Narrative," now very scarce. *Backus, Hist. Bap.* vol. i. p. 492, &c. ED.]

JAMES TOMSON.
BARTHOLOMEW PERSON.
JOHN SEER.
JOHN MOUSALL.
DANIEL BARON.
FRANCIS KENDELL.
JOHN WYMAN.
HENRY TOTENHAM.
JOHN PARKER.
ISAAC LARNIT.
JAMES BRITAN.
JAMES PARKER.
RICHARD SNOW.
THOMAS FULLER.
ABRAM PARKER.
THOMAS CHAMBERLEN.
JOHN PEARCE.
GEORGE FARLO.
SYMON TOMSON.

WOBURN, *August 30, 1653.*

[Subscribed]

The committee conceive the thing petitioned for is in agitation in the Court, and therefore leave the answer unto their determination.

DANIEL GOOKIN.
THOMAS CLARKE.
THOMAS LOWTHROPP.
JOSHUA HUBBERD.

To the Honoured Governour and Magistrates.

MICHAEL POWELL, your humble servant, desires you of your clemency to read these few lines.

When the providence of the Almighty settled me in Boston, I intended to join with that church ; but finding that myself and wife did give offence in crowding into

their seats that were former inhabitants, I endeavoured by the elders to be directed where we might sit without offence; but they not finding any spare room, and the new meeting house being built, and myself being invited to join with others to gather a church, which was done by the advice and approbation of the Reverend Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson; we all not doubting but Mr. Samuel Mather would have joined in office with us, as he pretended; but he failing us, we were not wanting to seek for supply elsewhere, as your worships know. Meanwhile, finding that it was burthensome to the elders constantly to supply the place, and oft the place was not supplied, myself (unworthy) being called of the brethren, thought I was called of God, to improve my one talent—with this promise to the church, that I would supply the place but when or till we could not [be] better supplied otherwise, which we still endeavoured. Now, honoured in the Lord, I finding assistance and acceptation far beyond deserts or expectation, went on; my chief encouragement being some fruit that some professed they reaped by my poor labours. Now the brethren being out of other hopes, motioned calling me to office—a strange motion to me. So they gave me a call. I desired time to consider of it, meanwhile seeking for guidance from the Lord. I did think there was a finger of God in it, which I durst not deny, though weak and unworthy, yet knowing who had all power. I accepted of the call, I say, with much fear and trembling, upon these terms, that if the magistrates and elders did approve and consent thereunto. Now finding that the then honoured General Court did advise us to forbear, we were satisfied, and fully resolved to follow that advice. I not forward to take such a charge upon me, hence the injunction of the County Court was sad unto me. Now, honoured in the Lord, I hearing that some reports are come to your ears, that we intend to proceed, notwithstanding court or county; it is no small sadness to my spirit that it should be so thought or spoken. Such a thing never

yet entered into my thoughts, nor words into my ears ; if any such words have dropt from any, 'tis more than I know. God forbid I should be cause of any disturbance in the country. I have not so learned Christ. By help from God I will study peace and follow it. I had rather be followed to my grave than unto that which crosses the rule of Christ, or disturbs the peace of the churches.

Honoured fathers of this commonwealth, my humble request is that you would not have such hard thoughts of me, that I would consent to be ordained to office without your concurrence ; nor that our poor church would attempt such a thing without your approbation ; but that under you we may still (as we have) live a quiet life in godliness and honesty. Thus desiring your favourable aspect, humbly desiring pardon of my boldness, desiring the Lord to guide you and prosper all your pious endeavours for the peace of this commonweal and for our poor orphan church, I shall ever be at your worships' command in the Lord.

MICHAEL POWELL.

Received 6 September, 1653.

Worthy and Honoured in the Lord,

I UNDERSTANDING by our Deputy of a motion propounded in the Court in the behalf of Mrs. Nowell, being glad also that God hath put it into the hearts of any to take into consideration the estates and posterities of those that have been useful in the country, (it being but equal, that those who have spent themselves for the country's good, should also partake of some benefit thereby,) I do seriously desire the motion already propounded may find favour in your eyes and in the eyes of all ;—and withal do further entreat you would please, both of you, to take into consideration the condition of Mrs. Flint, the widow of worthy Mr. Flint deceased,

who served in the same office of magistrate many years, and never received of the country any recompense, he dying immediately before the late allowance was granted by the Court. And whatsoever considerations may move for the behalf of her who is now propounded, the same are available for the other also. And some things there are which may persuade on this side more effectually, both in regard of a great family of children, and the great decay of his estate which he brought into this country, (being about £2000,) which now is come to very little in comparison of what it was. Other things there are which I could mention, but I will spare, leaving the consideration thereof to your godly wisdoms, desiring God, the Judge of all, for to guide you in all your judgments betwixt man and man, that both in this and all other your occasions, you may do that which is just and right in his sight. And so, taking leave, I rest your worships' in any service for Christ,

PET. BULKELEY.

November 9, 1655.

[*In the margin.*]

Remember his example, of whom it was said, he did not leave off to shew kindness to the living and to the dead. Ruth ii. 20.

Since my writing of that before, there have been some with me complaining of the rudeness and disobedience of their servants, and concerning some children also that live under their parents' government, and yet they take liberty to be abroad in the nights, and run into other sinful miscarriages, not to be suffered under a Christian government. And because some say that one particular magistrate cannot punish such disorder in a private town, unless complaint be first made to the Court, (which I did think had been otherwise,) this is now to desire you would please to take these things into consideration, and to make some order (if it be not

done already) whereby every magistrate may have authority to correct such offences, in the parent or master that suffers any under them to be abroad at unseasonable times, by laying a fine or pecuniary mulct upon them, and in the younger sort which do break forth into the disorder, by whipping, or otherwise, as the wisdom of the Court shall think meet. It is time to begin with more severity than hath been, unless we will see a confusion and ruin coming upon all. I make bold thus to present my mind unto you. I trust you will favourably accept my good intentions therein.

P. B.

*To the Right Worshipful Mr. ENDICOTT, }
Governour, and Mr. BELLINGHAM, Deputy }
Governour, give these.*

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being by order of the General Court appointed a Committee to inquire concerning the maintenance of the ministers of the churches in the county of Suffolk, having attended thereunto, do make our return accordingly, as followeth, viz.

We being met at Braintree, 22d of July, 1657, were informed by the deacon of the church of Hingham, that the church allow unto Mr. Hubbert £90 per annum, paid one third part in wheat, and one third part in pease, and one other third part in Indian corn and rye, generally cleared in payment once in the year, Mr. Hubbert's family being about twelve persons, he neither sow nor plant, the families in this town being about one hundred.

By the deacon of Weymouth informed, that Mr. Thatcher is allowed £100 per annum, paid in all sorts of corn, and for the most part cleared once in the year, his family consisting of about seven persons, he neither plant nor sow, the town being about sixty families.

By the deacons of Braintree informed, that Mr. Flint and Mr. Thompson are each of them allowed £55 per annum, paid generally in such things as themselves take up and accept of from the inhabitants, paid ordinarily yearly or within the year, the town being about eighty families, Mr. Thompson's family being three persons, Mr. Flint's family being about seven or eight persons. These elders depend generally upon publick contribution.

Being again met at Boston, 24th of the 7th month, 1657, by the deacon of Dorchester informed, that Mr. Mather is allowed £100 per annum, paid generally at the end of the year in corn and part in work, as he need or have use. He have six or seven persons in his family, and have a competent stock of cattle and good accommodation in land for corn and hay, the town being about one hundred and twenty families.

By the deacon of Roxbury informed, that Mr. Elliot and Mr. Danforth are each of them allowed £60 per annum, paid generally in corn, or otherwise to their content, cleared in accounts ordinarily once in the year, Mr. Danforth's family being six persons, Mr. Elliot eight in his family. They both have estate in corn and cattle, the town consisting of about eighty families.

By the deacon of Dedham informed, that Mr. Allin is allowed £60 per annum in corn, or some in work when he need, generally paid in the year, his family being seven persons, the town being about one hundred and sixty-six families. Mr. Allin hath a good stock of cattle, and a good accommodation in corn-land and meadow.

By the deacon of Medfield informed, that Mr. Wilson is allowed £50 per annum, paid generally in corn, and the accounts cleared ordinarily in the year. He hath six persons in his family, and hath cattle and corn and accommodation for each, the town being about forty families.

Further, informed by the brethren of the new church in Boston, allowed to Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Powell, each £55 per annum, besides what helps they receive from

friends, which is not settled, the families of one being six and of the other seven persons.

Hull allow their minister £40 per annum, the families being twenty.

THOMAS SAVAGE.
ELEAZER LUSHER.
JOHN JOHNSON.

[The report is in the handwriting of the first signer. Ed.]

Right Honourable,

THESE are to give your honour an account not only of the receipt of your honour's letter bearing date 15th February, 1660, and the enclosed copy of his majesty and council's order in reference to the business of merchants trading into New England, but also of my actings thereupon. Having ordered our secretary, Mr. Edward Rawson, a person of known fidelity to his majesty, to pursue the directions therein required, I doubt not but he will give your honour a satisfactory account in his returns. At the same time that I received your honour's letter and order, I also received from the secretary of state, Sir William Morrice, his majesty's most gracious letter in answer to our humble address to his majesty, with his majesty's order for the searching after and apprehending of Col. Whalley and Goffe, and sending them over in order to their trial for having a hand in the most horrid murder of our late sovereign, Charles the First, of glorious memory, both which I caused to be printed here for the better furtherance of his majesty's service. What our council did in order to the colonels' apprehension before his majesty's order came to hand, with what zeal and fidelity the Lord enabled me to act in sending meet messengers, persons of known fidelity to his majesty, with instructions and true copies of his

majesty's letter and order for their apprehension to the several governours of the other colonies, or chief magistrates there, for the better accomplishment of his majesty's just commands—an account thereof I have transmitted to the honourable secretaries of state, Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morrice, that so his majesty might understand the sincerity of my endeavours to serve him. Our council since, having also made a proclamation that whosoever shall be found to have a hand in concealing the said colonels, or either of them, shall answer for the same as an offence of the highest nature, and caused our secretary to write unto the governour of New Haven, in our names, to press him to the discharge of his duty, (in whose jurisdiction they were lately seen, and as we are credibly informed by a report given out, that they came to surrender themselves, only desired a little time to be in private by themselves, before which pretended time was expired, they were by a youth met creeping through a field of corn [and] made their escape.) Yet [we] are not without hope that double diligence will be used by them of New Haven to regain his majesty's favour, and that his majesty therein may have full satisfaction, which I shall not be wanting to endeavour. Since the arrival of the last ship from England, understanding by several, that however we thought our address to his majesty had been a sufficient proclamation of his majesty, and manifestation of our due allegiance, yet that it was expected from his majesty's privy council that we should formally proclaim his majesty here; whereupon calling our General Court to make a return of their deep sense of the unspeakable mercy of God manifested in his majesty's gracious promise not only to protect and defend us in the liberties formerly granted us by his royal father of glorious memory, but to confirm them to us, and not be behind his royal predecessors, which engageth this poor people on all occasions to manifest their due obedience, and continually to be petitioners at the throne of grace for his majesty's long and prosper-

ous reign on earth, and that an eternal crown of glory may be his portion in heaven when this life shall cease ; the court ordered also his majesty to be proclaimed here, which was done the next day by our secretary, in the best form we were capable of, to the great rejoicing of the people, expressed in their loud acclamations, God save the king ! which was no sooner ended, but a troop of horse, four foot companies, then in arms, expressed their joy in their peals ; our forts and all the ships in our harbour discharged, our castle concluding with * * * * * all thundered out their joy.

Right honourable, I am the bolder to give your honour the trouble of this short account, that so, if your honour see cause, as occasions may present, your honour may be pleased to inform his majesty, and appear in our behalf to improve your interest with his majesty, that no complaints may make impression in his royal heart against us, nor any alteration imposed on us till we understand the said complaints, and be heard to speak for ourselves, which we doubt not will be to his majesty's satisfaction, of which your honour's favour I hope your honour will have no cause to repent. Myself and the people here, as in duty we are bound, shall become suitors to the throne of grace, that the Lord would be pleased to endue your honour with wisdom and suitable abilities to serve him and his majesty in your generation, and pour on your head and heart a rich recompense of reward ; which is the prayer of him that is,

Right honourable,
Your honour's most humble servant,
JO. ENDECOTT.

[This letter was probably addressed to Lord Clarendon, or the Earl of Manchester. Ed.]

NEWPORT, *the 9th of November, 1661.*

Honoured Sir,

THE last night there came a letter to my hand, directed to myself and court of commissioners; and there being not any court of commissioners till May next, I did not intend to have opened it, till the court did meet; but not knowing the necessity of an answer, I did open the letter, and finding it to be from the recorder, in the name and by the authority of the court, concerning a certain parcel of land, that was conquered and taken from the Pequits: Sir, at our last court of commissioners, there was a petition put up by some of our inhabitants for a certain parcel of land to the southward, which parcel of land is now in difference. Sir, in that particular, I acted not in the least with them; but since, notwithstanding, they have proceeded, and much trouble hath been betwixt them and some of yours. Sir, if the land appear to be in our patent, I have a share in it, though not owned by ours; and in case it be the conquered land, I have some interest in it, for my money went with others' to bear the charges. But it seems by both sides I am defeated; yet with me peace is better than land, and my endeavour shall be for peace what in me lies. Sir, our people that do possess the land, do inform me, that it is no part of the conquered land, but land that doth belong to our colony, and they say they have bought it of the right owners. If it be so, I hope none of yours will molest them. Sir, the Lord cause us all to strive for peace in a just way. This, with my service, presented to your honour, I take leave, and remain your servant in any office of love,

WILLIAM BRENTON.

*To the Worshipful JOHN ENDECOTT, Esq. }
Governour of Boston, these present. }*

From London, August, 1663. At a meeting of Adventurers about Cape Fayre.

LONDON, *Thursday, August the 6th, 1663.*

At a meeting of several persons, who have, with several others of New England, subscribed themselves as adventurers for the carrying on a plantation in Charles River on the coast of Florida.

1. Whereas a paper in the name of the right honourable, the Earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, George Duke of Albemarle, and divers other right honourable persons, to whom the whole coast of Florida hath been lately granted by his most excellent majesty, hath been sent down to the said adventurers, referring to certain proposals tendered to their said lordships, as the proper act and desires of the said adventurers, and being an answer to the said proposals; the said adventurers upon diligent inquiry, not being able to find out who should be the author of the said paper, do judge it their duty, in all humbleness, to acquaint their lordships, that they are altogether strangers to it, and know nothing of the delivery of it.

2. That upon consideration, nevertheless, of their lordships' said paper, and of several concessions, privileges and immunities therein freely offered by their lordships for the encouragement of the said adventurers, and for the further promoting of the said plantation of Charles River; the said adventurers cannot but acknowledge the greatness of the favour and condescension of their said lordships to them, upon the confidence and assurance of which, they crave leave further to represent to their lordships,

3. That as they were invited at first to be subscribers to the said plantation of Charles River, by several persons of New England; so the great motive that did principally induce them to the said subscription, was the

liquid and clear assurance that was given them, that the said New Englanders had an equitable title to the harbour and soil of the said river, together with the lands adjacent; and that though many others of quality had long before indeed sailed upon the coast of Florida, and had settled and taken possession of some other part of that large and vast country; yet that the said New Englanders, and they only, were the first that did ever, bona fide, set foot in that particular harbour, and that did find out the entrance and discovery of the said river.

Which thing, as it hath been confidently represented from these of New England unto the said adventurers here; so, upon the very ground of that as a truth, as also of the general custom in that and other plantations, (as well Dutch, French, as English,) that all that buy lands of the chief kings in those places, (who only challenge to themselves the having a right to the sale of them,) shall enjoy the absolute benefit and property of them against all persons, English or others; the said New Englanders having purchased the said river and soil, and lands adjacent, of the said kings, did so far presume upon the interest of the said purchase, together with the said discovery, as to give directions to several of their friends here immediately to apply to his majesty for a patent for the said river and soil, as belonging (according to their apprehension) of right to them, and as no way doubting the obtaining thereof, as may appear by the copy of their said letter hither.

4. The said adventurers further humbly represent, That as upon these grounds, and these only, they became invited to share in the adventures of those in New England, and to cast in at first a small sum for an assistance or supply to the said undertaking; so, forasmuch as the said adventurers here do act but as a minor part of those other adventurers there, and as wholly intrusted also from those there, they find not themselves qualified or enabled to do any thing therefore here, that may prejudice or conclude the other adventurers there, in that which may be their just pretension or

supposition of a right, how weak or how much mistaken soever the ground of that right may possibly appear, which they determine not.

The said adventurers further humbly represent,

5. That there cannot be any easy encouragement for the planting of the lands of the said Charles River immediately from hence, by reason of the excessive and insupportable charge that would attend such an undertaking of transporting and supplying all things necessary for the said plantation, at so great and so extraordinary a distance ; that as the undertaking, therefore, of the said plantation, and vigorous prosecution of it with men, cattle, and all other provisions as shall be judged necessary for the accomplishing and completing so great an engagement and action, must rationally be begun in, and set forth from, some other of the plantations abroad ; so none is humbly conceived to be so fit to supply all those necessaries in abundance at first, and to do it at so easy a rate, as that of New England is.

But forasmuch as all the English living in the several colonies of New England have ever held and enjoyed the benefits granted to other corporations, and have ever had, as well as some other plantations, full liberty to choose their own governours among themselves ; to make and confirm laws with themselves ; with immunity also wholly from all taxes, charges and impositions whatsoever, more than what is laid upon themselves by themselves ; it is therefore the humble opinion of the said adventurers, and (as what they fear) is humbly tendered to the considerations of their lordships,

That the said several adventurers in New England, who have some of them considerable interests and estates there, how much soever they have declared their willingness, forwardness and resolution to transport and remove themselves and their respective families unto the said Charles River, and to settle there, will nevertheless decline the said resolution again ; and will not, by any arguments that may be used by the said ad-

venturers here, be induced to unsettle themselves, and to run all the hazards that must be considered in such doubtful undertakings; nor, if willing, will be able to persuade others to join with them there, if they shall hear, or be acquainted beforehand, that no one of the said privileges before mentioned, and which have hitherto always been enjoyed by them, are like to be allowed or preserved entire to them.

The said adventurers do further represent, that at the present, the undertaking of the plantation of the said Charles River lieth under some obloquy, that hath given a check to it; some that were sent from New England thither, in order to the carrying on the said settlement, being come back again without so much as sitting down upon it; and for the better justification of themselves in their return, have spread a reproach both upon the harbour and upon the soil of the river itself; which check, if now also seconded with a discouragement from hence, in reference to their government, or with an intimation that they may not expect in the same river the same usual and accustomed privileges, that all the said colonies of New England, with other colonies, have ever had, it is humbly feared that all thoughts of further proceeding in the said river will be wholly laid aside by them.

Wherefore, inasmuch as the said adventurers here have only power to return back to those of New England what they shall receive, as the pleasure of those right honourable persons that are the lords patentees; forasmuch, also, as from the several discourses had and favours already received, the said adventurers here cannot but have a strong confidence of their lordship's inclination and propenseness to give all just and possible encouragement to undertakings so publick as all things of this nature are; the said adventurers could not find any way better how to discharge the faithfulness of that duty and respect which becomes them to demonstrate towards their lordships, than thus candidly and sincerely to state to their lordships the

nature of their adventure, partnership and subscription with others, the nature also of their dependence on others, as being but a minor part to them of New England, and as having their discretions here intrusted, at furthest, no further than for the obtaining and securing such things too, for them of New England, as are pursuant to the directions sent hither from them, and as they here shall judge may most tend to a satisfactory and lasting encouragement to them.

By the Committee. Proposed in reference to the manner of proceeding with the Petitioners,

THAT the Court may be pleased to call them to their answer singly, one by one, and that their answers be taken in writing.

Questions to be proposed, if they own their hands to this Petition.

1. Who is the party you intend, that so irresistibly carry on a design of dangerous consequence?
2. What is that design you intend, that is of so dangerous consequence?
3. When will it be seasonable and ripe for you to declare to the world?
4. What is the reason that you reproach the Court with disloyalty?
5. Do you judge it a thing reasonable or consistent with our political being, for the Court, or any other persons, from time to time, to pass three thousand miles, leaving their families and callings, upon the complaint of discontented persons, whose estates may not be able to make satisfaction?

6. Either it is the Court, or some other party, that are carrying on a dangerous design; and if it be another party, why have not you out of conscience, according to your oath of fidelity, discovered the same? If it be the Court, it shall be considered of.

7. Wherein is it that, in your apprehension, the Court die with our prince, or divest him of his sovereignty?

8. Who was the inditer or framer of these petitions, and what arguments were used to draw or fear men to subscribe?

Further it is proposed, that the Court may be pleased to hear all their answers, before any answers or sentence be declared; and that some meet person or persons be deputed in the behalf of the Court to implead the petitioners, and that so many of them as do ingenuously acknowledge their error, that the Court would be pleased to exercise so much moderation towards them as the honour and safety of the Court and country may admit.

12th 8mo. 1666.

[This seems to be a draft of proceedings, intended for a censure of those gentlemen, who presented the petitions to the General Court, given in our VIII. Vol. Sec. Series, pp. 103 and seq. Ed.]

Letter to Goffe, the Regicide, from his Wife.

As for news we have little that is good; only the people of God have much liberty, and meetings are very full, and they sing psalms in many places, and the king is very favourable to many of the fanaticks, and to some of them that he was highly displeas'd with. In the summer, there was one Blood and two more that

did attempt to steal the crown out of the tower, and brake through several guards notwithstanding they opposed him: but at last they were too hard for him, and took him and had him before the king, and he carried it so stoutly and subtly, that the king did not only pardon him, but he is become a great favourite; and through his means, as is reported, Desborough and Maggarborn and Lewson of Yarmouth is come out of Holland and Kelsi and have their pardon from the king, and liberty to live quietly, no oath being imposed on them. It is reported that Whally and Goff and Ludlow is sent for; but I think they will have more wit than to trust them, for it is to be feared that after this sunshine there will be a thick darkness; for the sins of the nation calls for it, and I fear the sins of his own people are very great. The Lord humble us and help us all to put our mouths in the dust, if yet there may be hope for us. Sir G. Downing was put in the tower because he came out of Holland without the king's order, he being a messenger of state there.

This Blood was in the Parliament's army, and was and is a Presbyterian, and what he would a done with the crown none knows but himself, that I can hear.

There is great preparation for war. The ships are most of them to go out to help the French against the Dutch; and what the issue of it will be the Lord only knows. It looks very sadly; for there is already a great cry of the decay of trade; many men failing in their estates. The Lord help us to lay up treasure in heaven, where no power can reach it, that so where our treasure is our hearts may be. The Lord help us to hold fast the faith we have received.

I do suppose you will hear of these things by a better hand, but that I thought you would take it unkindly if I did not write something of affairs here.

Capt. Blackwell is come from Ireland. He being a widower is going to marry my Lord Lambert's second daughter. He hath seven children and no great estate.

I forgot this in my letter which makes me send this piece of paper. I hope the Lord will bring it safe to thee.

[The foregoing, found among the Hutchinson papers, labelled by the late Governour H. in his own hand, "From Colonel Goffe's wife to her husband," is probably a copy, not an original. As there are no marks to denote pauses in the sense, punctuation is supplied by conjecture; and perhaps some would prefer to add the three first words of the second sentence to the first. The spelling is so bad, that some uncertainty may be suspected in the meaning of some passages: it is possible that Maggarborn should be Major Bourne. It bears no date, but was written in the latter part of 1671, or beginning of 1672, certainly before the war with Holland, which was declared 17th March of the latter year, and after Blood's attempt on the crown, which was in the former. Perhaps the pecuniary embarrassments and "decay of trade" may bring it near to 2d January, the day when the Exchequer was closed. Ed.]

LONDON, 1 *May*, 1675.

Sir, and ever-honoured Friend,

It is a trouble to me when I think of this scribble, if it do not arrive at your hand, how troublesome it may be to your eyes; but I can write no better. All the intelligence which we have here is scarce worth your knowledge, but I have written to Mr. Rawson that you may see it. As for your College, though a sentence of death for the present seems to be written upon it, yet I have a great confidence it shall have a resurrection in God's due time. That which follows as to the concerns of it will give some light into them.

We received near four-score pounds of Mr. Loveringe, for the gift of Mr. Dodridge, which is ten pounds per annum for ever. Send me word whether you have his will. I am sure it was left so from him that the overseers might dispose of it as they pleased. I am so bad an accountant, that I cannot do it of myself, but sudden-

ly you shall have it. I have sent betwixt forty and fifty pounds for the College's use in several sorts of nails and locks and glass and lead and soder; part of it is with Captain Spraigne, and part with Captain Wolley; the freight is to be paid by you. The chests they are put in, and marked I. K. but I hope to send bills of lading by Mr. Spraigne. I have sent also a copy of Mr. Pennoyer's will, who hath given you £44 a year to the College forever, one of the best gifts you have. Mr. Saltonstall offers his mills at Ipswitch for it, but I think the College hath no power to sell it. Mr. Gookin of Cambridge left the College in debt here £20 to one Mr. Burgiss, (I think his name is so.) I have several specialties for that debt under Mr. Gookin's hand. Your trustees here did pay this £20 to him, that draper and partner with young Mr. Saltonstall; we judging it to be unrighteous and shameful that a college should owe money so long. Colleges must be honest, as well as men. There is £20 due to the College of the old debt, if you will sue for it and send money, but we judge it in vain; for before the stating of the gift by a long law suit Mr. Dodridge's gift was in three hands; and your adversaries say they will not pay it. Shortly you shall have a particular account of all and that which they gave me, which is about £9 and odd money for my charges and pains. Here is ten pounds more due to you, which young Mr. Loveringe offers to pay me for you upon demand. Send me word what you would have bought with it, and it shall be sent with some more. I think Mr Pennoyer's gift will be readily paid, as all the land is holden up in your name; we must pay some money upon the alienation, but I think not much, and therefore hope some money by it. Alderman Ashurst hath about fifty books of history for the College from Mr. Baxter. I hope he will send them by one of these ships. I desire that you keep up a good correspondency with Mr. Baxter; he is a true friend to the College. Let somebody write to him; he will hold it well. The Lord furnish your church with a new officer

in Mr. Oxenbridge's place. Sir, one word in your ear : Keep off from being over sudden in the choice of any, for a reason I know of. Forget not my service to your good wife. The Lord strengthen your heart and hand in your place. Moses must lack for bricks in the wilderness. Thus, with my dearest respects unto you, and prayers for you, I commend you to the blessings of God in Christ Jesus.

Sir, your faithful friend and servant,

JOHN KNOWLES.

Whilst I am writing, some of the bills of lading are come to me, the rest promised.

*These for JOHN LEVERETT, Esq. }
Governour of the Mathechusetts }
Bay, at Boston, in New England. }*

QUEBEC, 25th May, 1675.

Messrs.

As soon as I did learn the insult which had been done to Monsieur Chamble, governour of Accadia, and that after the taking of the Fort Penobscot he was conducted prisoner in Boston, and I did despatch away two several ways to let you understand in what surprisal I was under, (that notwithstanding the good correspondency in which the king my master hath commanded me to live with you, and the orders which you ought to have received from the king of England upon the same subject) that pirates and people without commission should find entertainment with you, and also to prevail with you, at the same time, to procure of them the liberty of the said Chamble, having in the hand of the same person per whom I sent the letters, bills of exchange for to pay the ransom which they covenanted with them

Nevertheless, although I had given him order to come back again to me over the snows with all possible diligence, I see the winter past and the season very forward, without any news from them ; neither have I heard any thing what is become of said Chambley.

That is the occasion that obligeth me, gentlemen, to send the third time Mr. de Normanville, accompanied with one of my lifeguard, to reiterate the same request to you, and to entreat you to clear all difficulties which concern the liberty both of Monsieur Chambley and other persons which are with him, if perhaps they were yet prisoners. I myself was very glad that that gave me occasion to give you new assurance of the good union and intelligence, which I desire to continue with you, hoping that you will correspond with the same frankness, as you have assured me by your letters. Wherefore you may please to give full credence to what Monsieur Normanville shall acquaint you on my behalf ; and believe me most certainly,

Gentlemen,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
FRONTENAC.

[There is no direction upon this letter, which was probably in an envelope, addressed to the Governour and Council of our colony. Ed.]

LONDON, 15th August, 1675.

Ever-honoured and dear Sir,

I RECEIVED yours of July the last month before this. I hope what was sent you is received before this come to your hand. I hope to hear of the prosperity of the College. We dare scarce speak to any friend for it, so long as the honour of it lies in the rubbish, though the new building be going up. As yet your land is not taken up in Norfolk, but the executors tell me it will be done at Michaelmas, as they call it. No news since my

last, but things seem to go worse and worse of the Turk side. I would you do not proceed with all severities against the Indians that rise up against you. It may be the Lord your God loving may have some further end in it then yet appears. Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the tower, is put out I hear this day, and the Earl of Northampton is made constable of it. There hath been some trouble in the city by the silk weavers, but I think all is quiet again. Thus, with my service to yourself and Mrs. Leveritt, and love to your children, I commend you all to God's blessing in Christ Jesus.

Sir, your faithful friend and servant,

JO. KNOWLES.

*These for the Honoured JOHN LEVERITT, Esq. }
Governour of the Mathechusetts Bay, at his
House in Boston, New England.*

Instructions for J. W. Commander in Chief of the Forces raised or to be raised in the United Colonies, to be improved against the Enemy in your present Expedition.

IN confidence of your wisdom, prudence and faithfulness in this trust committed to you for the honour of God, the good of his people, and the security of the interest of Christ in his churches, expecting and praying that you may be helped in a daily dependence upon him for all that supply of grace that may be requisite for your carrying an end therein, we must leave much to his direction and guidance as providences and opportunities may present, from time to time, in places of action: Yet we commend to you these following instructions, which we expect and require you to attend, so far as the state of matters with you will admit.

You are at the time appointed to march with all convenient speed with the forces under your command to the Narriganset country, or to the place where the head quarters or chief rendezvous of the enemy is known to be. And having acquainted your officers and soldiers with your commission and power, you shall require their obedience thereunto ; and see that they be governed according to rules military, that all profaneness and disorder in your camp and quarters be avoided as much as in you lieth, and impartially punish the breaking forth thereof in any.

You are to see that the worship of God be kept up and duly attended in the army, by daily prayer and invocation of his name, and preaching of his word as you have opportunity, and the Sabbath be not profaned, but that, as much as in you lies, and the emergency of your service will admit, you take care it be duly sanctified, and your ministers respect it.

You shall, by all means possible, endeavour to secure any of our English plantations, of any of the colonies, that may be pressed and endangered by the enemy, and improve your uttermost care, courage, and diligence, by policy and force, to discover, pursue, encounter, and by the help of God, to vanquish and subdue the cruel, barbarous and treacherous enemy, whether Philip Sachem and his Wampanooucks, or the Narrigansets his undoubted allies, or any other their friends and abettors.

In pursuance hereof, we also advise and order, that you be very careful in your marches in or near the enemy's country, by keeping out scouts and forlorns before the army, to prevent and avoid the ambuscadoes of the enemy ; that sentinels be at all times careful of their duty, and all soldiers be made constantly to keep their arms very fix and clean fit for service.

And that you endeavour as silently and suddenly to surprise the enemy as you can, and if possible draw or force them to engagement, and therein to do valiantly for the honour of God and of our nation, and the interest

of the country; and you encourage valour in any, and severely punish cowardice.

That if the enemy offer treaty, you trust them not to the loss of any promising advantage; nor take their words, or subscription to any engagement, without further assurance of arms, good hostages, &c.

You shall consult those commanders and gentlemen appointed to be of your council in matters of moment, when opportunity permits, for the well management of the design.

You shall diligently improve your time for the speedy effecting of this expedition, and use all means possible to cut off and hinder supplies of provision to the enemy and to secure your own.

That you order the commissaries for provision and stores to be careful there be no waste nor embezzlement therein, nor want of what is meet to any.

And you are, from time to time, to give us full and particular intelligence of your proceedings, and how the Lord shall please to deal with you in this expedition.

[This commission was to Josiah Winslow, Esq. Governour of Plymouth Colony, from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, November, 1675. ED.]

HADLEY, *March 16th*, 1675—6.

Honoured Sirs,

YOURS of the 11th instant I received, and according to your order have sent down to Major Pinchon and informed him that I was ordered to take his advice about provisions for the army; but, because of the hazard of the way, fear I shall not have a speedy return. I have spoken with some people of these towns, who say they can supply us with provisions for a week or more for our march. I have improved our time since we came hither in sending forth scouts to see what may [be] discovered, but as yet can make no certain discovery

of any of the enemy's place of abode, but conceive they have dispersed themselves abroad to the English towns, because on the 9th instant they made an assault on some at Westfield and wounded a man and carried away five bushels of meal; on the 14th instant, about break of the day, the enemy fiercely assaulted North Hampton in three places at once, and forced within their line or palisadoes, and burnt five houses and five barns, and killed four men and one woman, and wounded six men more; but being beaten off marched towards Hatfield, and were seen in several places about the town in considerable companies. I presently sent another company to strengthen that town, but no attempt was made that night. This morning, about two of the clock, we were alarmed again from North Hampton, which was occasioned by some Indians being seen on two sides of the town. The towns both of Springfield and Westfield are in very great fear of the enemy as well as these here. Major Pinchon and Captain Cooke have wrote earnestly to me for assistance, which I cannot send them without your orders. Gentlemen, the work which here presents seems to call for greater strength than we have here to manage it with. Major Treat is returned with those he had here before, and signifies that their council is not willing to increase their number, apprehending that you have not fully completed yours; neither is there any from Plymouth; hinting also as if they have occasion at home to employ their forces, and I perceive are willing to take an opportunity to march that way. Gentlemen, I humbly propose to your honours, whether this way of following the enemy up and down in the woods will best reach your end at this season of the year, in which they have no certain fixed station, but can take advantages against us and avoid us when they please, as our experience in this march hath shewed, by their burning their wigwams and marching away before us, they discovering us when we cannot see them. We perceive, as near as we can gather, that their aim is at these towns on this river to

destroy them, that so they may plant and fish on some part of the river with the less molestation, which they may do in case our forces were drawn off into the woods. Gentlemen, I crave pardon for my boldness in hinting these things. It's out of the desire I have that your ends may be attained with as little charge as may be, the country being at a great charge by these forces. I have not further to add, but to desire the good Lord to be your all in all, and to subscribe myself

Your honour's humble servant,

THOMAS SAVAGE.

Gentlemen,—There is quartered at North Hampton Major Treat with two small companies, and Captain Turner ; at Hatfield Captain Mosely and one Connecticut company ; and here Captain Whiple and Captain Gillam, and one small company of Connecticut. They are distributed as near as can be alike according to the bigness of the towns.

*To the Honourable JOHN LEVERET, Govern-
our, with the rest of Council of the Mas-
sachusetts Colony, present in Boston.....*
Haste, post haste.

Received 18th.

PROVIDENCE, 16, 8, 76, (*ut vulgo.*)

Sir,

WITH my humble and loving respects to yourself and other honoured friends, &c. I thought fit to tell you what the providence of the Most High hath brought to my hand the evening before yesterday. Two Indian children were brought to me by one Thomas Clements, who had his house burnt on the other side of the river. He was in his orchard, and two Indian children came boldly to him, the boy being about seven or eight, and

the girl (his sister) three or four years old. The boy tells me that a youth, one Mittónan, brought them to the sight of Thomas Clements, and bid them go to that man and he would give them bread. He saith his father and mother were taken by the Pequts and Monhiggins about ten weeks ago, as they were clamming (with many more Indians) at Cowwesit; that their dwelling was and is at a place called Mittaúbscut; that it is upon a branch of Pawtuxet River, to Cowwesit (their nearest salt water) about seven or eight mile; that there is about twenty houses. I cannot learn of him that there is above twenty men beside women and children; that they live on ground-nuts, &c. and deer; that Aawaysewáukit is their sachem; and twelve days ago he sent his son Wunnawmeneeskát to Onkus with a present of a basket or two of wompum. I know this sachem is much related to Plymouth, to whom he is said to subject, but, he said, (as all of them do,) [he] deposited his land. I know what bargains he made with the Browns and Willets and Rhode Island and Providence men, and the controversies between the Nahigonsiks and them about those lands. I know the talk abroad of the right of the three United Colonies (by conquest) to this land, and the plea of Rhode Island by the charter, and commissioners. I humbly desire that this party may be brought in; the country improved (if God in mercy so please;) the English not differ about it and complaints run to the king (to unknown trouble, charge and hazard, &c.) and therefore I humbly beg of God that a committee from the four colonies may (by way of prudent and godly wisdom) prevent many inconveniences and mischiefs. I write the sum of this to the governours of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and humbly beg of the Father of mercies to guide you in mercy for his mercy sake.

Sir, your unworthy

R. W.

Excuse my want of paper.

This boy saith there is another town to the north-east of them, with more houses than twenty, who 'tis like correspond to the eastward.

To the much Honoured the Governour }
LEVERET at Boston, or the Governour }
WINSLOW at Plymouth, present. }

Letter from King Charles II. to the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts Bay.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. There having been long depending before us the petition and complaint of our trusty and well-beloved subject, Robert Mason, Esq. representing the great hardships and injuries he has for many years suffered, by being opposed in the prosecution of his right by our corporation of the Massachusetts Bay, and by them wrongfully kept out of possession of a tract of land lying between the rivers of Naumkeck and Merrimack, and three miles northward thereof, granted unto him by virtue of letters patents from our royal grandfather of blessed memory: And whereas we have received the opinion of our attorney and solicitor general, that the said Robert Mason, who is grandson and heir of John Mason, has a good and legal title to the lands conveyed to him by the name of the province of New Hampshire: Whereupon we were pleased to refer the matters in difference, between our said corporation and the complainant, unto the lords chief justices our courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, who have presented us with their report, setting forth, that all parties appearing before them, William Stoughton and Peter Buckley, Esquires, your messengers and agents, had disclaimed title to the lands claimed by the petitioner: And that appearing to them that the said lands were then in the possession of several other persons not before them, so

they esteemed it most proper to direct the parties to have recourse to the judicature settled upon the place, for the decision of any question of property, until it should appear that there is just cause of complaint against our courts of justice there for injustice or grievance. To the end, therefore, that justice may be administered with the most ease and the least expense to all the said parties, who shall see cause to defend their respective titles, we have thought fit hereby to signify our pleasure unto you, that the said Robert Mason be forthwith admitted to prosecute his right before the courts of judicature established within the limits of that our corporation; and that in all cases wherein the said Robert Mason shall claim any interest in lands, and that the present possessor shall dispute his right, a trial at law may be appointed and allowed, wherein no person who has any lands in the possession of himself, his servants, or tenants under him, depending upon the same title upon which such person shall be so impleaded, shall sit as judge or be of the jury; and that if it shall so happen that the dispensation of justice, hereby directed, shall be delayed by you, or such judgment given wherein the said Robert Mason shall not acquiesce, he may then appeal unto us in our privy council, and that all persons concerned be obliged to answer such appeal within the term of six months after the same shall be so made. And forasmuch as your said messengers have in your name disclaimed before the lords chief justices as aforesaid all title to the lands claimed by the said Robert Mason, our further will and pleasure is, that in case the said Robert Mason shall lay claim to any parcel of lands situate within the bounds aforesaid, which are not improved or actually possessed by any particular person or tenant in his own right, you do thereupon proceed to put the said Robert Mason into the possession of those lands, and cause his title to be recorded, so that he may not receive any further disturbance thereupon. And in case you shall refuse so to

do, and shall not shew good cause to the contrary, within the space of six months after demand of possession so to be made by the said Robert Mason, we shall then, without further delay, take the whole cause of the said Robert Mason into our consideration, in our privy council, with the damages sustained by him by reason thereof, and shall give judgment upon the whole matter as in a case where justice has been denied. And to the end the said Robert Mason may not be any ways hindered in the prosecution of his right, we do strictly charge and command you to secure him, his servants and agents, from all arrests and molestations whatsoever, during his or their abode within the limits of your jurisdiction; we having granted him our royal protection until the matters complained of by him shall be fully determined. And so, expecting your ready obedience to our commands hereby signified unto you, we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 23d day of June, 1682, in the four-and-thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command.

L. JENKINS.

[King's
Seal.]

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the
Governour and Company of our
Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
in New England.* }

Not received till October Court was up. Read in Court 7th February, 82.

Arguments against relinquishing the Charter.

Question. Whether the government of the Massachusetts Colony in New England ought to make a full submission and entire resignation to the pleasure of the

Court, as to alterations, called regulations, of their charter?

Answer. Neg. They ought not to do thus; as may be concluded from the following arguments:

Argument 1. For the government of the Massachusetts to consent unto proposals or alterations, called regulations, which will be destructive to the interest of religion, and of Christ's kingdom in that colony, cannot be done without sin and great offence to the majesty of heaven. But so it will be, if they make a full submission and entire resignation to the pleasure of the Court; for such a submission and resignation cannot be declared without an intimation of consent; and the people in New England, being Non-Conformists, have no reason to believe that *their religion* and *the Court's pleasure* will consist together; especially considering there is not one word about religion mentioned in the king's declaration.

Arg. 2. If the government of the Massachusetts have no sufficient reason to think that they shall gain by a full submission and entire resignation to the pleasure of the Court, as to alterations in their charter, then they ought not to do thus. But they will gain nothing thereby. The consequence will be granted by every one. The truth of the assumption that they have no reason to think that they shall gain by such a submission and resignation, appears from three reasons.—*Reason 1.* If the intended alterations, called regulations, of their charter, will be destructive to the essentials thereof, then they have no reason to think they shall gain thereby. But that the designed alterations will be destructive to the life and being of their charter, is manifest from this reason: If they must have no governour but what the Court shall please, and this governour have power to put out and put in what magistrates he (with the Court's approbation) shall please, without the consent of the people in that jurisdiction; that is an essential alteration, and destructive to the vitals of the charter. That this is intended, is clear; for it is designed

to reduce matters in New England to the same state that London charter is reduced unto; therefore they that have issued out a *quo warranto* against the charter, have caused a copy of the proceedings and alterations, called regulations, of the charter of the city of London, to be sent to New England. Also, the ministers of state did some of them expressly declare to the agents of the Massachusetts Colony, that this was intended. This will be a destructive alteration, and no better than a condemnation of the charter.—*Reason 2.* If they that have already made a full submission and entire resignation to the pleasure of the Court, have gained nothing by it, there is no reason for New England to think that they shall advantage themselves thereby. But all those corporations in England who have submitted to the Court's pleasure, have gained nothing thereby, but are in as bad a case as those that have stood a suit in law, and have been condemned. Moreover, in New England they have an instance before their eyes, enough to convince them, viz. that in the eastern parts, who, if they had not submitted so soon, might have lived longer.—*Reason 3.* If the people of the Massachusetts will, by a resignation, make themselves incapable of recovering their charter again, then they will gain nothing thereby. But so it will be. Whereas, if they maintain a suit, though they should be condemned, they may bring the matter to Chancery or to a Parliament, and so may possibly in time recover all again. It appears then, that they will rather lose than gain by a resignation, supposing a non-resignation should issue in the condemnation of their charter.

Arg. 3. For the government of the Massachusetts now to act contrary unto that way wherein God hath owned their worthy predecessors, ought not to be. But if they make such a full submission and entire resignation as is urged, they will do so. For when, in the year 1638, there was a *quo warranto* against the charter, their worthy predecessors neither did nor durst they make such a submission and resignation as was

then expected from them. And when, in the year 1664, it was the Court's pleasure to impose commissioners upon the government of the Massachusetts, they did not submit to them. God has owned those worthy predecessors, in their being firm and faithful in asserting and standing by their civil and religious liberties. Therefore their successors should walk in their steps, and so trust in the God of their fathers, that they shall see his salvation.

Arg. 4. For the government of the Massachusetts to do that which will gratify their adversaries, and grieve their friends, is evil. But such a submission and resignation as is urged will do so. *Hoc Ithacus velit.* They may perceive by the chief instrument of their trouble, that he, and others, as good friends to New England as himself, had much rather the Massachusetts should resign than that they should make a defence in law. Is that likely to be for the good of the colony, which such enemies do so importunately desire? They know that it will sound ill in the world for them to take away the liberties of a poor people of God in a wilderness: Therefore they had rather that that people should give them up themselves, than that they should by main force be wrested out of their hands. They know that a resignation will bring slavery upon them sooner than otherwise would be. And as this will gratify adversaries, so it will grieve their friends, both in other colonies and in England also, whose eyes are now upon New England, expecting that the people there will not, through fear and diffidence, give a pernicious example unto others.

Arg. 5. The government of the Massachusetts ought not to yield blind obedience to the pleasure of the Court. But if they make such a full submission and entire resignation as is urged, they will yield blind obedience; for they do not know what all those regulations are. There is nothing said in the king's declaration concerning the religious liberties of the people in New England; and how, if popish councils should influence so far, as

that one regulation must be conformity, in matters of worship, with the established church government in England. Inasmuch as it was objected by a principal minister of state to the agents of the Massachusetts, that in their commission there was that clause, *that they should not consent to any thing that would be inconsistent with the main end of their coming to New England*, there is reason to fear that part of the design in alterations (called regulations) is to introduce and impose that which will be inconsistent with the main end of their fathers' coming to New England. And therefore for them to submit *fully* to things called regulations, according to the Court's pleasure, cannot be without great sin and incurring the high displeasure of the King of kings.

Arg. 6. If the government of the Massachusetts Colony in New England should act contrary unto that which has been the unanimous advice of the ministers of Christ there, they have cause to suspect they shall miss it in so doing. But if, for fear of bad events, they shall make a full submission and entire resignation of their charter, to be altered or regulated according to the Court's pleasure, they will act contrary unto that which has been the unanimous advice of the ministers in that colony. For on the 4th of January, 1680, the ministers having then a case of conscience before them, returned answer in these words: "We conceive that this honoured Court ought to use utmost care and caution that no agents of ours shall act, or shall have power to act, any thing that may have the least tendency towards yielding up or weakening this government as by patent established. It is our undoubted duty to abide by what rights and privileges the Lord our God in his merciful providence hath bestowed on us. And whatever the event may be, the Lord forbid we should be any way active in parting with them." This advice was given after a solemn day of prayer; and all the ministers then present (who were the greatest part of what are in the colony) concurred in it. Now, if in the year 1680 it were an undoubted duty to abide by the privileges

which the Lord hath bestowed on us, it cannot but be a sin in the year 1683 to submit and resign them all to the Court's pleasure. And it is to be hoped, that the ministers of God in New England have more of the spirit of John Baptist in them, than, now, when a storm hath overtaken them, to be reeds shaken with the wind. The priests were to be the first that set their foot in the waters, and there to stand till the danger was past. Of all men, they should be an example to the Lord's people, of faith, courage and constancy. Unquestionably, if blessed Mr. Cotton, Hooker, Davenport, Mather, Shepard, Mitchel, were now living, they would (as is evident from some passages in the printed books of divers of them) say, Do not sin in giving away the inheritance of your fathers.

Arg. 7. For the government to submit and resign to the pleasure of the Court, without the consent of the body of the people, ought not to be. But the generality of the freemen and church members throughout New England will never consent hereunto. Therefore the government may not do it.

Objection 1. There is no such thing as a resignation of the charter intended; it is only a submission to alterations in some circumstances, in order to preserving the substance of the charter entire.

Answer 1. The example of London set before New England as a copy for them to write after, does most clearly prove the contrary unto this opinion.—2. In case the government of the Massachusetts return their answer in such general terms as the Court in England shall take to be an entire resignation to their pleasure, and when the regulations appear to be destructive to the vitals of their charter, the Massachusetts should refuse to comply therewith, it will be said they have dealt deceitfully and untruly.—3. In case the government plainly signify that they submit to regulations only as to circumstances, and with a proviso that the life of their charter may be preserved, they will incur as much displeasure as if they maintain their right as

far as law and equity will defend them. Yea, then the prosecution of the quo warranto will as certainly go on.

Obj. 2. They have legally forfeited their charter, and therefore may without sin resign.

Ans. 1. If by legal forfeiting of their charter be meant, that according to some corrupt and unrighteous laws they have done so, notwithstanding that, they may not without sin resign.—2. It is not to be believed that they have forfeited their charter, according to the laws of righteousness and equity; for then they that take away all their privileges from them will do them no wrong; nor shall they that condemn their charter, be themselves condemned for that action by the Lord the righteous Judge. He that acknowledgeth this, doth New England more wrong than a little. And if the charter be not forfeited in the sight of God, and according to the rules of his word, it is a sin to submit or consent that the Court should alter it according to their pleasure.

Obj. 3. The Lord's people were bid to go out to the king of Babylon, and the emperours of Babylon and Persia had dominion over the bodies and cattle of the Jews at their pleasure, Neh. 9. 37. Therefore, New England ought to submit to the pleasure of the Court.

Ans. He scarce deserves the name of an Englishman that shall thus argue. Because those monarchs were absolute, must Englishmen, who are under a limited monarchy, consent to be in that misery and slavery which the captive Jews were in? By this argument, no man may defend his legal right, if the king, or any commissioned by him, shall sue him. And suppose some one obtaining a commission at Court, should bid this objector yield up his house and farm, would he say it is my duty so to do? For the emperours of old had dominion over the bodies and cattle and estates of their subjects at their pleasure.

Obj. 4. But what Scripture is there against this full submission and entire resignation?

Ans. There is the sixth commandment. Men may not destroy their political any more than their natural lives. All judicious casuists say, It is unlawful for a man to kill himself when he is in danger, for fear he shall fall into the hands of his enemies, who will put him to a worse death, Sam. 31. 4. There is also that Scripture against it, Judges 11. 24, 27; and that 1 Kings, 21. 3. The civil liberties of the people in New England are part of the inheritance of their fathers; and shall they give that inheritance away?

Obj. 5. They will be exposed to great sufferings if they do it not.

Ans. Better suffer than sin, Heb. 11. 26, 27. Let them put their trust in the God of their fathers, which is better than to put confidence in princes. And if they suffer because they dare not comply with the wills of men against the will of God, they suffer in a good cause, and will be accounted martyrs in the next generation, and at the great day.

[This paper, so characteristick of the early habits of resistance to tyranny in New England, was probably written in November, 1683. See I Hutchinson. Ed.]

Letter from Walter Clark to Edward Randolph, Esq.

Esteemed and courteous,

UNDERSTANDING by the blessing of God of thy landing at Boston the 13th instant, hold myself obliged to congratulate thy safe arrival once more into these American parts, and to assure thee that as I stand constituted in my present capacity, shall be glad to serve thee in any office of love to my power, which I presume is the minds of all my well-beloved friends, and hope our practice will demonstrate the same if time and opportunity offer, having a true regard to all such whom his

majesty, in his princely wisdom, thinks meet to employ
in his weighty concerns, is all at present, and with dear
respects to all so immediately concerned,

Remain thy assured friend,

WALTER CLARKE.

NEWPORT, ON RHODE ISLAND, *this 15 day the 3 mo. 1686.*

For his esteemed ED. RANDOLFE, Esq. }
in Boston, these. }

At Penobscot.

ST. CASTIN and Renne his servant.

At Agemogin Reach.

Charles St. Robin's son.

La Flower and wife, St. Robin's daughter.

Pettit Plesance by Mount Desart.

Lowrey, wife and child.

Hind's wife and four children—English.

In Winscheage Bay, on the eastern side of Mount Desart.

Cadolick and wife.

At Machias.

Martell, who pretends grant for the river from Quebeck.

Jno. Bretoon, wife and child, of Jersey, } his
Latin, wife and three children—English, } servants.

At Pessimaquody, near St. Croix.

St. Robin, wife and son, with like grant from Quebeck.

Letrell, Jno. Minn's wife and four children—Lambert
and Jolly Cure his servants.

At St. Croix.

Zorzy, and Lena his servant. Grant from Quebeck.

[The foregoing paper is thus labelled: "11th May, 1688. *Names of Inhabitants between the River Penobscot and St. Croix.*" It was Andros's design to exclude all French settlers. ED.]

Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, &c.

THE REV. MR. WILLIAM HUBBARD....Greeting.

WHEREAS the Presidency or Rectorship of Harvard College in Cambridge, within this his majesty's territory and dominion of New England, is now vacant, I do therefore, with the advice of the council, by these presents, constitute, authorize and appoint you, the said William Hubbard, to exercise and officiate as President of the said College at the next Commencement to be had for the same, in as full and ample manner as any former President or Rector hath or ought to have enjoyed.

Given under my hand and seal, at Boston, the 2d day of June, in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, annoque Domini, 1688.

Suff. ss.....N. England.

WHEREAS it is by statute enjoined upon all the king's subjects, that in all churches and chapels throughout his dominions the 30th day of January shall be kept as an anniversary day of fasting and humiliation; and to the end the same may be duly observed and none plead ignorance therein; This therefore, in his majesty's name is to charge and require you to give notice to the inhabi-

tants of the town of Boston, that they forbear the use of their daily employments and trade on Wednesday next, being the 30th day of January, as aforesaid, and apply themselves to the due observance of said day; and that you give the like notice to the respective ministers in said town, that they may discharge their duty as said statute doth direct; and if any shall refuse compliance thereto, to make due return of the same to us the subscribers; for which this shall be your warrant.

Dated in Boston, this 25th day of January, 1688, annoq. RR. Jac. 2di. 4.

CHARLES LIDGET.
BEN. BULLIVANT.
ANTHO. HAYWOOD.
FRA. FOXCROFT.

*To the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk,
or any and every of the Constables in
the Town of Boston.* }

By his Excellency.

PURSUANT to a resolve in council, I do hereby appoint and authorize you, Capt. Anthony Howard, Capt. William White, and Mr. Thaddeus Mackerty, to ask and receive the free and voluntary contribution of any the inhabitants in the town of Boston, towards the building and erecting of a house or place for the service of the Church of England; and in the doing thereof to desire the assistance of such persons, of either congregation or neighbourhood, as may be proper to accompany you therein; and of what you shall so receive to keep a distinct account, to be disposed of by you to that use accordingly; for which this shall be your warrant.

Dated in Boston, the 24th day of March, 1688.

By his Excellency's command.

An Account of the Forces raised in New England for Defence of the Country against the Indians, &c. in the year 1688.....disposed into ten Companies of sixty Men each..... the several Forts built, and how the said Forces were posted at the Time of their Ma^{ts} Officers and subversion of the Government there in April, 1689.

Pemyquid.

Men.

A SETTLED garrison commanded by Capt. Antho. Brockholes and Lieut. James Weems of the standing forces,	36	} 156
A new company commanded by Capt. Ting,	60	
Another by Capt. George Minot,	60	

Upon the insurrection, the forces being withdrawn, and only 18 of the standing companies left in garrison, the fort is since taken by the Indians and French, and the country destroyed.

New Dartmouth, i. e. New Castle, &c.

A fort commanded by Lieut. John Jordane of the standing forces,	24	} 84
A company of Capt. Withington's,	60	

Most of the men drawn off, and others debauched, they seized their officer and carried him prisoner to Boston, and thereupon the fort was deserted.

A Redoubt on Damorascotty River.

Relieved every week from New Dartmouth.

The men drawn off and place deserted.

Sacodehock, Newtown, Fort Anne, Pejepsco.

These several forts in Kennebeck River were commanded by Lieut.-Col. Macgregory and Major Thomas Savage, for which they had their own and Capt. Manning's company, }	1.....	180
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The major and most of the officers of the new forces revolted, seized their lieutenant-colonel, drew off the forces, and thereby deserted the several forts and river.

Falmouth.

Men.

A fort in Casco Bay, commanded by Capt. George Lockhart with his company,	}	60
The commander seized and forces withdrawn.		

Saco River.

A fort commanded by Capt. John Lloyd with his company, and a detachment of 28 men from Major Henschman and Capt. Bull,	}	88

Kennebunke.

A fort commanded by Lieut. Puddington, but to be relieved from Saco.

Wells.

A fort relieved likewise from Saco.

The officers and soldiers at Saco all deserted, as did others afterwards.

Merrymake River.

A company at the Upper Plantations, commanded by Major John Henschman,	}	50
As also all the militia of that river.		

The officers and soldiers debauched and quitted their stations.

Connecticatt River.

A company commanded by Capt. Jonathan Bull at the Upper Settlement thereof, which, and all the militia, was under the command of Col. Robert Treat,	}	51

The officers and soldiers deserted their posts.

Besides 40 men more of the standing companies, detached at first and constantly employed in that service in several parts,	}	40

The several vessels employed for the security of the coast and fishery at that time were,

His majesty's sloop Mary, John Alden commander ;

The brigantine Samuel, John Wisewell master ;

His majesty's new sloop Speedwell, John Cooke commander, finished and ready to take in stores and provisions for the eastward.

There were four standing companies in New England—two at Boston and eastern parts upon establishment in England—two at New York and Albany upon establishment there—all dispersed except that at Albany.

There was also, at the time of the subversion of the government, provisions in the respective places or principal garrisons sufficed to supply the forces for above three months, and all stores and implements of war necessary for that service.

Besides, at the stores in Boston and in the castle was fifty-four barrels of powder, and about two hundred spare fuzees and snap h. muskets, byonets, and great and small shot, hand-granadoes and all other utensils of war.

E. ANDROS.

Account of an Attack by the Indians upon Coheca.

{ PORTSMOUTH, 28th June, 1689,
about 8 o'clock, morning.

JUST now came ashore here from Coheca, John Ham and his wife, who went hence last night homeward, (they living within a mile of Major Waldron,) and about break of the day going up the river in a canoe, they heard guns fired, but notwithstanding, proceeded to land at Major Waldron's landing place, by which time it began to be light, and then they saw about twenty Indians near Mr. Coffin's garrison, shooting and shouting, as many more about Richard Otis's and

Thomas Pain's but saw their way clear to Major Waldron's, where they intended immediately to secure themselves; but coming to the gate, and calling and knocking, could receive no answer, yet saw a light in one of the chambers, and one of them say (looking through a crack of the gate) that he saw sundry Indians within the garrison, which supposed had murdered Major Waldron and his family; and thereupon they betook themselves to make an escape, which they did, and met with one of Otis's sons, who also escaped from his father's garrison, informing that his father and the rest of the family were killed. Quickly after, they set sundry houses afire. This is all the account we have at present, which, being given in a surprise, may admit of some alteration; but doubtless the most of those families at or about Cocheca are destroyed.

The above account was related to me,

RICHARD WALDRON, JUN.

PORTSMOUTH, 28th June, 1689.

Major ROBERT PIKE,
Honoured Sir,

HEREWITH send you an account of the Indians surprising Cocheca this morning, which we pray you immediately to post away to the honourable the governour and council in Boston, and forward our present assistance, wherein the whole country is immediately concerned.

We are, sir, your most humble servants,

RICHARD MARTYN.
WM. VAUGHAN.
RICHARD WALDRON, JUN.
THO. GRAFTON.
SAM. WENTWORTH.
BEN. HULL.

To the Honourable Major ROBERT PIKE, }
at Salisbury.....Haste, post haste. }

SALISBURY, *June 28, 1689, about noon.*

Much Honoured,

AFTER due respect, these are only to give your honours the sad account of the last night's providence at Cocheca, as by the enclosed, the particulars whereof are awful. The only wise God, who is the Keeper that neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, is pleased to permit what is done. Possibly it may be either better or worse than this account renders it. As soon as I can get more intelligence shall, God willing, speed it to your honours, praying your speedy order or advice in so solemn a case. I have despatched the intelligence to other towns, with advice to look to yourselves. Shall not be wanting to serve in what I may. Should have waited on your honours ere now, had I been well. Shall not now come, except by you commanded, till this bustle be abated. That the only wise God may direct all your weighty affairs, is the prayer of

Your honours' most humble servant,

ROBERT PIKE.

*To the much Honoured SYMON BRADSTREET, Esq. }
 Governour, and the Honoured Council now sit- }
 ting at Boston, these present with all speed..... }
 Haste, post haste.*

Received about 12 at night, upon Friday the 28th June.

BOSTON, *29th June, 1689.*

Gentlemen,

THE sad account given by yourselves of the awful hand of God, in permitting the heathen to make such desolations upon Cocheca, and destruction of the inhabitants thereof, being forwarded by the hand of Major Robert Pike, arrived the last night about twelve o'clock; notice whereof was immediately despatched to

our out towns, that so they may provide for their security and defence ; and the narrative you give of the matter was laid before the whole Convention this morning, who are concerned for you as friends and neighbours, and look at the whole to be involved in this unhappy conjuncture and trouble given by the heathen, and are very ready to yield you all assistance as they may be capable, and do think it necessary that (if it be not done already) you would fall into some form or constitution for the exercise of government, so far as may be necessary for your own safety and convenience of your peace, and to intend such farther acts as the present emergencies require — this convention not thinking it meet, under their present circumstances, to exert any authority within your province. Praying God to direct in all the arduous affairs the poor people of this country have at present to engage in, and to rebuke all our enemies, desiring you would give us advice from time to time of the occurrences with you,

Gentlemen, your humble servant,

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Sec'ry.*

Per order of the Convention.

Dated as abovesaid.

Voted by the Representatives in the affirmative.

Attest,

EBENEZER PROUT, *Clerk.*

Consented to by the Governour and Council, 29th June, 1689.

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Sec'ry.*

For Messrs. RICHARD MARTYN, WM. }
 VAUGHAN, RICHARD WALDRON, &c. }
 at *Portsmouth, these with all speed.* }

Despatched upon Saturday, the 29th of June, '89, at 12 o'clock, at noon.

Gentlemen,

WE have read yours, informing God's severe humbling hand, suffering the enemy, with so much violence and rage, to destroy and lay waste before them on so sudden a surprisal. We must all say, the Lord is righteous; we have sinned. It is not, as you well know, in our power to direct in your matters authoritatively, but as friends, and under our prince, are ready, to our utmost, to yield our assistance in helping you with ammunition or any thing in our power, men or moneys. It remains with yourselves to meet and consider your own circumstances, and put yourselves into such a way (if not so at present) as may accommodate the present emergency in the best manner ye may, and then let us know what you desire, and we shall serve you to our power. Our present circumstances do not advantage us to impress men, or levy money, but must do as we can. God help us all to humble ourselves under God's mighty hands.

*Letter from Major Benjamin Church to the Governour
and Council of the Massachusetts.*

To the Honourable the Governour and Council at Boston.

THESE may inform your honours, that we have been ranging the woods divers times since we had our engagement, but have not discovered much more of the enemy than what we gave you account of; only our scout yesterday, upon our march, discovered a small party of the enemy, and some guns were fired on both sides, but we know not of any damage done. We find that our Indian soldiers are very much discouraged with what they met with in our last engagement, they finding the enemy more furnished with courage and resolution than they did expect, and likewise many more of them in number than they thought to have

met together, which gives me reason to think that our design will not be prosecuted to effect until more forces comes to our relief; and by reason of a party of the enemy that have done some damage lately at Blue Point Garrison, in taking two lads, and burning some houses thereabouts, and a small vessel, which makes me think that a party of the enemy keep thereabout, that makes me unwilling to draw off any of those forces from those parts to help us, and therefore I much desire that Connecticut forces may be sent away to us with all expedition, whose coming we hope will much encourage our soldiers and enable us to do service; and therefore I desire that it may not be omitted, and that all those things that we have sent for may be speedily conveyed to us, and that those guides that we sent for may be sent to us without fail, which, if they come not, our design will be frustrated. We know not yet what damage we did to the enemy in our last engagement, but several things that they left behind them on their flight we found yesterday, which was gun-cases and stockings and other things of some value, together with other signs that makes us think that we did them considerable damage. So, desiring that God may guide both you and us to do those things that are suitable and convenient in this undertaking, I rest

Your friend and humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

FALMOUTH IN CASCO, *September 27th*, 1689.

*To the Honoured SIMON BRODESTREETE, Esq. }
of the Massachusetts, in Boston, deliver..... }
For their Majesties' service.*

Received 3d October, 1689.

[THE following account of New England was found in manuscript among Governour Hutchinson's papers. The author is unknown. It appears to have been written in London, in 1689, in answer to the letter of a friend. ED.]

A brief Relation of the Plantation of New England, from the founding of that Plantation to the Year 1689.

Sir,

I HAVE received yours, wherein you desire me to give you a brief account of the past and present state of New England, which, in as few words as I can, and as straits of time will permit me, I shall endeavour your satisfaction in.

NEW ENGLAND contains that tract of land, which is between forty and forty-five degrees of northern latitude. It was for some time known by the name of *the Northern Plantation*, but King Charles the First (then Prince of Wales) gave it the name of *New England*. The first settlement of the English there, was in the year 1620, viz. at *New Plymouth*. New England differs from other foreign plantations in respect of the ground and motives inducing the first planters to remove into that American desert. Other plantations were built upon worldly interests; New England upon that which is purely religious. For although they did and do agree (as is evident from their printed confession of faith) with all other *Protestant reformed churches*, and more especially with *England*, in matters of doctrine, and in all fundamental points of faith; yet as to the liturgy, ceremonies and church government by bishops, they were and are *Non-Conformists*. It were grievous to them to think of living in continual difference with their Protestant brethren in England; upon which account they resolved on a peaceable *secession* into a corner of the world. And being desirous to be under the protection of England, about twenty worthy gentlemen obtained a charter from *King Charles the First*, bearing

date from the year 1628, which giveth them right to the soil, for they hold their title of lands, as of the manor of East Greenwich in Kent and in common socage; which, notwithstanding, they purchased their lands of the Indians, who were the native proprietors. By their mentioned charter, they are empowered yearly to elect their own governour and deputy-governour and magistrates, as here in London, and in other towns corporate, the freemen choose the lord mayor and aldermen.

They have also power to make such laws as shall be most proper and suitable for the plantation.

Nevertheless, as an acknowledgment of their *dependence on England*, by their charters they are obliged not to make any laws which shall be repugnant to the laws in England; also the fifth part of all ore of gold or silver, found in that territory, belongs to the crown of England.

The report of this charter did encourage many very deserving persons to transplant themselves and their families into *New England*. Gentlemen and ministers of the gospel, then of great fame here in England, tradesmen and planters, to the number of about four thousand, did in twelve years time go thither. The hazards which they ran, and the difficulties which they encountered with, in subduing a wilderness, cannot easily be expressed. But the Almighty God, by a wonderful providence, carried them through all. In the year 1637, they were in imminent danger of being cut off by the barbarous heathen. But when it came to a war, mighty numbers of the Indians were slain by a few of the English, which caused a terror of God to fall upon all the heathen round about; so that after the *Pequod Indians* were subdued, there was peace in the land for thirty-eight years together; and being settled under a good and easy government, the plantation prospered wondrously; yea, so as cannot be paralleled in any history. Never was place brought to such considerableness in so short a time. That which was not long since an howling wilderness, in a few years time became

a pleasant land, wherein was abundance of all things, both for soul and body, which can be imputed to nothing else but to their religion, the gospel bringing a fulness of blessings along with it. Some have observed, that since the year 1640 more persons have removed out of *New England* than have gone thither. Nevertheless, the four thousand who did, between that and the year 1620, transplant themselves into *New England*, are so marvellously increased, as that (if the computation fail not) they are now become not less than two hundred thousand souls.

There are towns and villages on the sea coast, from Long Island to *Boston*, which is three hundred miles, and from *Boston* to *Pemaquid*, which is two hundred miles.

In the year 1662, *Connecticot* colony, as also *Road Island*, with the plantations thereto belonging, had charters granted to them by King Charles the Second, (being much-what the same with the patent of the *Massachusetts*) whereby they were made distinct governments.

Anno 1675, the Indians began a second war with the English, the issue of which was, that whole nations of them were destroyed.

Never did men shew greater courage and bravery in their encounters with barbarous heathen than they did; and yet it must be acknowledged, that the Indians' advantages were such as that they could not have been overcome, if God had not fought against them by sending the evil arrows of famine and mortal diseases among them. I have often thought of the expression of an Indian there: *We* (said he) *could easily be too hard for the English, but,* (striking on his breast) *the Englishmen's God makes us afraid here.*

As long as they enjoyed their first government, no enemies could stand before them; but since that, they have not been able to subdue the Indians, who did the last year commit some outrages amongst them, having been (as I am informed) provoked thereunto by some

injuries done unto them by those then in power, designing the ruin of the English, and advancement of the French interest in that territory.

As for the inquiry, by what means they came to be deprived of their charters' liberties, please to understand, that in the year 1683, a *quo warranto* was issued out against them, and with the notification thereof by the then king's order, there was a declaration published, enjoining those few particular persons mentioned in the *quo warranto*, to make their defence at their own particular charge, without any help by a publick stock. By this it was easy to see, that some persons were resolved to have the charter condemned *quo jure quâque injuriâ*. Nevertheless, the governour and company appointed an attorney to appear and answer to the *quo warranto* in the Court of King's Bench. The prosecutors not being able to make any thing of it there, a new suit was begun by a *scire facias* in the Court of Chancery. They had not sufficient time given them for their defence, yet judgment was entered against them for default in not appearing, when it was impossible, considering the remoteness of *New England* from *Westminster*, that they should appear in the time allowed.

Thus illegally was the charter of the *Massachusetts* colony wrested from them. As for the colonies of *Plymouth*, *Connecticot* and *Road Island*, there was never any judgment against them, nor any surrender, but by a mere rape, anno 1686, their charters and privileges were violently taken from them. Since that time, the country has gone to ruin every day, not being now like the place it was but five years ago, which is not much to be wondered at, considering the intolerable oppressions they have been labouring under since their charters were ravished from them. In the year 1686, Sir *Edmund Andros* was sent by the late King James to New England, with a commission absolutely destructive to the fundamentals of the English government, empowering him with four men (none of them chosen by the people) to levy moneys, and to make loans, nay, and to send as

many of the inhabitants as he would two thousand miles out of the country. This commission being illegal, and so in itself void, the people did this last spring assert their English liberties, and *declare for the Prince of Orange and the Parliament of England*. It is greatly to be observed, that as long as *New England* enjoyed their charters, for more than fifty years together, they never put the crown to a penny charge, (which is more than can be said of other foreign plantations ;) but since they have been under a government, not by *charters*, but by *commissions*, the country has been chargeable and less beneficial to the king's revenue, than in former times.

It has indeed been objected, that in *New England* they did many years ago transgress *the act of navigation*. But the transgression of some few particular persons were not the fault of the government there, who did in the year 1663 make a law that the act of navigation should be strictly observed, and their governours are sworn to see that law executed, and have been to the uttermost of their power careful about it.

Many other things have been suggested against *New England*, the most of which have no footsteps of truth in them, but are the malicious inventions of the *Tobiah*s and *Sanballats* of this age. Not but that the people there have had their failings as well as other men in all places of the world. The only thing, (so far as I understand,) which can with any truth be justly reflected on them as a fault, is that, in some matters relating to conscience and difference of opinion, they have been more rigid and severe than the primitive Christians, or the gospel doth allow of. Yet this is to be said in their behalf, that things are reported worse than indeed they were ; and that now many leading men, and the generality of the people, are of a more moderate temper. I know some that have a great interest there do abhor the spirit of persecution as much as any men in the world.

It is certainly for the interest of *England*, that *New England* should be encouraged. And those ill men who

give other advice (notwithstanding their vain pretences to the contrary) prejudice the interest of the crown more than they are able to make amends for, which I evince by these arguments :

1. The king's revenue, all things considered, is as much or more augmented by *New England* than by any other of the foreign plantations. This will seem to some a strange assertion ; but consider what I say, and then judge if it be not true. The other *American plantations* cannot well subsist without *New England*, which is by a thousand leagues nearer to them than either *England* or *Ireland* ; so that they are supplied with provisions, beef, pork, meal, fish, &c., also with the lumber trade, deal boards, pipe staves, &c. chiefly from *New England*. Also the Caribbee Islands have their horses from thence. It is then, in a great part, by means of *New England*, that the other plantations are made prosperous and beneficial. They pay customs in the plantations for the goods they export from thence into *New England*, and when those goods are brought into *England*, they pay the same again a second time, by which means not a little is contributed to the crown.

Some manufactures there are amongst them, but not a twentieth part of what the country has need of. Most of their clothing, both as to woollen and linen, they have from *England*. They make returns in beaver, moose and deer skins, oil and iron, all which commodities the country affords ; also by sugars and tobacco, which their own vessels fetch from other plantations, and transport to *England*.

2. I know not whether there be a better place for shipping in the world ; nor can I say how many hundreds of vessels of their own building do belong to the country. They yearly build many good ships, some of which are sold here at *London*. The country abounds with pine trees, and also with excellent cedars and oak for building of vessels. Masts do yearly come from thence for the use of the king's navy. And it has been said by some, who understand affairs of this nature, that

whenever the king of England shall please, he may at the most easy rates build navies there for the benefit of the nation; especially considering that ship timber is generally wanting in *England* and in *Ireland*, and the east-land oak is so very spongy.

3. The people there are apt for martial employments, having not only a natural courage, but being well instructed in military discipline.

All the inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty years, in each town, are by the law and custom of the country to bear arms if occasion shall so require; and that they may be fit to do so, they have in each town and village their training days eight times every year, wherein they are exercised in military discipline, that so they may be expert in war whenever his present majesty shall see cause to commissionate them thereunto. They are able (by the blessing of God) to enlarge his dominions, and to bring their French neighbours into a subjection to the crown of England. From this consideration it was, that the French ministers (who, all the world knows, had a mighty ascendant over Whitehall in the two late kings' reigns) caused some articles to be agreed on, where it is determined that, in case of war between *England* and *France*, there shall be a neutrality in the plantations; for they saw, that if the king of England should arm his subjects in *New England*, the Frenchmen in these parts could not stand before them.

In *Cromwell's* time they did, by order from *England*, take several forts from the French, which by King Charles the Second were restored to them again, no ways to the honour or interest of the English nation.

I might have added, that the people of *New England* have merited encouragement by the great service which they have done for *King William* (whom God grant that he may long live and reign) and for the English nation, in securing that nation (which was done April 18th, 1689,) for his present majesty against King Lewis and the abdicated King James.

New England is the key of *America*. If the French king had got that into his possession, he would soon have been master of *America*; and this in all probability would have been done this summer, if the *New Englanders* about *Boston*, perceiving what designs were carrying on, had not risen as one man and seized Sir *Edmund Andros* (who is as of a French extract, so in the French interests, being sent to *New England* by the late King James with an illegal and arbitrary commission) and on those few ill men who joined with him in his tyranny. All men acknowledge that those brave souls at *Londonderry*, who have secured that place, and we hope saved Ireland by declaring for King William, deserve great acknowledgments.

The like is to be said of the Protestants in *New England*, especially considering that they did this so early, before ever they knew that the *Prince of Orange* was *king of England*; only they heard that he was landed here with a design to endeavour to deliver the English nation from popery and from arbitrary power, which they could not but look upon as an heroick undertaking, and accounted it their duty to embark themselves in the same cause, before they knew what the issue of things would be. Can any deny but that this people have deserved respect and countenance from the king and from the whole nation?

Let me say that *New England* has, on the best accounts which can be mentioned, outdone all *America*. For there they have erected an *University*, which began anno 1642, and wherein things are managed *pro more Academicarum in Angliâ*. Several persons of more than ordinary learning, yea, and many scores of able ministers of the gospel, have been there educated. By the statutes of the College, none are to be admitted before he can write Latin in a pure style, and translate any ordinary Greek author. It is customary with them, every morning in the College Hall, to read a chapter out of Hebrew, and at night a chapter out of the Greek original. The tutors there instruct their pupils in

logick, natural and moral philosophy, metaphysicks, geography, astronomy, arithmetick and geometry, &c.

In *New England* the whole Bible has been translated into the Indian language, and there also printed. Nay, I will be bold to say, that *New England* has outdone the whole world. For among the Indians, who awhile since were mere heathens, there are not only many congregations of them, who are converted to the Christian faith and the Protestant (which is the only true) religion, but no less than four-and-twenty of these heathen are now not only Christians, but preachers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. And I challenge the whole world to produce the like instance. Undoubtedly, then, they are no good Protestants who are enemies to the welfare of such a people, whom the God of heaven hath delighted so signally to own and to bless.

The declaration of Sylvanus Davis, Inhabitant of the Town of Falmouth in the province of Maine, in New England, concerning the cruel, treacherous and barbarous Management of a War against the English in the eastern Parts of New England, by the cruel Indians, being, as I doubt not, and as the Circumstances will appear, set upon their bloody Design by the French and their Abettors.

HAVING the liberty of walking the town of Quebeck, and having opportunity of conferring with the gentlemen of the place, many were the outrages and insultings of the Indians upon the English (whilst Sir Edmond Andross was governour) at North Yarmouth, and other places at the eastward. The Indians killed sundry cattle, came into houses and threatened to knock the people on the head, and at several times gave out reports, that they would make war upon the English;

and that they were animated so to do by the French, the Indians behaving themselves so insulting, gave just cause of great suspicion. In order for the finding out the truth, and to endeavour the preventing a war, one Captain Blackman, a justice of peace, with some of the neighbourhood of Saco River, seized several Indians that had been bloody, murderous rogues in the first Indian war, being the chief ringleaders and most fittest and capable to do mischief. Said Blackman seized to the number of between sixteen and twenty, in order for their examination, and to bring in the rest to a treaty. Said Blackman soon sent the said Indians with a guard to Falmouth in Casco Bay, there to be secured until orders could come from Boston concerning them; and in the mean time the said Indians were well provided with provisions and suitable necessaries. The rest of the Indians robbed the English, and took some English prisoners. Whereupon post was sent to Boston. Sir Edmond Andross being at New York, the gentlemen of Boston sent to Falmouth some soldiers for the defence of the country, and also the worshipful Mr. Stoughton, with others, to treat with the Indians, in order for the settling a peace and getting in of our English captives. As soon as the said gentlemen arrived at the eastward, they sent away one of the Indian prisoners to the rest of the Indians, to summon them to bring in the English they had taken, and also that their sachems should come in to treat with the English in order that just satisfaction should be made on both sides. The gentlemen waited the return of the Indian messenger, and when he returned he brought answer, that they would meet our English at a place called Maquoite, and there they would bring in the English captives, and treat with the English. Although the place appointed by the Indians for the meeting was some leagues distant from Falmouth, yet our English gentlemen did condescend to it in hopes of getting in our captives, and put a stop to further troubles. They despatched away to the place, and carried the Indian prisoners with them, and staid at the place ap-

pointed, expecting the coming of the Indians that had promised a meeting, but they, like false, perfidious rogues, did not appear. Without doubt, they had been counselled what to do by the French and their abettors, as the Indians did declare afterwards that they were near the place, and to our English that was to treat with them, but would not show themselves, but did endeavour to take an opportunity to destroy our English that was to treat with them. Such hath been and was their treachery. Our gentlemen staid days to wait their coming, but seeing they did not appear at the place appointed, they returned to Falmouth, and brought the Indian prisoners, expecting that the other Indians would have sent down some reason why they did not appear at the place appointed, and to make some excuse for themselves; but instead of any compliances, they fell upon North Yarmouth, and there killed several of our English, whereupon the eastern parts was ordered to get into garrisons, and to be upon their guard until further orders from Sir Edmond Andross, and that the Indian prisoners should be sent to Boston, which was done with great care, not one of them hurt, and care took daily for them for provisions. When they arrived at Boston, the gentlemen there can give an account of their usage; but Sir Edmond Andross, returning from New York, he set them all at liberty, not so much as taking care to redeem those of our English for them that was in their hands. I had kept one at Falmouth a prisoner, and to be a guide into the woods for our English to find out the haunts of our heathen enemies; but Sir Edmond Andross sends an express unto me, that upon my utmost peril I should set the said Indian at liberty, and take care that all the arms that was taken from him, and all the rest of those Captain Blackman had seized, should be delivered up to them without any orders to receive the like of ours from them, which was very strange that a governour should be so careless of his majesty's subjects and interest. The names of those Indians that were in custody, that Sir Edmond Andross

released, were, Hopehood, the Higuers, the Doneyes and others, all being cruel, murderous rogues in the first Indian war, and so proved all along in this last wars, being often passing through the country unto the French. The Indians daily making destruction upon our English, Sir Edmond Andross raised forces and marched through the country to the eastward. In his march he did rebuke the officers because they did get together into garrisons to defend themselves. How he managed his affairs, and what measures he did take with his instruments to impoverish this country, and with other nations to bring us to our wooden shoes, I leave to the information of those that took a more particular account; but it pleased God, upon the happy change in England, the hearts of God's people was stirred up to adventure for the like change amongst us, and seized the instruments of our miseries, taking the government into their hands, and accordingly did endeavour to their power for the defence of the country against the common enemy, the heathen, and French, who joined with them in cruel, barbarous manner, burning our towns, destroying their majesties' subjects with fire and sword, and all cruelty imaginable. Myself having command of a garrison in Falmouth for the defence of the same, a party of French from Canada, joined with a company of Indians, to the number of betwixt four or five hundred French and Indians, set upon our fort. The 16th of May 1690, about dawning, began our fight; the 20th, about 3 o'clock, afternoon, we were taken. They fought us five days and four nights, in which time they killed and wounded the greatest part of our men, burned all the houses, and at last we were forced to have a parley with them, in order for a surrender. We not knowing that there was any French among them, we set up a flag of truce in order for a parley. We demanded if there were any French amongst them, and if they would give us quarter. They answered, that they were Frenchmen, and that they would give us good quarter. Upon this answer, we sent out to them again, to know from

whence they came, and if they would give us good quarter, both for our men, women and children, both wounded and sound, and that we should have liberty to march to the next English town, and have a guard for our defence and safety unto the next English town—then we would surrender; and also that the governour of the French should hold up his hand, and swear by the great and ever-living God, that the several articles should be performed. All which he did solemnly swear to perform; but as soon as they had us in their custody, they broke their articles, suffered our women and children and our men to be made captives in the hands of the heathen, to be cruelly murdered and destroyed, many of them, and especially our wounded men; only the French kept myself and three or four more, and carried us over land for Canada. I did desire the French, that seeing they would make us captives, that they would carry us all for Canada, or keep us together, and that I might have the liberty to send to Boston to the governour and council, in order that care might be taken for our ransom; but they would not hear to any such terms, but told me that we were all rebels, and also Boston, against our king, in that we had proclaimed William and Mary king and queen, and that they were usurpers to the crown; and that they did fight for King James, as being under protection of the French king. About twenty-four days we were marching through the country for Quebeck in Canada, by land and water, carrying our canoes with us. The chief of the Indians that came against us was those Indians that we had in hold, that Sir Edmond Andross ordered to be cleared, Sieur Castine and Madockawando, with their eastern forces. The French that took us came from Canada, in February last past, designed for the destruction of Falmouth, by order from the governour there, the Earl of Frontenack. The commander's name was Monsieur Burniffe; his lieutenant's name Monsieur Corte de March, who was at the taking of Schenectade. They brought several Indians with them from Canada, and made up the rest of

their forces as they marched through the woods from Canada. But I must say, they were kind to me in my travels through the country. Our provisions was very short—Indian corn and acorns—hunger made it very good, and God gave it strength to nourish. I arrived at Quebeck the 14th of June, 1690, where I was civilly treated by the gentry, and was soon carried to the fort before the governour, the Earl of Frontenack. He received me civilly, and discoursed with me, viz.....He told me that our new English at New York was the cause of the war in this country betwixt the French and English; for the governour of New York had hired the New York Indians to come over land, took and killed their people, and destroyed their country; and they were willing to pass it by, rather than to make a war with the English; but still they did continue, and hired the Indians to burn several of their people, that they had taken, which was a most cruel thing for one Christian to do to another, and that they would do no such cruel practice. I told them that New York and Boston was two distinct governments, and that the governour of New York must give a particular account to our king for his actions, each for himself. He said we were one nation. I told him it was true, but two distinct governments. Also I told him, that the last Indian war we had a friendly commerce with the French, and for ought I know it might have been so still, had not they joined with the Indians and come over into our country, destroying our towns and people; and that the governour of Boston had only raised forts to defend their majesties' subjects and interest against the heathen, and had not moved out our own bounds, but being forced thereunto by their joining with the Indians for the destruction of our country. He said we were all rebels against our king, in proclaiming the Prince of Orange to be our king, and he was but an usurper; and that King James was our king, and the king of France was his protector. In brief, they told me if the government had not been changed, and that Sir Edmond Andross had continued governour, we

should have had no wars betwixt us, but we should have been all as one people, which I do believe there was a popish design against the Protestant interest in New England, as in other parts of the world. I told him that the condition was with us, viz. We were upon our guard in our towns, for the defence of our wives and children and country, and that little estate that God had given us, against a heathen, barbarous enemy, and they that had joined with them. And I said that they were like robbers that meet with honest men upon the highway, who fight to save their money, and when they are not able to defend themselves any longer, they beg for quarter, and gladly deliver their purse to preserve their lives, which is promised; but as soon as the purse is delivered, the robbers cut the poor men's throats. This is our condition; for we were promised good quarter, and a guide to conduct us to our English; but now we are made captives, slaves and prisoners in the hands of the heathen. I thought I had to do with Christians, that would have been careful of their engagements, and not to violate and break their oaths. Whereupon the governour shook his head, and, as I was told, was very angry with Burniffe. The governour bid me be *corag'd*—I should be used well. I thanked him, and told him I did not value for myself, but did grieve for the rest of the captives that were in the hands of the Indians. He said he would take care that all that was taken with me should be got out of the hands of the Indians; for they did look upon us under another circumstance than those that had been stirring up the Indians against them. I was very kindly used whilst my abode was at Quebeck; and also several captives that was taken with me, that the Indians brought in, the French bought them and were kind to them. I was at Quebeck four months, and was exchanged for a Frenchman Sir William Phips had taken the 15th of October, 1690.—Whilst my abode was at Quebeck, I did endeavour to acquaint myself with the strength of the place, and the measures they take for the manage-

ment of their war, viz.....I find they will not be wanting by all means possible to have the possession of all New England, where our English are settled. In order thereunto, they do endeavour, by presents and sending their people through the country, with their friars by their delusions, to bring all Indians to be at their command for war. They commonly pass by land into the North-west Bay, where our English factory is, to set the Indians against the English. There they have taken all our English factory, except Port Nelson, which they do intend to take this winter. In order thereunto, they have sent two ships they took in the North-west from Captain Bond and Captain John Outsure and others of our English, whom they keep in prison at Quebeck. The said two ships sailed from Quebeck in June last past for the North-West; and they have sent a party of French over land to join with Indians and the said two ships for the destroying all our English factory there. They have commerce also with the Indians six or seven hundred leagues through the country, towards the rivers of Mexico; and designed, if possible, by presents and other means, to bring the Maquis, and those Indians that are at friendship with our English, to be on their side, that they may have them also to join with them. The Jesuits and friars will spare no cost to bring their cruel treacheries about; which if they can accomplish, they will be in a fair way to subdue New England. They had designed to send out several parties of their French that can and do live in the woods as the Indians, which great part of their people can do, in some parties through the land in the winter, to join with the Indians to ruin our frontier towns in New England; but it may be Sir William Phips hath put a stop to that design at present. But I know they will use all means possible to endeavour the destruction of their majesties' interest in New England and New York; and if so, they will not stop there, but they will aim at all their majesties' interest in America, (I give my thoughts and upon good grounds,) if there is not care to prevent them; and

I humbly conceive the only way to prevent them from their bloody design is, to subdue their country, remove them off, and settle it with English before there be a peace settled betwixt the two nations ; for if a peace be, they will strengthen themselves and secure the favours of all Indians, and fight us in time of peace with Indians, and upon the first breach of a peace, fall upon the English with all their forces, and also all Indians on their sides, as they are at present judged. They cannot make in Canada above six or seven thousand fighting men, and they are dispersed at several small towns at great distance. Their living is most by the Indian trade, which is of a mighty value yearly, besides what they have from the North-west, since they have taken our English factory. Their land is very fertile, but they have not made such large improvements as our English have in New England ; for I find the trade with the Indians brings them in sufficient profit. There is good land and good timber if well improved ; and they say, at Morial, a town about sixty leagues up the river from the southward to Quebeck, all fruits will grow there as well as in France ; and that way they design their great farming, and so will settle through the country further and further upon the backs of the English ; but I hope God will prevent their Jesuitical, bloody designs. They say their king doth maintain fifteen hundred or two thousand soldiers, and sends over supply and pay for them yearly, for the defence of the country ; and that all fortifications, with stores, ammunition, and all publick work, are done upon their king's account, and not by the inhabitants. Also they say, the French king sends over money yearly to defray other publick charges that may arise ; and there is no publick duties paid but by the companies of the peltry, which makes me judge the incomes is great, where such publick charges is expended. The gentry at Qubeck are very courteous and civil, and live very splendid only by their trade ; but they have abundance of poor among them ; for, betwixt the churchmen and gentry, they are oppressed, but in such a subtile way that

the poor people are not sensible of the cause of their misery, neither dare they complain if they were. The French, when they take any Indians or Maquis, that are their enemies, they do not kill them, but keep them very safe, give them clothes and victuals, and give them their liberty. Such measures they take to bring all Indians to be their friends. They have carried some Maquis, and other Indians that they have taken, for France, to see the state there; and have brought them back to Quebeck, clothed them, gave them their liberty to live amongst them or go to their own country, to shew them their friends how kindly the French have used them.—Report of an army of English and Indians being at or near Morial, caused the governour, with what forces could be raised at Quebeck, to embark for Morial, upon July 12, 1690, and left in Quebeck about two hundred men, gentlemen, merchants and tradesmen, to guard the town. There was sixty a night upon the guard, so that all the men in the town came upon the guard once in three nights, and their doubting that our English and Indians would be about them, they wrought every day to fortify the town round, which is with stockadoes in the ground, and a bank breast high cast up against it, and upon every angle flankers of good stone and lime, that will entertain eight or ten men to fight in each flanker. There came often news from Morial of our army, which put the country in great fear.—Aug. 10. News came to town that our English had taken six French ships at the Isle of Percy, which set the greatest part at their wit's end what to do, doubting that our English were coming by land and water. News was carried to Morial, but the governour could not come down from thence; they had their hands full.—Aug. 18. News from Morial, that English and Indians had met with some of their French, and had slain about three men.—Sept. 3. News from Morial, that the Maques only had slain thirty French men, women and children. News that our ships was gone from the Isle of Percy, which much rejoiced the

people.—Sept. 19. News from Morial that the Maques had slain one of the king's captains, and about seventeen soldiers, and three or four inhabitants, which put all in great fear, bewailing their friends at Morial, and also their own danger.—Sept. 21. News that two French men of war had met with five of our English ships upon the coast or Acadia, which made the very bells joyful.—Sept. 24. This day certain news brought to town of our English fleet being in the river. Now the joy of our ships being taken was drowned with grief, to think what would become of their ships that they did expect from France. Yet they were in some hopes that it might have been a French fleet; but news came to town that our English had been ashore and was beaten off. The certain news put all in very great fears. They sent up to Morial to the governour for relief. All the country people near to Quebeck, which was not many, came in; their number being up at Morial. Several of the inhabitants of Quebeck did speak of surrendering up to the English; and I do judge they would have done so, if the Lord had gave opportunity for our fleet to get up to the town before their strength of soldiers had come down from Morial. The governour had sent out several parties to discover the motion of the Maquis; his party returned with certain news that they were gone back over the lake, and that there was no enemies by land; whereupon the governour ordered the forces from Morial and other places for Quebeck.—Oct. 1. The several troops began to come to town, and some Indians, which were despatched out to go down the river to discover the ships, and keep our men from landing at the Bishop's and the Isle of Orleans and elsewhere.—Oct. 4. The governour arrived with several troops of men.—Oct. 5. There arrived troops of men with what was in the town before about two thousand seven hundred, besides a party upon Orleans.—Oct. 6. Monday morning our English fleet were riding before the town, and then there was in the town about two thousand seven hundred brisk men, well armed;

and this day there came betwixt three or four hundred more by land. In the time of our fleet lying at Quebeck, provisions were very scarce; very little bread or corn, and very little meat; only a parcel of cattle drove into town, which they did kill for to supply their soldiers. If it had pleased God that the land army, as were supposed to be above, had staid longer about Morial, or our ships had come sooner, or weather had been such that they might have staid longer, without doubt we should have been masters of Canada. I hope the Lord will find out a way for the subduing those blood-thirsty rebels, that have joined with the cruel heathen to butcher so many poor innocent souls, whose blood is crying out, How long, Lord, how long, Holy and True, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them! &c.

Per me,

SYLVANUS DAVIS.

SAGATAHOCK, *November 29, 1690.*

At a Treaty of Peace with the eastward Indian Enemy Sagamores.

CAPT. JOHN ALDEN, Sen. and divers other gentlemen receiving orders from the governour and council at Boston in New England to treat with the said eastward sagamores in order to a truce, &c. at the place abovesaid, which accordingly was attended; where the eastward sagamores came and delivered up ten of our English captives, which were all that they had there with them at that time. The Indians also had eight of their captives delivered up to them at the same time. And further the said sagamores, viz. Edgaremet, Walumbe, John Hawkins, Watombamet, Toquelmot, and Watumbomt, do hereby covenant, promise and agree,

for themselves, their heirs, and all the eastward Indians now in open hostility with the English, from Pennecook, Winnepissecockeege, Ossepe, Pigwocket, Amoscongen, Pechepscut, Kennebeck River, and all other places adjacent, within the territory and dominions of the above-named sagamores, that neither themselves nor any other Indians belonging to the said places, shall do any harm, wrong or injury unto the persons nor estates of any of the English, who are their majesties' subjects, inhabiting, or that may inhabit, in the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, or that belong unto any of their majesties' territories and dominion of New England, from the day of the date hereof until the first day of May next ensuing; at which time all the above-named sagamores do covenant, promise and agree to meet at the garrison-house of Lieut. Joseph Storer, at Wells, in the province of Maine, with the gentleman that the said governour and council shall send to said Wells, and draw up, sign and seal articles and peace between the said English and Indians; at which time also the said sagamores do promise to bring to said Wells all the English captives that are in their hands, or that they can procure by that time, and surrender them up to the English; and in the mean time, during the whole term of the abovesaid truce, if any others, either French or enemy Indians, shall entice them, or any of them, to harm the English, or plot or contrive any harm against the said English—that then they, the said sagamores, will timely discover the same to some English garrison, or seize and secure them, and bring them to the English; and if at any time the said sagamores, or any of them, shall have occasion to speak with any English within the term of this truce, they coming with a flag of truce to the garrison of Lieut. Joseph Storer aforesaid, and not above three men at one time, of which one of said sagamores must be one, they shall then have free liberty to come and call at a distance to said garrison, and have access thereto. And the aforesaid Capt. John Alden and the rest of the gentlemen do promise, for the

governour and council, and the English in the aforementioned provinces, that in case the aforementioned articles be firmly kept and observed by the sagamores and Indians aforesaid—that then the said English shall not harm any of them during the term of the abovesaid truce. And further it is agreed by the sagamores aforesaid, that if the said governour and council will send for their captives to Casco sooner than the time abovesaid, and establish a peace there—that then the said sagamores, having timely notice of it, they shall and will attend it. In testimony whereof, the said parties have interchangeably set to their hands and seals, the day and year already specified.

EDGAREMET.	[Mark and Seal.]
TOQUELMUT.	[Mark and Seal.]
WATUMBOMT.	[Mark and Seal.]
WATOMBAMET.*	[Mark and Seal.]
WALUMBE.	[Mark and Seal.]
JOHN HAWKINS.	[Mark and Seal.]

WITNESS,

[Mark.] DEWANDO.
 NED [Mark.] HIGON.
 JOHN ALDEN, JUN.
 NATHANIEL ALDEN.

Signed and sealed interchangeably, upon the water, in canoes, at Sackatehock, when the wind blew.

*To the Governour of Boston and of New England,
 and to the Gentlemen of his Council.*

SEEING that Mr. Phips and madam his wife have circulated a report, that every thing that was taken from me at Port Royal has been restored to me, and that I am quite satisfied; I have thought it was necessary to shew the contrary to the governour of Boston and

* [There is some uncertainty about the initial letter of this chieftain. In one place it is W, but here it is N. ED.]

of New England, and to the gentlemen of his council, in order that they may have the goodness to have justice done me as regards my fair rights, such as I demand them according to the present memoir, upon which I pray them to let me be heard before them in full council, by the means of a good and faithful interpreter, offering to prove by his writing and by good English witnesses, that he made a capitulation with me, which it is just should be observed, in default of which I protest for all damages and interest, who has done or caused to be done all the wrongs mentioned here below, which he is obliged to repair, in strict justice, and according to the laws of war and of reason.

Account of the Silver and Effects, which Mr. Phips keeps back from Mr. de Meneual, Governour of Acadia, and which he has not restored to him.

First.—Four hundred and four pistoles, the balance of five hundred and four pistoles, which I confidentially put into his hands.

Six silver spoons.

Six silver forks.

Two large silver tumblers.

One silver cup in the shape of a gondola.

One silver-mounted sword.

A small silver flask.

Two pair of silver shoe-buckles.

A scarf of gold and silver tissue.

A very handsome musket, entirely new.

A pair of pistols.

A box.

A large leather trunk.

A dress of green cloth.

Two dressing gowns of linen, trimmed with lace.

A grey vest, entirely new.

Three new wigs.

Three pair of new shoes.

Two sword belts.

Two mirrors.

Two pair of stout winter stockings, new.

One pair of fine summer stockings, new.

Four pair of silk garters.

Two under waistcoats of Dutch linen, trimmed with lace.

Two dozen of shirts.

Four pair of linen drawers.

Six vests of dimity.

One grey and one black hat.

Two dozen of books, French, Italian and Spanish.

Twelve cravats of lace.

Four pair of lace ruffles.

Three kerchiefs of lace.

Four nightcaps, with lace edgings.

Fifteen pocket handkerchiefs, three without lace.

Twelve cravats, three without lace.

Eight nightcaps, without lace.

Twelve pair of new socks.

One case containing three razors and a hone.

And a quantity of other things, such as gloves, new ribbons in the piece, of various colours, &c.

Two woollen mattresses from my bed.

Four blankets, two large and two small.

Two large pair of fine sheets.

All my table linen, with the exception of two cloths and six napkins, which he has returned to me.

All my kitchen linen.

All my table service of fine tin.

All my kitchen utensils.

One piece of French linen, new.

One small piece of cambrick.

Two chests of my servants, with their effects; not counting those of my cook, which he has given up.

One large blanket and four pair of sheets of my servants.

Two hogsheads of French wine.

One half pipe of French brandy.

One barrel containing fifty pounds of white sugar.
Three barrels of flour and other provisions.

Further, he ought to render an account of the silver and effects and merchandize in the warehouse of Mr. Perrot, who as a citizen could not be pillaged, according to the capitulation :

The effects, money and cattle of the inhabitants, which have been pillaged contrary to the promise given :

The money and effects of the soldiers, that have been taken from them :

The sacred vessels and ornaments of the church, and every thing that has been broken, and the money and effects of the priests.

All which things I demand should be restored, in virtue of my capitulation ; also, as is just, that their arms and liberty should be given to the soldiers of my garrison, and their passage to Quebeck or France, as he promised me to do.

I certify all the foregoing to be true, in faith of which I have made and signed the present memoir at Boston, this 4th day of December, 1690.

DE MENEUAL,
Governour of Acadia.

PLYMOUTH, *February 20, 1690—91.*

Dear Son,

THIS is my third epistle to you this week. I hope all may fetch from you what news Mr. R—— hath in his letters, and what is in Mr. Wiswall's last to the governour by Mr. Prince. Pray speak to Mr. Russell and the governour, if you see them at lecture next week, and let them give their judgment what answer to give to that clause in Mr. Dummer's letter, concerning the ordering of the contribution to each town. I sup-

pose an equal division betwixt the two towns may give best satisfaction. After that lecture hasten those letters to me, for others need to see them. J. Howland and J. Nelson carried your mother briskly to Boston on Monday; they were at Roxbury by sunset. On Tuesday, John Allyn and a son of Capt. Bradbury's brought her a letter from son Allyn, signifying all (especially Betty) were well on Monday morning, waiting and longing for her coming. Their horses they left at Winnesimitt: Thursday morning they designed thence to Ipswich, and this day to Salisbury, and the weather is very comfortable for their purpose. They brought news, that just before their coming from home they heard that (the particular place J. H. and J. N. who returned hither on Wednesday, cannot tell) there were seen tracks of snow-shoes of some hundreds of Indians, which hath occasioned those eastern parts already to run into garrisons. They say, Boston town hath not been so healthful these divers years as just now it is. Old Capt. and Deacon Capen died of the small pox at Dorchester this week. Mr. Stoughton hath £600 from the corporation; we may no doubt easily to have our salaries now. I have written to him by J. Morton, who yet waits for a fair wind. William Bret hath sent you 15 pounds of hay-seed, and a letter with it, for 15 shillings: if you will order its conveyance to you, you may have it: we received it but yesterday. I had another letter from Boston, part of which I transcribe, because I expect not to see you quickly.

“I think I wrote you lately an easy word or two about a New England gentleman, lately returned to us from the other side of the water. My design (as well as the design of the gentleman in England, who enabled me so to write) was to prevent some intemperances, which I feared among ourselves; but I wish the word unwritten, for I can assure you, the curse, *Let him that is unjust, be unjust still*, is dreadfully upon that person, and poor New England owes nothing to him but prayers to be delivered from his machinations: Nor

would have I you too far trust the character I give of * * for it may be said about the men of his way, *The best of them is a briar.*

“ If you will take my opinion about your affairs, it will be useless to send your good governour to England. Sir Henry Ashurst (not to mention any body else) will be more able to bring noble persons into your interests, than any one that can go from hence ; and half the money necessary to bear the charges of an agent from hence, would make Sir Henry capable of doing ten times the service for you. Besides, it will be a desperate thing for the old gentleman to run the hazard of being carried into France. The king had ordered our charter to be drawn up, which was done accordingly, and he used so particular a conduct for the diverting of the intrigues our enemies might use to defeat his kind purposes for us, that we have all the assurance in the world, nothing but a miraculous and prodigious dispensation of the sovereign God can cause us to miss of it. Mr. D. never had opportunity to know what steps were taken for us, and the stories he tells about these things are but a branch of his designs to distract, enfeeble and affrighten his country, whom, I doubt, he has not yet forgiven. My father obtained an order from the king to Sir G. Treby, the attorney general, and Sir J. Somers, the solicitor general, and another eminent lawyer, to pass their judgment upon the validity of Connecticut charter, and they gave it in, *That the charter was as good as ever it was, and the government there should proceed upon it.* This is the instrument now sent over to them, and I have newly transmitted it. If the tories won't be quiet, they shall quickly see some things in print, which they will be ashamed of. As soon as my newspapers all come into my hands, I hope to send you a large parcel of them :” Hæc ille.

Did I not repose great confidence in you, I would not thus write to you ; but what you impart you will do it wisely, and not expose me or my intimate friend. The Lord bless you in your work, and make you grow daily

more and more like J. A. Prepare a choice letter to thank your cousin Mather. I have sent to him by J. Morton, for your great book. His wife is abroad; his child hath had the small pox and is almost well. Your sister and brother salute you; my love to you, etc.

I am your loving father,

JOHN COTTON.

[*In the Margin.*]

Your brother John hath preached two or three Sabbaths at the Bank. Your mother so writes to me, and no more but he and his are all well.

*These for Mr. ROWLAND COTTON, }
Preacher of the Gospel at Sand-
wich.*

[1690 or 1691.—This Petition to the king was got up in London by the agents opposed to Increase Mather. Probably the handwriting of the Reasons is Cooke's. ED.]

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

THE humble petition of several persons having considerable interest in New England and the Jersies

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your majesty having directed the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, upon inquiry, with those persons who have the most considerable interests in New England, New York and the Jersies, to present to your majesty the names of such persons as may be thought fit at this time to be governour and lieutenant governour of those parts; whereof we receiving notice crave leave most humbly to represent to your majesty, that the inhabitants and proprietors of the colonies of New England and the Jersies have always had, by virtue of their

charters and grants, a power to choose their respective governours; and the honourable House of Commons having voted the prosecution against, and taking away such charters and franchises, to be illegal, and a grievance, and that they be restored and confirmed — it is humbly conceived, that the appointing of a governour by your majesty over the colonies of New England and the Jersies, is inconsistent with the said charters and grants, (against one of which only judgment hath past,) and with the votes aforesaid, and will be a great disappointment to the hopes of your subjects there and here, grounded upon your majesty's most gracious declarations.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the respective charters, grants, rights and liberties of the said colonies of New England and the Jersies may be restored and confirmed accordingly.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

Reasons against sending a Governour to New England.

1. THE people there have by their charters power to choose their own governours, and all other officers; and all their charters are in force still, excepting one, there having been no judgments passed against them, nor any surrenders; and as for that one, against which judgment has been entered, it proceeded by a scire facias, &c. illegally managed.

2. They that are concerned for New England do confidently affirm, that there is not one in an hundred, nay, not one in a thousand, of the inhabitants there, who does not desire that their government by charter might be continued to them. If the king shall please to gratify their desires therein, they will cheerfully expose themselves, and all that is dear to them in this world, to serve

his majesty. But if their former rights and privileges be withheld from them, it will cause an universal dissatisfaction and discouragement amongst the inhabitants. Nor can any thing be thought of that will more endanger their being ruined by the French or other enemies near them, except taking from them their charter rights, as is manifest in that when they enjoyed their charter, they easily subdued their enemies, but since that it has been otherwise.

By the Governour and Council.

Proposals offered to Capt. Kid and Capt. Walkington to encourage their going forth on their Majesties' Service, to suppress an enemy Privateer now upon this Coast.

THAT they have liberty to beat up drums for forty men a-piece, to go forth on this present expedition, not taking any children or servants without their parents or masters' consent. A list of the names of such as go in the said vessels to be presented to the governour before their departure.

That they cruise upon the coast for the space of ten or fifteen days in search of the said privateer, and then come in again and land the men supplied them from hence.

That what provisions shall be expended within the said time, for so many men as are in both the said vessels, be made good to them at their return, in case they take no purchase; but if they shall take the privateer, or any other vessels, then only a proportion of provisions for so many men as they take in here.

If any of our men happen to be wounded in the engagement with the privateer, that they be cured at the publick charge.

That the men supplied from hence be proportionable

sharers with other the men belonging to said vessels, of all purchase that shall be taken.

Besides the promise of a gratuity to the captains, twenty pounds a-piece in money.

BOSTON, *June 8th*, 1691.

Propositions of Capt. Kid.

IMPRIMIS. To have forty men, with their arms, provisions and ammunition.

2dly. All the men that shall be wounded, which have been put in by the country, shall be put on shore, and the country to take care of them. And if so fortunate as to take the pirate and her prizes, then to bring them into Boston.

3dly. For myself to have one hundred pounds in money; thirty pounds thereof to be paid down, the rest upon my return to Boston: and if we bring in said ship and her prizes, then the same to be divided amongst our men.

4thly. The provisions to be put on board me must be, ten barrels pork and beef, ten barrels of flour, two hogsheads of peas, and one barrel of gunpowder for the great guns.

5thly. That I will cruise on the coast for ten days' time; and if so that he is gone off the coast, that I cannot hear of him, I will then, at my return, take care and set what men on shore that I have had, and are willing to leave me or the ship.

Capt. Walkington is also willing to serve the country on the same terms, that is to say, to have so many men, arms, provisions and ammunition, and same care for the wounded men, and for so much money, and so much in hand, and the same quantity of provisions to be put on board.

The Examination of Elizabeth Johnson, taken before me, Dudley Bradstreet, one of their Majesties' Justices of the Peace for Essex, this 10th of August, 1692.

ELIZABETH JOHNSON, being accused of witchcraft, confessed as followeth :

That Goody Carrier brought a book to her, and that she set her hand to it.

That Goody Carrier baptized her, when she baptized her daughter Sarah. And that Goody Carrier told her she should be saved if she would be a witch.

That she had been at Salem village with Goody Carrier, and that she had been at the mock sacrament there, and saw Mr. Borroughs there.

She confessed also, that she had afflicted several persons. That the first she afflicted was Lawrence Lacy. And that she and Thomas Carrier afflicted Sarah Phelps, and Maxy Walcutt, and Ann Putman, the 9th instant, and that she afflicted them this day as she came to town.

And that she hath afflicted a child of Ephraim Davis, the 9th instant and this day, by pinching it. And that she afflicted Ann Putman with a spear.

That she and Goody Carrier afflicted Benjamin Abbott.

That Goody Toothaker and two of her children were with her the last night, when she afflicted the children.

She also confessed that one Daniel Eimes, of Boxford, was with her on the 8th and 9th instant, at night ; and he afflicted Sarah Phelps, and told her he had been a witch ever since he ran away.

And that she had a hand in afflicting Timothy Swan.

DUDLEY BRADSTREET, *Justice Peace.*

The Examination of Thomas Carrier, taken the day above-said before me, Dudley Bradstreet, &c.

THOMAS CARRIER, being accused of witchcraft, confessed that he was guilty of witchcraft, and that he

had been a witch a week, and that his mother taught him witchcraft.

That a yellow bird had appeared to him and spoke to him ; at which he being affrighted, his mother appeared to him and brought him a book, and bid him set his hand to it, telling him it would do him good if he did so, and that she would tear him in pieces if he would not.

That his mother baptized him in Shaw-shin River, pulled off his clothes and put him into the river, and that his mother then told him, he was her's for ever.

That his mother bid him afflict Maxy Walcutt, Ann Putman and Sarah Phelps. And that he went, the 9th instant, at night, to John Chandler's ; that there were ten in company with him, who rid upon two poles ; that there were three men in the company, and two of the women belonged to Ipswich, whose names were Mary and Sarah ; and that he saw Betty Johnson in the company.

And confessed that he did, the 9th instant, at night, afflict Sarah Phelps and Ann Putman by pinching them.

DUDLEY BRADSTREET, *Justice Peace.*

The Examination of Sarah Carrier, taken before me, Dudley Bradstreet aforesaid, the day aforesaid.

SARAH CARRIER confessed, being accused of witchcraft, as followeth :

That she hath been a witch ever since she was six years old. That her mother brought a red book to her, and she touched it.

That her mother baptized her in Andrew Foster's pasture, the day before she went to prison. And that her mother promised her she should not be hanged.

That her mother taught her how to afflict folks by pinching them or sitting on them. That she began to afflict Sarah Phelps last Saturday, and Betty Johnson was with her.

That her mother gave her a spear last night, and that she pricked Ann Putman and Sarah Phelps with it.

DUDLEY BRADSTREET, *Justice of Peace.*

[This unhappy child, between seven and eight years old, was again examined, the next day, by other magistrates, and confessed more impossibilities. See II. Hutch. 47. Ed.]

Gentlemen,

I THOUGHT it meet to give you this broken account, hoping it may be of some service. I am wholly unacquainted with affairs of this nature, neither have the benefit of books for forms, &c. ; but being unadvisedly entered upon service I am wholly unfit for, beg that my ignorance and failings may be as much covered as conveniently may be ; which will be ever acknowledged by

Your poor and unworthy servant,

DUDLEY BRADSTREET.

I know not whether to make any returns. Bonds I have taken. The *custos rotulorum* I know not, &c.

*To the Honoured BARTHOLOMEW GEDNEY, }
JOHN HATHORNE, Esq. or any of their }
Majesties' Justices of the Peace in Salem, }
these humbly present.*

I. *The New Settlement of the Birds in New England.*

1. THE birds had maintained good order among themselves for several years, under the shelter of charters by Jupiter granted to several flocks among them : But heaven, to chastise many faults too observable in its birds, left them to be deprived of their ancient settlements. There were birds of all sorts in their several flocks ; for some caught fish, some lived upon grains ; the woodpeckers also made a great figure among them ; some of them scraped for their living with their claws ; and many supplied their nests from beyond sea. Geese you may

be sure there were good store, as there are everywhere. Moreover, when they had lost their charters, those poetical birds called harpies became really existent, and visited these flocks, not so much that they might build nests of their own, as plunder and pull down the nests of others.

2. There were many endeavours used by an eagle and a goldfinch, afterwards accompanied with two more, —no less deserving the love of all the flocks, than desirous to serve their interest,—that flew into Jupiter's palace, for the resettlement of good government among the birds. These endeavours did for awhile prosper no further than to stop the inroads of harpies or locusts ; but at length Jupiter's court was willing that Jupiter's grace, which would have denied nothing for the advantage of them, whose wings had carried them a thousand leagues to serve his empire, should not be hindered from giving them a comfortable settlement, though not exactly in their old forms.

3. Upon this there grew a difference of opinion between some that were concerned for the welfare of the birds. Some were of opinion, that if Jupiter would not reinstate the birds in all their ancient circumstances, they had better accept of just nothing at all, but let all things be left for the harpies to commit as much rapine as they were doing when they were ejecting every poor bird out of his nest, that would not, at an excessive rate, produce a patent for it ; and when Canary birds domineered over all the flocks. Others were of opinion, that the birds ought rather thankfully to accept the offers of Jupiter ; and if any thing were yet grievous, they might shortly see a fitter season to ask further favours, especially considering that Jupiter made them offers of such things as all the other American birds would part with more than half the feathers on their backs to purchase. He offered that the birds might be everlastingly confirmed in their titles to their nests and fields. He offered that not so much as a twig should be plucked from any tree the birds would roost upon, without their own consent. He

offered that the birds might constantly make their own laws, and annually choose their own rulers. He offered that all strange birds might be made incapable of a seat in their council. He offered that it should be made impossible for any to disturb the birds in singing of their songs to the praise of their Maker, for which they had sought liberty in the wilderness. Finally, he offered that the king's-fisher should have his commission to be their governour until they had settled what good orders among them they pleased ; and that he should be more concerned than ever now to defend them from the French kites that were abroad. The king's-fisher indeed was to have his negative upon the birds, but the birds were to have a negative too upon the king's-fisher ; and this was a privilege beyond what was enjoyed by the birds in any of the plantations, or even in Ireland itself.

4. The birds, not being agreed in their opinion, resolved that they would refer it to reasonable creatures to advise them upon this question—which of these was to be chosen ; but when the reasonable creatures heard the question, they all declared none that had any reason could make any question of it.

II. *The Elephant's Case a little stated.*

1. WHEN Jupiter had honoured the elephant with a commission to be governour over the wilderness, there were certain beasts that began to quarrel with him for accepting that commission. The chief matter of mutter among themselves was to this purpose : They had nothing to say against the elephant ; he was as good as he was great ; he loved his king and country better than himself, and was as universally beloved. But (they said) they feared he was but a shoeing-horn ; in a year or two either Isgrim the wolf, or Bruin the bear, would succeed him. Jupiter's commissions may come into such hands as will most cruelly oppress those, whom Jupiter most graciously designs to protect.

2. The elephant understood these growlings, and assembling the malecontents, he laid these charms upon them : "My countrymen, 'tis I that have kept off the shoe, whereof ye are so afraid. I had refused the commission for your government, if I had not seen that you had certainly come into Isgrim's or Bruin's hands upon my refusal. My desire is, that Jupiter may have the satisfaction of seeing you saved from the dangers of perishing either by division among yourselves, or by invasion from abroad, was what caused me to accept my commission. Besides, Jupiter hath now favoured you with such circumstances, that if Isgrim or Bruin themselves should come, they could not hurt you without your own consent. They might not raise one tax, or make one law, or constitute one civil office, or send one soldier out of the province, without your concurrence. And if, after all that I have done for you, not only employing of my purse, but also venturing my life to serve you, you have no better name for me than a shoeing-horn, yet I have at least obtained this for you, that you have time to shape your foot, so as, whatever shoe comes, it shall sit easy upon you."

3. Upon this the whole forest, with grateful and cheerful hearts, gave thanks unto the elephant ; and they aspired to such an exercise of reason, in this as well as in other cases, that they might not be condemned to graze under Nebuchadnezer's belly.

III. *Mercury's Negotiation.*

1. MERCURY had been long diverted from his desired employment of carrying messages between earth and heaven, by his agency in Jupiter's palace on the behalf of the sheep, for whom he was willing to do the kindness of a shepherd. It grieved his heart within him to see the beasts of prey breaking in upon the sheep, after their folds had been by the foxes broken down.

2. He laboured with an assiduous diligence to get

the sheep accommodated in all their expectations : But after long waiting and seeking to get their folds rebuilt after the old fashion, he found it necessary to comply with such directions as Jupiter, by the advice of Janus, had given for the new shaping of the folds ; otherwise he saw the poor sheep had been left without any folds at all ; and he could not but confess, the new modelling of the folds would more effectually defend them, in these days of common danger, from the wolves, though some inconveniences in it had caused him always to use all means for the sheep's better satisfaction.

3. When Mercury returned to the sheep, he found them strangely metamorphosed from what they were, and miserably discontented. He found that such things as the sheep would have given three quarters of the fleece on their backs to have purchased, when he first went from them, they were now scarce willing to accept of. He found that there were, (though a few,) which had the skins of sheep on them, and yet, by their claws and growls, were indeed, he knew not what. He was ready to inquire, whether no mad dogs had let fall their slaver upon the honest sheep, since he found here and there one begun to bark like them, and he feared whether these distempers might not hinder their ever being folded more.

4. Orpheus had an harp, which sometimes formerly had reduced the beasts unto a temper little short of reason, and being jealous lest the hard censures bleated out against Mercury (as if he had been the cause of their new forms now brought upon the folds) might produce ill effects, he improved his harp upon this occasion. I don't remember the rhythm of his notes, but the reason was to this purpose : " Pray, all you friends, which of Mercury's administrations is it whereat you are so much offended ? Are you angry because he evidently ventured the ruin of his person and family by the circumstances of his first appearance in Saturn's palace for you ? Are you angry because, for divers years together, he did, with an industry indefatigable to a prodigy, solicit for the

restoration of your old folds ; but with a vexation like that of Sisyphus, who was to roll a great stone up an high hill, from whence he was presently kicked down, so that the labour was all to begin again ? Are you angry because he has employed all the interest which God has wonderfully given him with persons of the greatest quality, to increase the number of your powerful friends ; addressing the king and queen, the nobility, the convention and the parliaments, until the resettling of your old folds was most favourably voted for you ? Is your anger because the signal hand of heaven overruled all these endeavours ? Or is your displeasure that he hath cost you a little money to support his negotiations ? I am to tell you, that he spent two hundred pounds of his own personal estate in your service — never like to be repaid. He made over all his own American estate, that he might borrow more to serve you. At length he has obtained in boon for your college, and in the bounty, which he lately begged of the royal Juno, (a bounty worth more than fourteen or sixteen hundred pounds sterling,) got more for you than he has yet expended for your agency. Had you not starved your own cause, you had never missed so much as you say you have of your own expectations. Besides, how came you to have your title to all your lands and properties confirmed for ever ? Not one of you doth own one foot of land, but what you are now beholden to Mercury for your being undisturbed in it. Are you displeased because you have not a reversion of the judgment against your folds ? It was none of his fault ; and had such a thing happened, you had then been far more miserable than you are now like to be : for both Plymouth and the eastern provinces had been most certainly put under a commission government ; so likewise had Hampshire ; and if they should have a Brellin, yet his government would have reached as far south as Salem itself. How finely had your flock been deprived of your trade by this, and squeezed into an atom ! Nor could you have proceeded again, as formerly, upon your charter, without being quo-warrantoed.

Are you displeas'd because he did accept of Jupiter's offers? I say he did not accept, and the way is left open for you to recover all the liberties you would have, when you see a time to move in a legal way for it. Yea, he did absolutely reject as many of the offers as he could, and procur'd them to be alter'd. The rest he did not refuse, because you had infallibly been left open to a western condition, if he had gone on to protest. Moreover, you yourselves had forbidden him to refuse. Are you troubled because your liberties, whether as Christians or as Englishmen, are fully secur'd? Are you troubled because you have privileges above any part of the English nation whatsoever, either abroad or at home? Are you troubled that your officers are to be for ever your own; so that, if you please, you may always have your judges as at the first, and the counsellors as at the beginning? Is it your trouble that, by being without your charter, you are put into a condition to do greater and better things for yourselves than the charter did contain, or could have done? Did any man living more zealously oppose those one or two things that you account undesirable, than this faithful Mercury, at whom you fret for those things? Or must very much good be frowardly thrown away, because 'tis not all? If you would have more, don't blame your Mercury that you have so much." — So sang Orpheus, and, for the better harmony of the musick, eleven more of the celestial choristers join'd with him in it.

5. The sound of those things caus'd the sheep to be a little better satisfi'd; but Mercury was not much concern'd whether they were or no, for he look'd elsewhere for all the reward of his charitable undertakings; and he knows, he that would do froward sheep a kindness must do it them against their wills; only he wish'd the sheep would have a care of all snakes in the grass, who did mischief by insinuating, and employ'd their hisses to sow discord.

IV. *An additional Story of the Dogs and the Wolves, the Substance of which was used, an hundred and fifty Years ago, by Melancthon, to unite the Protestants.*

1. THE wolves and the dogs were going to meet each other in a battle, upon a certain old quarrel that was between them; and the wolves, that they might know the strength of the dogs aforehand, sent forth a scout.

2. The scout returned, and informed the wolves that the dogs were more numerous than they. Nevertheless, he bid them not be discouraged; for the dogs were not only divided into three or four several bodies, which had little disposition to help one another, but also they were very quarrelsome among themselves. One party was for having the army formed one way, and another party another. Some were not satisfied in their commanders; and the commanders themselves had their emulations. Nor did there want those among them, that accounted it more necessary to lie down where they were, and hunt and kill flees, than march forth to subdue wolves abroad. In short, there was little among them but snapping and snarling at one another; And therefore, said he, *monsieurs*, let's have at them: we shall easily play the wolf upon them that have played the dog upon one another.

3. This is a story so old, that, as the good man said, I hope it is not true.

To his Excellency and Council.

INASMUCH as the peace, by the good hand of God lately restored in the eastern parts of this province, affords a return of the opportunity to gospelize the In-

dians in those parts; the former neglects whereof, 'tis to be feared, have been chastised in the sore disasters, which the late wars with the salvages have brought upon us:

We do now humbly solicit your excellency and council, by all fit methods, to encourage a design of propagating the Christian faith among those miserable people: That so we may answer our profession, in the first settlement of this country, as well as the direction of our present charter: And that the French essays to proselyte the heathen unto popish idolatry, may not exceed our endeavours to engage them unto the evangelical worship of our Lord Jesus Christ: And that we may the more comfortably hope for the blessing of God on our trade in those parts, when we seek first the interests of his kingdom there: Which is the concurrent desire and prayer of,

Your excellency's and honours'

Most sincere servants,

CAMBRIDGE,
October 2, 1693.

INCREASE MATHER.
CHARLES MORTON.
JAMES ALLEN.
SAMUEL WILLARD.
COTTON MATHER.
NEHEMIAH WALTER.
JONATHAN PIERPONT.

PARIS, *January 26, 1698.*

May it please your Lordships,

HAVING, some time before my coming from England to this place, laid before your honours a certain memorial relating to the 8th article in the treaty of peace concluded between his majesty and the French king, which as you then did approve of, so likewise were pleased to lay your commands for further information of

any thing that might happen or occur to my knowledge by my being in France, and by my acquaintance with those here, who are more particularly interested in those countries; wherein I have not been wanting, to sound their intentions as far as opportunity has permitted, and am thereby the more confirmed of the necessity in asserting and maintaining our right in the fishery, and having them especially inserted by articles, conformable to my memorial as aforesaid. What I have now further to add for your lordships' information is, That the French will endeavour—and accordingly instructions will be given unto their commissioners—to endeavour to extend their limits unto the River of Kennebeck, making that the boundary between us on the eastern parts of New England, under the plausible pretence that, that river being more noted, and of the largest extent of any in those parts, crossing through the land almost unto the great river of Canada, they thereby shall be able to withhold the Indians under such a noted boundary from any further excursions upon us on the western side. But presuming that it will not be disagreeable unto your lordships that I give my sentiments herein—which I the rather do to prevent any surprise or mistake, which may arise from any their specious pretences—I shall therefore expose before your honours the nature, consequences and value of such a concession, which in a short time may be as fatal and irreparable unto the interest of the crown and the prosperity of those countries, as the late surrender of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Breda has proved.....As, first, I cannot see any further security concerning the Indians; but on the contrary, those Indians of that river, being our greatest enemies, will rather be encouraged than otherwise, seeing their country delivered up unto the French, which those barbarous nations will rather interpret to be for want of power to keep, than any voluntary resignation; so that we shall thereby become the object of their scorn and contempt, and which will rather encourage than restrain them in their

insolences and enterprizes upon us: whereas, if the French will truly endeavour to maintain and promote the publick peace and tranquillity, nothing is more easy than to restrain them under the limits they were formerly bounded in, which is the River of St. George, about five leagues to the eastward of Pemaquid, and was always the ancient boundary in my late uncle Sir Thomas Temple's patent, further than which they have no manner of pretence or claim: but the consequence to us, on the contrary, will be of utmost moment; as, first, we shall hereby be deprived of four or five of our best fishing harbours; secondly, the river being of much larger extent than Piscataqua, will be a perpetual supply of masts, timber, deal boards, when the others will fail, many parts of it being already exhausted by the continual exportation that has been made; thirdly, the goodness of the land, and its convenient situation, renders it advantageous to be re-established, by which and a prudent management of things with the natives, I do not hold it impossible nor improbable to reduce them to their ancient amity with us; for it will manifestly be their interest so to do, by reason of their being amongst us, and that we can, and always do supply them cheaper, and give better prices for their peltry, than the French; for it was not through hatred to us, but by the mismanagement of some amongst us, of which the French took advantage, insinuating things wholly suppositious, whereby they at last have influenced them to break out into war as at present;—I say, notwithstanding which they are to be regained, being a people that love their own interest, and do know and study it as much as others, &c. As to our fishery on the coast of Cape Sables, I find they will obstruct us if they can, and that nothing but a vigorous asserting of our uninterrupted right and custom will preserve us herein; But having in my former memorial said what is necessary on this and other subjects, I shall not now further detain your lordships, hoping that about three weeks hence I may be in London, where if in any

thing I may yet be serviceable, I shall at all times be ready to obey your lordships' commands, &c.

I am, with all profound respect,
Your lordships' most humble
and most obedient servant,

JOHN NELSON.

Read November 17, 1698.

Letter from Rev. Cotton Mather to Hon. John Saffin.

19 d. 5 m. 1710.

Honoured Sir,

You will give me leave to proceed in offering my poor advice upon your distressing affairs.

I am informed, that *M. Saffin* is inviting you to take your quarters where she has hers, and enjoy the best assistances her person and estate can give, to render your old age honourable and comfortable.

My humble opinion is, that you will do well to accept this offer, and spend the rest of your very little time in as easy and as pious a manner as 'tis possible.

'Tis my opinion, that your acceptance of this offer should be attended with two agreeable circumstances.

The one is, (as I have heretofore taken the leave to tell you,) that all *former and crooked things must be buried*. There must be no repeating of matters, which never can be exactly rectified. This would be an endless and useless embroilment. It can have no tendency to any good in the world. There is a Scotch proverb that you must keep to — *By-gones be by-gones, and fair play for the time to come*. That must be an ample satisfaction for all that is past. This must not be called a palliative cure, when the case admits no other. It is one of the most observable infirmities of old age, an inculcation of matters that have been often enough already spoken to. And allow me to be so pleasant as to say, you, sir, are

not ambitious, I hope, to discover many of those infirmities. As to your controversies with Mr. George, let there be no disputation between you and madam about them. Say to the gentleman himself, what you have to say. If madam study to make your condition easy, certainly you will make your conversation with her forever so. It is, you know, sir, better than I, the true spirit of a gentleman, to make his conversation easy to every one, especially to such a companion as madam will be to you.

The second is, that you do the part of a GENTLEMAN, in securing madam's interest from any future destruction or detriment, while she is devoting it, as far as may be, unto your present service. You have known what it is to treat a wife as becomes a gentleman; and you have told me, that in your former conduct towards this gentlewoman, you have not forgotten the laws of complaisance and of tenderness. Good sir, hold to them. And take it not amiss, if there should be made to you such overtures, as judicious and indifferent friends may approve on this occasion.

My opinion for your coming into such a cohabitation has a thousand reasons.

If you decline it, it will be improved vastly to your disreputation. It will cause them to forsake you, that are now desirous to assist you. If you were furnished with stores enough to carry on the wars, yet your age forbids it. You must cheerfully entertain the reputable character of a *miles emeritus*. There is nothing more decent than for old men to be aforehand in such a sense of themselves. You have the honour of an age, wherein the men who have done worthily in their day must have done with the world, and especially with the wars of it. I have an hundred times assumed the liberty to tell you, *Repose is the milk of old age*. I hope your piety will render it no ungrateful message to you, that you are just arrived unto this period of your days. Doubtless you are so wise, as to live in a daily expectation of your dissolution. It will be the worst thing imaginable for you now, sir, to be vexing yourself with business of a

wrangling importance. No, dear sir; you must now be wholly swallowed up in praying, in reading, in assiduous meditations on the heavenly world. The affairs of your husbandry at *Bristol*, methinks, you should rejoice in an opportunity to cast them off. *No more EARTH now, sir, but all for HEAVEN!* I add, you are just going before the eternal God; you must lay aside all bitterness. And the more bravely you forgive all real or supposed injuries, the more sweetly you will be prepared for the consolations of your own forgiveness. Good sir, throw all embitterments into a grave, before you go into your own.

You will ask, what assurances you shall have, that madam will do you good, and not evil, all the rest of the days of your life. My answer is, we must all be guarantees; that is to say, if there be any point, in which you think yourself unkindly dealt withal, we must, any of us, on the least intimation, readily offer to madam our sentiments; and we persuade ourselves, that she will readily hearken to us.

Dear sir, compose your mind; and by a generous casting yourself into the hands of the most suitable nurse in the world, put yourself into the most proper condition to wait for the time of your falling asleep in the arms of your great Saviour.

Pardon this freedom of,

Sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

CO. MATHER.

[Saffin died at Bristol ten days after the date of this letter. See Hutch. II. 172. Ed. 3. Ed.]

I RECEIVED the General Court's instructions, by which I have the happiness to understand, that the Court was pleased to approve my conduct in their affairs the last year. The first thing I did after coming to town, was

delivering your address to the king, which his majesty received with his wonted grace and favour. But the ministers of state have been so deeply engaged in negotiating a general peace, besides the hurry of parliamentary and other affairs at home, that I'm afraid they han't had time to consider it.

The Virginia merchants, who petitioned the parliament last year for the free importation of iron from the plantations, have done the same this session. They have indeed made a show of putting other naval stores, as timber, hemp and flax, in their petition; but the principal thing they aim at is iron, notwithstanding they know the parliament will not encourage the making that ore among us without discouraging at the same time our iron manufactures. The moment I had intelligence of what these gentlemen were contriving, I went to them and used all the arguments I could, and even the most passionate entreaties, to dissuade them from their purpose. I represented to them the inevitable destruction they would bring upon all the colonies, if the commons should pass the same bill they did before, and I should not have the same success I then had to get it flung out by the lords. But all arguments were in vain. There was no piercing the ears that were deafened by interest. These merchants think they shall get money by importing pig iron from Virginia, which consideration is so prevalent, that they care not what distresses they bring upon the poor inhabitants of the country. They would be well enough content to see us reduced to the servile condition of the Jews, when under the tyranny of the Philistines, who were not permitted to have a smith throughout all their land. I determined, therefore, to act against these people upon a separate bottom, and endeavour to get the article of iron left out, and to have the bill, with timber, hemp and flax in it, go on. I considered, if I could accomplish this, it would be better than to get the whole bill thrown out, as I did the last session, because the taking off the duty on timber will certainly be of great service to the province. You'll see, by comparing

the enclosed votes, that I have hitherto succeeded. In the votes of the 25th of February, the first thing in the petition is pig iron, and in the votes of the 22d of March, when leave is given to bring in the bill, iron is omitted; and in the votes of the 28th of the same month, when the bill is brought in and received, 'tis actually left out. The traders to Virginia, finding themselves frustrated in what they mainly, and I may say only, intended, are at work with their friends in the house of commons, to move that it may be an instruction to the committee, to receive a clause for the free importation of iron. I shall oppose this clause all I can, for fear of the consequences of it; and if I an't able to carry my point, then I shall endeavour to prevent the laying any prohibition upon our working iron; and if I fail in this too, then I must do as I did the last session—desire to be heard at the lords' bar before the bill pass. I shall be sorry to come to this last remedy, but if I must, I hope it will be effectual, seeing the reasons against the bill are the same they were, and my diligence shan't be less than it was, but, if possible, greater.

You have covered in this packet, a copy of my memorial addressed to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, praying that our right to gather salt at Tertudas may be owned and confirmed, and a liberty to cut wood at Campeache and Hundoras be granted us at the ensuing treaty of peace. If Gibraltar should be given up to Spain—as the nation generally fears it will—our ministers have declared in parliament, that the king will insist upon an equivalent; and in that case these particulars will make a part of it. This I am assured of. But then, on the other hand, if we can and do keep Gibraltar, which Spain earnestly desires, and claims our promise to surrender it, I believe the ministers will think themselves well off without demanding any new advantages from that crown, other than what shall be necessary for the South Sea Company to maintain their assiento, and commerce to the Spanish West Indies.

Sir Alexander Cairnes and his associates are at present

quiet as to their petition for lands in Nova Scotia. Now they see they can't carry their project to monopolize the fishing ground, and lay an indult upon all New England fish that is cured there, they seem inclined to drop the patent; which evidently demonstrates, that their true intention was not to settle towns, and plantations, and improve the fishery themselves, as they speciously pretended; but to sit lazily at the receipt of custom, to gather in their toll, and grow rich at our expense.

Mr. Coram has been also inactive this winter, but is now renewing his efforts, and gives out that he is sure of carrying his point. He has lately been at Haiburgh, a city on the Elbe belonging to his majesty, which having a good harbour, and being well situated over against Hamburgh, he proposed to the governour and magistrates there the getting an act of parliament for importing fir timber and deal boards from thence into Great Britain; by which means their city was to become the magazine of all the timber in Germany, and the mart for its sale and exportation. The governour and magistrates, pleased with this scheme, gave him commendatory letters to the German ministers at our court, under whose favour and influence a bill was brought into the house of commons for this purpose, but could not be carried for Haiburgh exclusively, though great interest was made for it, but extends indifferently to all the ports in Germany. However, Mr. Coram takes great merit to himself from what he has done, and fancies he has thereby secured a sufficient interest at court to carry his favourite design on our eastern lands, upon which he has fixed his views, and indefatigably laboured for so many years. I sent to him several times to let him know, that if he and his friends will be content to make Penobscot their western bounds, I'll give him no opposition, but assist him in getting his patent, and do him all the service in my power. But he is a man of that obstinate, persevering temper, as never to desist from his first enterprise, whatever obstacles lie in his way. So that I expect a good deal more trouble and expense, though I don't doubt of continuing to defeat him.

If the bill passes for taking off the duty on plantation timber, as I hope it will, we shall receive no detriment in that trade by the liberty given to import it from Germany. For it must pay the same duty coming from Germany as from Sweden; and though the Elbe be nearer the Thames than the Baltick, yet the British carriage, by which it must be brought hither, is so much dearer than that of the Swedes, that it's very probable there never will be one ship-load of wood imported from any of the German dominions.

I hear nothing lately of Mr. Usher's proceedings. Sir Matthew Dudley, who is his patron, was seized with an apoplexy some months ago, and has been confined to his house ever since; for which reason, I suppose, Mr. Usher has not been able to get forward in his business.

Mr. Andross, the nephew and executor of Sir Edmund, is at present in Guernsey, but soon expected here, when, 'tis believed, he'll make some new motion at the council board for the pretended arrears due to him as executor to his uncle. If he should stir any further, I shall observe the instructions of the Court upon that head.

I present the Assembly with a book writ by Sir Hovendon Walker, and published this winter under the title of a Journal of the Expedition to Canada, in which there are so many things relating to New England, that I think it more proper to send over the treatise itself than to extract any passages from it. He imputes the fatal miscarriage of that enterprise to the ignorance of our pilots, and an unaccountable backwardness in the people to despatch the fleet. But though he calls this pretended backwardness of the people unaccountable, yet he afterwards pretends to account for it, and that in so extraordinary a manner, as leaves it hard to say whether it be more villanous or ridiculous. He relates a story of one Monsieur Ronde Denie, who was sent from the governour of Placentia with a private commission to the government of New England to dissuade them from joining with the arms of England against Canada; and then, though he is not so rash as to affirm

that we were influenced by this negotiation, against the duty of our allegiance and the apparent interest of the province, yet he very plainly suggests it, and leaves the reader at full liberty to believe it. When this book first came out I intended to answer it, and for that end applied at the secretary of state's office for the pilot's affidavits, which I lodged there in the queens's reign, but there have been so many changes since in that office, that nobody knew any thing of them. I went afterwards to Col. Nicholson, imagining he might have duplicates, but he either had none or would not produce them. I think these affidavits are so essential to the country's justification in the accusation about the pilots, that it can't be undertaken without them. In the mean while it is some satisfaction, that Sir Hovendon's book is a very weak performance, and so little taken notice of, that it can't do us much, if any harm. And, indeed, I don't know whether it is not better to let it remain in its present obscurity, than to give it credit and make it considerable by answering it. However, if the General Court think it deserves an answer, and will enjoin me the task, I shall do my best, and think my pen can't be so well employed as in defence of the honour of my country. But in this case I must desire to have the affidavits above-mentioned, and any other materials that may be thought proper.

I have a good while had it in my thoughts to mention something in my publick letter about your custom of printing the Journals of the Assembly's votes and proceedings every session. It is with great satisfaction that I read there frequent accounts of your laying out new townships, settling ministers and schools, enlarging your college, regulating trade and manufactures, and doing many other things, which show the growing state of the province, and the good order of the government. But that which gives me pleasure, gives others pain. People here are very apt to read these things with jealous eyes; and when they find in the same journals, that all business is transacted in the Council and Assembly, and confe-

rences managed between the two houses with the same decency and solemnity as in the parliament of Great Britain, they fancy us to be a little kind of sovereign state, and conclude for certain that we shall be so in time to come, and that the crown will not be able to reduce us at so great a distance from the throne. Now, though these fancies are the most absurd and unreasonable in the world, yet when men have once taken them into their heads, it's hard to get them out again. I have therefore ever found, since I have had the honour of serving the province, that our greatest prudence is to lie quiet and as unobserved as we can ; and that the less show we make to the world, the safer we are from the stroke of publick as well as private envy. I would then, sir, with all submission, propose it to the wisdom of the General Court to consider what advantage the printing of their journals brings to the province, and whether that advantage, whatever it be, will balance the inconvenience I have mentioned. I know the clerk of the house will be a loser, if this practice should be discontinued ; but I suppose that is not a consideration of any great moment, being easy to be made up some other way ; besides, I have had so long experience of that gentleman's disinterested love and zeal for his country, that I am sure he would cheerfully resign any perquisite or profit accruing to himself, if it were judged to be inconsistent with the publick prosperity. If what I have said on this subject be thought too officious, as not being within my instructions, I hope it will be excused for my good meaning.

I had almost forgot to mention my poor crazy countrywoman, Mrs. Watts, though I have memorandums enough not to forget her, for she still gives me trouble and charge about her mad lawsuit. She preferred, this winter, a petition in the court of chancery against the commissioners of sequestration, who discharged the New England ships last year, for taking a bribe, and against me for giving it. She has now got a new set of commissioners, who are a pack of hungry fellows, ready for

any dirty work, if they can get a penny by it. And these fellows are to sequester the ships that are now ready to sail, if I don't prevent them by throwing a little dust in their eyes. There's no other way of proceeding than this, unless I would appear in court, and take on me the defence of the suit, which I shall never do without your positive commands, because it would subject the province to a trial where the cause ought not to be heard, and would be a dangerous precedent in cases that may hereafter happen. If Col. Burgess had well considered what he did, when he put in an appearance for the province, 'tis probable he would not have done it. But it's too late to look back to that mistake. 'Tis to be hoped that Dr. Morton, who has hitherto supported this mad woman with money, will at length see his own madness in doing it, and then the suit must have an end.

I can't finish my letter without mentioning the death of the Honourable Sir William Ashhurst, by which the province sustains a great and irreparable loss. He was a hearty lover of our civil and religious liberties, and stood faithful to all our interests in the various changes of the court and ministry here. I can say, from my own ten years' experience, that I never asked his assistance for New England, but he was both ready and pleased to give it; and though he had an extreme aversion to a court, and the tedious ceremonies of attendance there, yet he always went with alacrity when there was a prospect of doing us service. Such generous and disinterested friends are at all times scarce and valuable, but were never more wanted by New England than now. I hope therefore the Assembly will pardon me, that I pay this little tribute of respect to the memory of their departed friend, Sir William Ashhurst.

I have nothing further to add, but that you'll please to present my humble duty and service to the General Court.

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

JER. DUMMER.

LONDON, 8th April, 1720.

Letter from Secretary Willard to Mr. Whitefield.....1744.

Dear Sir,

I SUPPOSE you have heard, before this time, of the many papers that have been published since your leaving the town, to set you in an ill light, and to persuade the people into a bad opinion of you. I can't understand that these things have made any impression to your disadvantage on the minds of those ministers in this town, who have before shewn themselves well affected to you. And as it is the opinion of all your friends that I have lately discoursed with, that it seems necessary for the honour of religion, and your future usefulness in this [and ?] the neighbouring provinces, that you should publish something in answer to these reproaches; and as this is a matter of great importance; I am desired by some of your dear friends, and prompted, I trust, by an earnest desire to promote the kingdom of Christ among us, as well as by a cordial affection to you, to entreat you to consult with the ministers of this town above-mentioned, in what manner to act in this momentous business, so that, by the blessing of God [on ?] your endeavours, honest and well-minded people, that are misled, (as I doubt not but that there are many such,) may be undeceived, and those that act upon bad principles may be confuted and silenced, or at least disabled from making any further ill impressions upon those who are friends to the cause of religion.—You will excuse me that I so often urge your advising with your brethren in the ministry upon these weighty matters, wherein the glory of God and the good of souls is so deeply concerned. I think I am not without the authority of scripture to justify me. It is almost the whole scope of the 12th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, to shew the mutual dependence Christians have on one another by reason of the various dispensation of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, for the edification of the body of Christ; so that it is evident there is no monopoly in this

case. If I am mistaken in this matter, your candour, I doubt not, will excuse me. I am sensible, that if I have any true spiritual light, it is very dim and obscure. It is my daily prayer (wherein I doubt not but I have your concurrence with me) that the true light, which lighteth every man that comes into the world, would guide me in the ways of truth and righteousness.

Letter from Gov. Pownall to Gov. Hutchinson.

LONDON, September 9, 1767.

Dear Sir,

THE dissipation both of the business and what are called the pleasures of London, take up more time than real business, so that I find myself more in arrears in the correspondent with my friends, than I used to do when I had much more business.

I am now in town in my way to Lincolnshire. Yesterday I met your kind present of the second part of your History of the Massachusetts, which I am much obliged to ——. I have by me some old papers relative to the history of the Massachusetts, which you gave me, I believe, collected and stitched together by Mr. Cotton. If they shall be of any use to you, I will send them by the first opportunity that I know they are so. I have as yet received no letter from you, so fear that must have miscarried.—Without your knowledge or application, I took the liberty, upon the establishment of the Board of Revenue in America, to apply to have you named as one, and, as I wrote you in my last, I thought it was decided that you was to be named, and to be first. I did not, indeed, totally rely on it, as you will have seen by my last; and the Duke of Grafton's letter decides that point. However, I may venture to explain to you the first part of his letter. It is meant that you shall have a handsome salary fixed as chief justice, as soon as

the American revenue shall create a fund. I think on that occasion it would be right to solicit a patent from the crown for that place. If all on this last ground succeeds as meant, I think 'twill be much better for you, and what you will like better.

If the people of the province would be advised, one might serve them and the colonies in general. The point of being exempt from being taxed by parliament, they never will carry, but will every time lose something by the struggle. The point of having representatives, if pursued prudently, and in the right line, I am sure they might and ought to carry. And whatever they may think of keeping the power of taxing themselves by their own legislatures in general matters, exclusive of parliament, they will be disappointed, and by aiming at the shadow lose the substance. Now, from principle of opinion, thinking it best both for Great Britain and the colonies, on the plan of a general union of the parts, I shall always support the doctrine of the colonies sending representatives to parliament. I have done and shall do it as long as I am in parliament, both in parliament and out of the house. From principle of affection and gratitude, I shall ever support and defend the people of the Massachusetts Bay, as I did last sessions, when some people were for extending the censure laid on New York to the Massachusetts.

People come in and interrupt me ; so I must conclude with assuring you how much

I am,

Dear sir,

Your real friend and servant,

T. POWNALL.

Will you be so good to show Capt. Hallowell my letter and the duke's answer, that he may see that I recommended him? though the duke in his answer has not mentioned his name.

MASHPEE, *December 31, 1770.*

Honoured Sir,

I PRESENT your honour my humble duty and gratitude for your many favours to me and my people, and beg leave to transmit you the following account of the longevity of some of my Indians; although none of them have arrived to the age of the Nipmug, who visited Boston in the year 1723, whom your honour has mentioned in your History. I need not observe to you, that the only way to determine the ages of Indians, is by comparing them with the ages of their cotemporaries among the English, or some remarkable era in history.

I will first mention the family of Popmunnuck, who appeared in the year 1648 as chief sachem to this tribe, and left two sons, whose names are preserved, viz. Simon and Caleb, and another, whose name I am not able at present to ascertain.

Simon succeeded Mr. Richard Bourn as pastor to this church, and lived to a great age. He had three children living when I came here, viz. Isaac, Experience, and Josiah.

Isaac was a deacon of this church, and for many years an Indian magistrate of great reputation. He died April, 1753, aged about fourscore.

Experience, his sister, lived till November, 1761, when she was fourscore and five years, and had been blind many years. I have seen her spin linen yarn when she could scarcely discern the day from night.

Josiah, her brother, died this present year, aged about eighty-five years. He had been a schoolmaster here till he was too old for the service. It was remarkable that, after he was confined to his house, he could eat very heartily of fish, such as eels and bace, without any apparent injury to his health. He seemed to sleep away a year or two [of] his life without much sensibility.

Caleb, brother to Simon, was for many years an Indian magistrate of great reputation, and died with extreme age. He had one son that I knew, and who died

in my neighbourhood in January, 1767, not so properly of age as by reason of the severity of a storm, against which he was not suitably defended. He lived till he was ninety years old, being born, as he told me — and I have reason to think he did not misinform me — a year or two after the conclusion of Philip's war. This Indian for many years had been called *Old Zephaniah*.

There are two of the Popmunnuck family now living, who are both not much less than fourscore years. However, they have not all lived to this great age. My good deacon, a steady, industrious, sober man, who constantly attended the publick worship, and was one of my great friends, and the only man of my people that I could fully rely upon, died October last, in the fifty-first year of his age. This deacon descended from a Popmunnuck, who was brother to Simon and Caleb.

I have a few more instances of longevity, that I will only mention, viz. Mercy Richards, who died in 1759, about ninety. Her sister, Elizabeth Zachary, who died 1761, was about seventy-eight. Her brother, Josias Peter, who was very forward for my settlement here, died 1762, when he was about seventy-six. And they left a sister, who is now living, and upward of fourscore.

The widow Peage died in 1763, and the widow Absalom in 1765, being by estimation about ninety at their deaths.

I have found no such instances of longevity among the western Indians. At Onohoquaga none of their men, after I knew them, arrived to sixty. Among Johnson's Mohawks, Abraham and Hendrick were the oldest of their tribe, when they died; and neither of them were seventy at their deaths. I saw a sister of theirs in 1765, who appeared to be several years above seventy. At Stockbridge, Capt. Kunkapot was for many years the oldest man in his tribe. I have not heard how old he was at his death, but am persuaded that he did not arrive to eighty.

As I have given your honour an account of several instances of longevity, I beg leave to conclude with a

singular instance of matrimony in advanced life, which I attended among my people the week before last, when I married Timothy Right, who is not less than fourscore and five years, to a woman under fifty. Timothy has *not* been remarkable for his temperance.

I can only add, that

I am,
With very great respect,
Honoured sir,
Your honour's most obliged humble servant,
GIDEON HAWLEY.

His Honour the Lieut. Governour, }
[HUTCHINSON.] }

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, TAKEN DE-
CEMBER 14, 1742.

Wards.	Souls.	Houses.	Wareh.	Negroes.	Horses.	Cows.
No. 1.	1028	106	4	44	8	7
2.	1483	147		76	5	5
3.	1255	127	11	105	16	4
4.	1135	110		84	21	4
5.	1328	132	12	109	31	4
6.	1363	142	15	115	31	5
7.	1204	127	8	124	37	21
8.	1216	146	99	135	45	7
9.	1264	139	8	166	47	9
10.	1857	195	4	167	61	26
11.	1365	138	5	115	40	15
12.	1884	208		134	76	34
	16382	1717	166	1374	418	141

110 persons in the Alms House.

36 in the Work House.

1200 widows, and 1000 of them poor.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Continued from Vol. X. Second Series, p. 56.

HOPKINTON.

THE Congregational church in Hopkinton was organized 23 November, 1757. Rev. James Scales, who graduated at Harvard College in 1733, was the first minister, and was ordained the same day the church was formed. The church records say, in reference to this event, that "there was yet no house for the publick worship of God in the place, because the place being the outmost settlement, and much exposed in time of war: therefore the ordination was solemnized in Putney's Fort, so called, and the numerous spectators attended the solemnity abroad in the open air, the weather being very warm, calm and pleasant for the season." Rev. Mr. Scales was dismissed 4 July, 1770, and was succeeded by Rev. Elijah Fletcher, who was ordained 27 January, 1773. He was son of Timothy Fletcher of Westford, Mass., and graduated at Harvard College in 1769. He died 8 April, 1786, in the 39th year of his age, and of five ministers settled in that town, is the only one who has died there. Rev. Jacob Cram, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1782, succeeded Mr. Fletcher, 25 February, 1789, and was dismissed 6 January, 1792. Mr. Cram was succeeded by Rev. Ethan Smith, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1790. He was installed 12 March, 1800, having been previously settled in the ministry at Haverhill, N. H., and was dismissed 16 December, 1817. He is author of a Dissertation on the Prophecies, a View of the Hebrews, and several other religious publications. Rev. Roger C. Hatch succeeded Mr. Smith, and was ordained 21 October, 1818. He was graduated at Yale College in 1815.

CONCORD.

The Congregational church in Concord is the oldest in the county of Merrimack. It was organized 18 November, 1730. The first minister was Rev. Timothy Walker, from Woburn, Massachusetts, who graduated at Harvard College in 1725. He was ordained 18 November, 1730. The sermon at his ordination was delivered by Rev. John Barnard of Andover, from Prov. ix. 1, 2, and was printed. Rev. Mr. Walker died 2 September, 1782. He was chosen agent for the town to defend their lawsuits with the proprietors of Bow, and for this purpose made three voyages to England, where he became acquainted with Sir William Murray, afterwards Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, who was his counsellor and advocate in the first cause.* Rev. Israel Evans, born in Pennsylvania in 1747, who graduated at Princeton College in 1772, succeeded Mr. Walker, and was installed 1 July, 1789. The sermon was preached by Rev. Joseph Eckley of Boston, from 2 Cor. iv. 7. Rev. Mr. Evans resigned the pastoral charge 1 July, 1797, and died at Concord, 9 March, 1807, aged 60. He was a chaplain in the revolutionary army; was at Quebeck with Montgomery; at the capture of Burgoyne; accompanied General Sullivan on his Indian expedition, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown. Mr. Evans was succeeded, 7 March, 1798, by Rev. Asa Mac Farland, D. D. from Worcester, Mass. who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793. The sermon at his ordination was delivered by Rev. Professor John Smith of Dartmouth College. The degree of D. D. was conferred on him by Yale College in 1809. He is author of a View of Heresies, an Election Sermon, and various other occasional discourses.

* J. B. Moore's Annals of Concord, p. 43.

HILLSBOROUGH.

The Congregational church in Hillsborough was gathered 12 October, 1769. Rev. Jonathan Barns, who graduated at Harvard College in 1770, was ordained 25 November, 1772, dismissed 20 October, 1803, and died 3 August, 1805. He published one sermon after his dismissal. Rev. Stephen Chapin, (now D. D.) who graduated at Harvard College in 1804, was ordained 19 June, 1805; sermon by Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D. of Franklin, from Acts xx. 21. Mr. Chapin was dismissed 12 May, 1808, and was afterwards settled at Mont Vernon, where he espoused the sentiments of the Baptists, which occasioned his dismissal. Rev. Stephen Chapin was succeeded by Rev. Seth Chapin, a graduate of Brown University in 1808. He was ordained 1 January, 1812 — sermon by Rev. Ephraim P. Bradford of New Boston, from Luke ii. 34 — and dismissed 26 June, 1816. Rev. Seth Chapin was succeeded by Rev. John Lawton, from Vermont, who was installed 7 November, 1821, who continues in the ministry.

Concord, N. H. 27 March, 1824.

INSTANCES OF LONGEVITY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Continued from Vol. X. Second Series, p. 181.

Time of Decease.	Names.	Residence.	Age.
1796,	Benjamin Richards,	Atkinson,	96
1798,	Elizabeth Wells,	Portsmouth,	93
1798,	Ann Langdon,	Portsmouth,	93
1800,	Solomon Emerson,	Madbury,	91
1801,	Mary Caswell,	Isle of Shoals,	90

Time of Decease.	Names.	Residence.	Age.
1801,	John Banfill,	Portsmouth,	99
1801,	Stephen Burnham,	Milford,	90
1801,	Hannah Huse,	Portsmouth,	90
1803,	Deborah Allen,	Deerfield,	95
1807,	Isaac Smith,*	Mont Vernon,	91
1807,	Widow Prescott,	Deerfield,	96
1807,	Thomas Livingston,	Henniker,	95
1808,	Samuel Allen,	Wakefield,	97
1809,	Abigail Jones,		93
1811,	Esther Scott,	Hollis,	94
1812,	Deacon Abraham True,	Deerfield,	90
1815,	Dorothy Hall,†	Winchester,	94
1815,	Jonathan Lampson,	Mont Vernon,	90
1815,	Widow Wilkinson,	Deerfield,	90
1815,	Widow Griffin,	Deerfield,	91
1816,	Josiah Batchelder,	Deerfield,	92
1816,	Samuel Cate,	Loudon,	92
1816,	Widow of Dea. True,	Deerfield,	95
1818,	Abigail Greely,	Nottingham-west,	95
1819,	Jane Woodward,	Greenfield,	96
1819,	Robert Starkweather,	Westmoreland,	91
1819,	Hannah Bradford,‡	Milford,	96
1819,	Mary Cavis,	Bow,	90
1819,	Phebe Lord,	Surry,	93
1819,	Daniel Emerson,||	New Chester,	96
1820,	Benjamin Hopkins,	Milford,	95
1820,	Widow Webster,	Deerfield,	94
1820,	Thomas Wheat,	Groton,	98
1820,	Patience Sibley,§	Poplin,	101
1821,	Nathaniel Danforth,	Salisbury,	96
1821,	Ephraim Gile,	Sutton,	90

* Inserted among those of uncertain date in the former list.

† Erroneously inserted Deborah Hale in the former list.

‡ Inserted in the former list among those of uncertain date.

|| Erroneously inserted in the last volume as *Mrs.* Emerson

§ Erroneously inserted as Widow Cilley, Vol. X. p. 179.

Time of Decease.	Names.	Residence.	Age.
1821,	Sarah White,	Walpole,	91
1821,	Lucy Place,	Rochester,	93
1822,	Lieut. Temple Kendall,	Dunstable,	91
1822,	Elizabeth Ham,	Rochester,	97
1822,	Hannah Bayley,*	Chesterfield,	104
1822,	Daniel Jones,	Southampton,	92
1822,	John Durgin,	Northwood,	96
1822,	John Brown,	Pittsfield,	90
1822,	David Flanders,	Plaistow,	94
1822,	Mary Ham,†	Deerfield,	94
1822,	Lieut. Joseph Kimball,	Plainfield,	91
1822,	Susanna Thompson,	Lee,	91
1822,	Martha Batchelder,	Loudon,	99
1822,	Daniel Albert,	Dublin,	96
1822,	Benjamin Davis,	Amherst,	98
1822,	Abigail Watts,	Alstead,	91
1822,	Experience Barrus,	Richmond,	92
1822,	Dorcas Clark,	Keene,	95
1823,	Samuel Badger,	Amherst,	90
1823,	Kezia Morse,	Marlborough,	90
1823,	John Abbot,	Loudon,	95
1823,	Lucy Ames,	Lempster,	91
1823,	Samuel Estabrook,	Lebanon,	94
1823,	John Eaton,	Hopkinton,	90
1823,	Elizabeth Tyler,	Claremont,	92
1823,	Moses Foster,	Pembroke,	95
1823,	Sarah Wheat,	Groton,	93
1823,	Deacon John Locke,	Sullivan,	90
1823,	Hon. John Duncan,	Antrim,	90
1823,	Hannah Parker,	Pembroke,	97
1823,	Lydia Bean,	Weare,	93

* Inserted as Mrs. Cephas, among the *living*, when the former list was prepared. She had been the widow of a Mr. Cephas, but at the time of her death, (Nov. 1822, aged 104 years and 3 months,) was widow of Josiah Bayley, formerly of Lunenburg, Mass.

† She was sister of Mrs. Pitman, mentioned in the former list, who died in 1817, aged 100.

Time of Decease.	Names.	Residence.	Age.
1823,	Sarah Messer,	New London,	90
1823,	Joanna Pool,	Plainfield,	92
1823,	Samuel Welch,*	Bow,	112
1823,	Abigail Roberts,	Durham,	104
1823,	Sarah Blanchard,	Deering,	99
1823,	Capt. Nath'l Woodbury,	Amherst,	94
1823,	Widow Elizabeth Prince,	Amherst,	98
1823,	Mary Butler,	Pelham,	94
1823,	Lieut. Richard Herbert,	Concord,	94
1823,	Robert Davis,	Concord,	90
1823,	John Kennedy,	Unity,	97
1823,	Beulah Philbrick,	Weare,	93
1823,	Thomas Woolson,	Amherst,	93
1823,	Sarah Moulton,	Gilmanton,	91
1823,	Perry Hixon,	Strafford,	99
1823,	Nathaniel Bacon,	Chesterfield,	96
1823,	Daniel Hawkins, Esq.	Winchester,	95
1823,	Sarah Dame,	Newington,	101
1823,	David Hale,	New Boston,	93
1823,	Simeon Wiggin, Esq.	Stratham,	90
1823,	Madam Mary Barnard,†	Amherst,	102

Concord, N. H. 4 November, 1823.

* The venerable SAMUEL WELCH, the oldest native of New Hampshire who ever died in the state, departed this life at Bow, April 5, 1823, aged 112 years, 6 months and 23 days. On the 10th of March preceding his death, the writer of this note, in company with Mr. Jacob B. Moore, visited him at his residence. To the question, "How old are you, Mr. Welch?" he promptly replied, "An hundred and twelve years and a half." Though feeble and very infirm, he retained a good share of his intellectual powers. His death corresponded with his life—it was calm and tranquil.

† Mentioned among the living in the preceding list. She was mother of Rev. Jeremiah Barnard of that town, and was born in Massachusetts in April, 1722.

SEVEN LETTERS OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

[THE first of these letters of Roger Williams was probably written, either in August, 1636, before Endecot's expedition, or in October after it; the second 20 August, 1637; the third 28 October, 1637; the fourth, probably, in June, 1638; the fifth about August, 1638; the sixth about September, 1638—all addressed to Governour Winthrop; the seventh, to his eldest son, has a full date. ED.]

I.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 2d of the week.

Sir,

THE latter end of the last week I gave notice to our neighbour princes of your intentions and preparations against the common enemy, the Pequots. At my first coming to them, Caunonicus (*morosus æque ac barbarus senex*) was very sour, and accused the English and myself for sending the plague amongst them, and threatening to kill him especially.

Such tidings (it seems) were lately brought to his ears by some of his flatterers and our ill-willers. I discerned cause of bestirring myself, and staid the longer, and at last (through the mercy of the Most High) I not only sweetened his spirit, but possest him, that the plague and other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being displeased with the English for lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness, (the natives' epidemical sins,) smote many thousands of us ourselves with general and late mortalities.

Miantunnomu kept his barbarous court lately at my house, and with him I have far better dealing. He takes some pleasure to visit me, and sent me word of his coming over again some eight days hence.

They pass not a week without some skirmishes, though hitherto little loss on either side. They were glad of your preparations, and in much conference with themselves and others, (fishing *de industria* for instructions

from them,) I gathered these observations, which you may please (as cause may be) to consider and take notice of:

1. They conceive that to do execution to purpose on the Pequits, will require not two or three days and away, but a riding by it and following of the work to and again the space of three weeks or a month, that there be a falling off and a retreat, as if you were departed, and a falling on again within three or four days, when they are returned again to their houses securely from their flight.

2. That if any pinnaces come in ken, they presently prepare for flight, women and old men and children, to a swamp some three or four miles on the back of them, a marvellous great and secure swamp, which they called Ohomowauke, which signifies owl's nest, and by another name, Cuppacommock, which signifies a refuge or hiding place, as I conceive.

3. That therefore Nayantaquit (which is Miantunno-mue's place of rendezvous) be thought on for the riding and retiring to of vessel or vessels, which place is faithful to the Nanhiggonticks and at present enmity with the Pequits.

4. They also conceive it easy for the English, that the provisions and munition first arrive at Aquednetick, called by us Rode-Island, at the Nanhiggontick's mouth, and then a messenger may be despatched hither, and so to the bay, for the soldiers to march up by land to the vessels, who otherwise might spend long time about the cape and fill more vessels than needs.

5. That the assault would be in the night, when they are commonly more secure and at home, by which advantage the English, being armed, may enter the houses and do what execution they please.

6. That before the assault be given, an ambush be laid behind them, between them and the swamp, to prevent their flight, &c.

7. That to that purpose such guides as shall be best liked of be taken along to direct, especially two Pequits,

viz. Wequash and Wuttackquíackommin, valiant men, especially the latter, who have lived these three or four years with the Nanhiggonticks, and know every pass and passage amongst them, who desire armour to enter their houses.

8. That it would be pleasing to all natives, that women and children be spared, &c.

9. That if there be any more land travel to Qunnihticut, some course would also be taken with the Wunhowatuckoogs, who are confederates with and a refuge to the Pequits.

Sir, if any thing be sent to the princes, I find that Cagnonicus would gladly accept of a box of eight or ten pounds of sugar, and indeed he told me he would thank Mr. Governour for a box full.

Sir, you may please to take notice of a rude view, how the Pequits lie :

River Qunnihticut.

○ a fort of the *Nayantaquit* men, confederate with the *Pequits*.

Mohiganic

River.

Wein ○ *shauks*, where
Sasacous the chief *Sachim* is.

Ohom ||| | *owauke*, the swamp,
three or four miles from—

Mis ○ *tick*, where is *Mamoho*, another chief *sachim*.

River.

Nayanta ○ *quit*, where is *Wepiteamnock* and our friends.

River.

Thus, with my best salutes to your worthy selves and loving friends with you, and daily cries to the Father of mercies for a merciful issue to all these enterprises, I rest

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

For his much honoured *Mr. Governour*,
and *Mr. WINTHROP*, Deputy Governour
of the *Massachusetts*, these. }

II.

NEW PROVIDENCE, 20th of the 6th.

Much honoured Sir,

YOURS by Yotaash (Miantunnomue's brother) received, I accompanied him to the Nanhiggonticks, and having got Canounicus and Miantunnomu with their council together, I acquainted them faithfully with the contents of your letter, both grievances and threatenings; and to demonstrate, I produced the copy of the league, (which Mr. Vane sent me,) and with breaking of a straw in two or three places, I showed them what they had done.

In sum their answer was, that they thought they should prove themselves honest and faithful, when Mr. Governour understood their answers; and that (although they would not contend with their friends) yet they could relate many particulars, wherein the English had broken (since these wars) their promises, &c.

First then, concerning the Pequet squaws, Canounicus answered, that he never saw any, but heard of some that came into these parts, and he bad carry them back to Mr. Governour, but since he never heard of them till I came, and now he would have the country searched for them. Miantunnomu answered, that he never heard of but six, and four he saw which were brought to him, at which he was angry, and asked why they did not carry them to me, that I might convey them home again. Then he bid the natives that brought them to carry them to me, who departing brought him word, that the squaws were lame, and they could not travel. Whereupon he sent me word, that I should send for them. This I must acknowledge, that this message I received from him, and sent him word, that we were but few here, and could not fetch them, nor convey them, and therefore desired him to send men with them, and to seek out the rest. Then, saith he, we were busy ten or twelve days together, as indeed they were in a strange

kind of solemnity, wherein the sachims eat nothing but at night, and all the natives round about the country were feasted. In which time, saith he, I wished some to look to them, which notwithstanding, in this time, they scaped; and now he would employ men instantly to search all places for them, and within two or three days to convey them home. Besides he profest that he desired them not, and was sorry the governour should think he did. I objected, that he sent to beg one. He answered, that Sassamun, being sent by the governour with letters to Pequet, fell lame, and, lying at his house, told him of a squaw he saw, which was a sachim's daughter, who while he lived was his, Miantunnomue's, great friend. He therefore desired, in kindness to his dead friend, to beg her, or redeem her.

Concerning his departure from the English, and leaving them without guides, he answered, first, that they had been faithful, many hundreds of them, (though they were solicited to the contrary,) that they stuck to the English in life or death, without which they were persuaded that Okace and the Mohiganeucks had proved false, (as he fears they will yet,) as also that they never had found a Pequet, and therefore, saith he, sure there was some cause. I desired to know it. He replied in these words, Chenock euse wetompatimucks? that is, Did ever friends deal so with friends? Urging wherein, he told me this tale: that his brother, Yotaash, had seized upon Puttaquppuunck, Quame and twenty Pequets and three-score squaws, they killed three and bound the rest, watching them all night, and sending for the English, delivered them to them in the morning. Miantunnomu (who according to promise came by land with two hundred men, killing ten Pequets in their march) was desirous to see the great sachim, whom his brother had taken, being now in the English houses, but (saith he) I was thrust at with a pike many times, that I durst not come near the door. I objected, he was not known. He and others affirmed, he was, and asked, if they should have dealt so with Mr. Governour. I still denied, that

he was known, &c. Upon this, he saith, all my company were disheartened, and they all and Cutshamoquene desired to be gone; and yet, saith he, two of my men (Wagonckwhut and Maunamoh) were their guides to Sesquankit from the river's mouth.

Sir, I dare not stir coals, but I saw them to [be ?] much disregarded by many, which their ignorance imputed to all, and thence came the misprision, and blessed be the Lord, things were not worse.

I objected, they received Pequots and wampom without Mr. Governour's consent. Caunounicus replied, that although he and Miantunnomu had paid many hundred fathom of wampom to their soldiers, as Mr. Governour did, yet he had not received one yard of beads nor a Pequot. Nor, saith Miantunnomu, did I but one small present from four women of Long Island, which were no Pequots, but of that isle, being afraid, desired to put themselves under my protection.

By the next I shall add something more of consequence, and which must cause our loving friends at Qunnihticut to be very watchful, as also, if you please, their grievances, which I have laboured already to answer, to preserve the English name; but now end abruptly with best salutes and earnest prayers for your peace with the God of peace and all men. So praying, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All loving respects to Mrs. Winthrop and yours, as also to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, theirs, and Mr. Wilson, &c.

*For his much honoured Mr. Governour, }
these. }*

III.

The last of the week, I think the 28th of the 8th.

Sir,

THIS bearer, Miantunnomu, resolving to go on his visit, I am bold to request a word of advice from you concerning a proposition made by Caunonicus and himself to me some half year since. Caunonicus gave an island in this bay to Mr. Oldam, by name Chibachuwese, upon condition, as it should seem, that he would dwell there near unto them. The Lord (in whose hands all hearts are) turning their affections towards myself, they desired me to remove thither and dwell nearer to them. I have answered once and again, that for present I mind not to remove; but if I have it from them, I would give them satisfaction for it, and build a little house and put in some swine, as understanding the place to have store of fish and good feeding for swine. Of late I have heard, that Mr. Gibbons, upon occasion, motioned your desire and his own of putting some swine on some of these islands, which hath made me since more desire to obtain it, because I might thereby not only benefit myself, but also pleasure yourself whom I more desire to pleasure and honour. I spake of it now to this sachim, and he tells me, that because of the store of fish, Caunonicus desires that I would accept half, (it being spectacle-wise, and between a mile or two in circuit, as I guess,) and he would reserve the other; but I think, if I go over, I shall obtain the whole. Your loving counsel, how far it may be inoffensive, because it was once (upon a condition not kept) Mr. Oldam's. So, with respective salutes to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, I rest

Your worship's unfeigned, in all I may,

RO. WILLIAMS.

*For his much honoured Mr. Governour, }
these.*

IV.

Sir,

I PERCEIVE by these your last thoughts, that you have received many accusations and hard conceits of this poor native Miantunnomu, wherein I see the vain and empty puff of all terrene promotions, his barbarous birth or greatness being much honoured, confirmed and augmented (in his own conceit) by the solemnity of his league with the English and his more than ordinary entertainment, &c. now all dashed in a moment in the frowns of such in whose friendship and love lay his chief advancement.

Sir, of the particulars, some concern him only, some Caunonicus and the rest of the sachims, some all the natives, some myself.

For the sachims, I shall go over speedily, and acquaint them with particulars. At present, let me still find this favour in your eyes, as to obtain an hearing, for that your love hath never denied me, which way soever your judgment hath been (I hope and I know you will one day see it) and been carried.

Sir, let this barbarian be proud and angry and covetous and filthy, hating and hateful, (as we ourselves have been till kindness from heaven pitied us, &c.) yet let me humbly beg relief, that for myself, I am not yet turned Indian, to believe all barbarians tell me, nor so basely presumptuous as to trouble the eyes and hands of such (and so honoured and dear) with shadows and fables. I commonly guess shrewdly at what a native utters, and, to my remembrance, never wrote particular, but either I know the bottom of it, or else I am bold to give a hint of my suspense.

Sir, therefore in some things at present (begging your wonted gentleness toward my folly) give me leave to show you how I clear myself from such a lightness.

I wrote lately (for that you please to begin with) that some Pequets, (and some of them actual murderers of

the English, and that also after the fort cut off) were now in your hands. Not only love, but conscience, forced me to send, and speedily, on purpose, by a native, mine own servant. I saw not, spake not with Miantunnomu, nor any from him. I write before the All-seeing Eye. But thus it was. A Nanhiggontick man (Awetipimo) coming from the bay with cloth, turned in (as they use to do) to me for lodging. I questioned of Indian passages, &c. He tells me Okace was come with near upon forty natives. I asked what present he brought. He told me, that Cutshamoquene had four fathom and odd of him, and forty was for Mr. Governour. I asked him, how many Pequets. He told me six. I asked him, if they were known. He said Okace denied that there were any Pequets, and said they were Monahiggens all. I asked, if himself knew any of them. He answered, he did, and so did other Indians of Nanhiggontick. I asked, if the murderer of whom I wrote, Pametesick, were there. He answered, he was, and (I further inquiring) he was confident it was he, for he knew him as well as me, &c.

All this news (by this providence) I knew before ever it came to Nanhiggontick. Upon this I sent, indeed fearing guilt to mine own soul, both against the Lord and my countrymen. But see a stranger hand of the Most and Only Wise. Two days after, Okace passeth by within a mile of me (though he should have been kindly welcome.) One of his company (Wequau-mugs) having hurt his foot, and disabled from travel, turns in to me; whom lodging, I question, and find him by father a Nanhiggontick, by mother a Monahiggon, and so freely entertained by both. I further inquiring, he told me he went from Monahiggon to the bay with Okace. He told me how he had presented forty fathom (to my remembrance) to Mr. Governour, (four and upwards to Cutshamoquene,) who would not receive them, but asked twice for Pequets. At last, at Newtown, M. Governour received them, and was willing

that the Pequets should live, such as were at Monahiggon, subject to the English sachims at Qunnihticut, to whom they should carry tribute, and such Pequets as were at Nanhiggontick to Mr. Governour, and all the runaways at Monahigganick to be sent back. I asked him, how many Pequets were at Nanhiggontick. He said, but two, who were Miantunnomue's captives, and that at Nayantaquit with Wequash Cook were about three score. I asked, why he said the Indians at Nanhiggontick were to be the governour's subjects. He said, because Nayantaquit was sometimes so called, although there hath been of late no coming of Nanhiggontick men thither. I asked him, if he heard all this. He said, that himself and the body of the company staid about Cutshamoquene's. I asked, how many Pequets were amongst them. He said six. I desired him to name them, which he did thus: Pametesick, Weeaugonhick, (another of those murderers) Makunnete, Kishkontuckqua, Sausawpona, Qussaumpowan, which names I presently wrote down, and (pace vestra dixerim) I am as confident of the truth, as that I breathe. Again, (not to be too bold in all the particulars at this time,) what a gross and monstrous untruth is that concerning myself, which your love and wisdom to myself a little espy, and I hope see malice and falsehood (far from the fear of God) whispering together? I have long held it will-worship to doff and don to the Most High in worship; and I wish also that, in civil worship, others were as far from such a vanity, though I hold it not utterly unlawful in some places. Yet surely, amongst the barbarians, (the highest in the world,) I would rather lose my head than so practise, because I judge it my duty to set them better copies, and should sin against mine own persuasions and resolutions.

Sir, concerning the islands Prudence and (Patmos, if some had not hindered) Aquedenick, be pleased to understand your great mistake: neither of them were sold properly, for a thousand fathom would not have bought

either, by strangers. The truth is, not a penny was demanded for either, and what was paid was only gratuity, though I chose, for better assurance and form, to call it sale.

And, alas! (though I cannot conceive you can aim at the sachims) they have ever conceived, that myself and Mr. Coddington (whom they knew so many years a sachim at Boston) were far from being rejected by yourselves, as you please to write, for if the Lord had not hid it from their eyes, I am sure you had not been thus troubled by myself at present. Yet the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. His infinite wisdom and pity be pleased to help you all, and all that desire to fear his name and tremble at his word in this country, to remember that we all are rejected of our native soil, and more to mind the many strong bands, with which we are all tied, than any particular distastes each against other, and to remember that excellent precept, Prov. 25, If thine enemy hunger, feed him, &c. ; for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and Jehovah shall reward thee ; unto whose mercy and tender compassions I daily commend you, desirous to be more and ever

Your worship's unfeigned and faithful

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, mine own and wife's respective salutes to your dear companion and all yours ; as also to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and other loving friends.

I am bold to enclose this paper, although the passages may not be new, yet they may refresh your memories in these English-Scotch distractions, &c.

*For his much honoured and beloved
Mr. Governour of Massachusetts,
these.*

V.

Much honoured Sir,

THE bearer lodging with me, I am bold to write an hasty advertisement concerning late passages. For himself, it seems he was fearful to go farther than forty miles about us, especially considering that no natives are willing to accompany him to Pequat or Monahiganick, being told by two Pequots (the all of Miantunnomue's captives which are not run from him) what he might expect, &c.

Sir, Capt. Mason and Thomas Stanton landing at Nanhiggontick, and at Miantunnomue's denouncing war within six days against Juanemo, for they say that Miantunnomu hath been fair in all the passages with them, Juanemo sent two messengers to myself, requesting counsel. I advised him to go over with beads to satisfy, &c.

He sent four Indians. By them Mr. Haynes writes me, that they confest fifteen fathom there received at Long Island. Thereabout they confest to me, (four being taken of Pequots by force, and restored again,) as also that the islanders say fifty-one fathom, which sum he demanded, as also that the Nayantaquit messengers laid down twenty-six fathom and a half, which was received in part, with declaration that Juanemo should within ten days bring the rest himself, or else they were resolved for war, &c. I have therefore sent once and again to Juanemo, to persuade himself to venture, &c. Caunonicus sent a principal man last night to me, in haste and secrecy, relating that Wequash had sent word that, if Juanemo went over, he should be killed, but I assure them the contrary, and persuade Caunonicus to importune and hasten Juanemo within his time, ten days, withal hoping and writing back persuasions of better things to Mr. Haynes, proffering myself (in case that Juanemo through fear or folly fail) to take a journey

and negotiate their business, and save blood, whether the natives' or my countrymen's.

Sir, there hath been great hubbub in all these parts, as a general persuasion that the time was come of a general slaughter of natives, by reason of a murder committed upon a native within twelve miles of us, four days since, by four desperate English. I presume particulars have scarce as yet been presented to your hand. The last 5th day, toward evening, a native, passing through us, brought me word, that at Pawatuckqut, a river four miles from us toward the bay, four Englishmen were almost famished. I sent instantly provisions and strong water, with invitation, &c. The messengers brought word, that they were one Arthur Peach of Plymouth, an Irishman, John Barnes, his man, and two others come from Pascataquack, travelling to Qunnihticut; that they had been lost five days, and fell into our path but six miles. Whereas they were importuned to come home, &c. they pleaded soreness in travelling, and therefore their desire to rest there.

The next morning they came to me by break of day, relating that the old man at Pawatuckqut had put them forth the last night, because that some Indians said, that they had hurt an Englishman, and therefore that they lay between us and Pawatuckqut.

I was busy in writing letters and getting them a guide to Qunnihticut, and inquired no more, they having told me, that they came from Plymouth on the last of the week in the evening, and lay still in the woods the Lord's day, and then lost their way to Weymouth, from whence they lost their way again towards us, and came in again six miles off Pawatuckqut.

After they were gone, an old native comes to me, and tells me; that the natives round about us were fled, relating that those four had slain a native, who had carried three beaver skins and beads for Caunonicus' son, and came home with five fathom and three coats; that three natives which came after him found him groaning in the path; that he told them that four Englishmen had slain

him. They came to Pawatuckqut, and inquired after the English, which when Arthur and his company heard, they got on hose and shoes and departed in the night.

I sent after them to Nanhiggantick, and went myself with two or three more to the wounded in the woods. The natives at first were shy of us, conceiving a general slaughter, but (through the Lord's mercy) I assured them that Mr. Governour knew nothing, &c. and that I had sent to apprehend the men. So we found that he had been run through the leg and the belly with one thrust. We drest him and got him to town next day, where Mr. James and Mr. Greene endeavoured, all they could, his life; but his wound in the belly, and blood lost, and fever following, cut his life's thread.

Before he died, he told me that the four English had slain him, and that (being faint and not able to speak) he had related the truth to the natives who first came to him, viz. that they, viz. the English, saw him in the bay and his beads; that sitting in the side of a swamp a little way out of the path, (I went to see the place, fit for an evil purpose,) Arthur called him to drink tobacco, who coming and taking the pipe of Arthur, Arthur run him through the leg into the belly, when, springing back, he, Arthur, made the second thrust, but mist him; that another of them struck at him, but mist him, and his weapon run into the ground; that getting from them a little way into the swamp, they pursued him, till he fell down, when they mist him, and getting up again, when he heard them close by him, he run to and again in the swamp, till he fell down again, when they lost him quite; afterwards, towards night, he came and lay in the path, that some passenger might help him as aforesaid.

Whereas they said, they wandered Plymouth way, Arthur knew the path, having gone it twice; and beside, Mr. Throckmorton met them about Naponset River in the path, who, riding roundly upon a sudden by them, was glad he had past them, suspecting them. They denied that they met Mr. Throckmorton.

The messenger that I sent to Nanhiggontick, pursuing

after them, returned the next day, declaring that they showed Miantunnomu letters to Aquedenick, (which were mine to Qunnihticut,) and so to Aquedenick they past, whither I sent information of them, and so they were taken. Their sudden examination they sent me, a copy of which I am bold to send your worship enclosed.

The islanders (Mr. Coddington being absent) resolved to send them to us, some thought, by us to Plymouth, from whence they came. Sir, I shall humbly crave your judgment, whether they ought not to be tried where they are taken. If they be sent any way, whether not to Plymouth. In case Plymouth refuse, and the islanders send them to us, what answers we may give, if others unjustly shift them unto us. I know that every man, quatenus man, and son of Adam, is his brother's keeper or avenger; but I desire to do bonum bene, &c.

Thus, beseeching the God of heaven, most holy and only wise, to make the interpretation of his own holy meaning in all occurrences, to bring us all by these bloody passages to an higher price of the blood of the Son of God, yea of God, by which the chosen are redeemed, with all due respects to your dear self and dear companion, I cease.

Your worship's most unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This native, Will, my servant, shall attend your worship for answer.

My due respect to Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c.

VI.

Much honoured Sir,

THROUGH the mercy of the Most High, I am newly returned from a double journey to Qunnihticut and Plymouth. I shall presume on your wonted love and gentleness to present you with a short relation of what

issue it pleased the Lord to produce out of them, especially since your worship's name was some way engaged in both.

I went up to *Qunnihticut* with *Miantunnomu*, who had a guard of upwards of 150 men, and many sachims, and his wife and children, with him. By the way (lodging from his house three nights in the woods) we met divers *Nanhiggontick* men complaining of robbery and violence, which they had sustained from the *Pequots* and *Monahiggins* in their travel from *Qunnihticut*; as also some of the *Wunnashowatuckoogs* (subject to *Canonicus*) came to us and advertised, that two days before, about 600 and 60 *Pequots*, *Monahiggins* and their confederates, had robbed them, and spoiled about twenty-three fields of corn, and rifled four *Nanhiggontick* men amongst them; as also that they lay in way and wait to stop *Miantunnomue's* passage to *Qunnihticut*, and divers of them threatened to boil him in the kettle.

This tidings being many ways confirmed, my company, *Mr. Scott* (a *Suffolk* man) and *Mr. Cope*, advised our stop and return back; unto which I also advised the whole company, to prevent bloodshed, resolving to get up to *Qunnihticut* by water, hoping there to stop such courses. But *Miantunnomu* and his council resolved (being then about fifty miles, half way, on our journey) that not a man should turn back, resolving rather all to die, keeping strict watch by night, and in dangerous places a guard by day about the sachims, *Miantunnomu* and his wife, who kept the path, myself and company always first, and on either side of the path forty or fifty men to prevent sudden surprisals. This was their Indian march.

But it pleased the Father of mercies, that (as we since heard) we came not by till two days after the time given out by *Miantunnomu*, (by reason of staying for me until the Lord's day was over,) as also the Lord sent a rumour of great numbers of the English, in company with the *Nanhiggonticks*, so that we came safe to *Qunnihticut*.

Being arrived, Okace had sent messengers that he was lame, and could not come. Mr. Haynes said, it was a lame excuse, and sent earnestly for him, who at last came, and being charged by Mr. Haynes with the late outrages, one of his company said, they were but an 100 men. He said, he was with them, but did not see all was done, and that they did but roast corn, &c. So there being affirmations and negations concerning the numbers of men and the spoil, not having eye-witnesses of our own, that fell, as also many other mutual complaints of rifling each other, which were heard at large to give vent and breathing to both parts.

At last we drew them to shake hands, Miantunnomu and Okace; and Miantunnomu invited (twice earnestly) Okace to sup and dine with him, he and all his company (his men having killed some venison;) but he would not yield, although the magistrates persuaded him also to it.

In a private conference, Miantunnomu, from Caunounicus and himself, gave in the names of all the Pequets sachims and murderers of the English. The names of the sachims were acknowledged by Okace, as also the places, which only I shall be bold to set down:

Nausipouck, Puttaquappouckquame his son, now on Long Island.

Nanasquiouwut, Puttaquappouckquame his brother, at Monahiganick.

Puppompogs, Sasacous his brother, at Monahiganick.
Mausaumpous, at Nayantaquit.

Kithansh, at Monahiganick.

Attayakitch, at Pequat or Monahiganick.

These, with the murderers, the magistrates desired to cut off, the rest to divide, and to abolish their names. An inquisition was made; and it was affirmed from Caunounicus, that he had not one. Miantunnomu gave in the names of ten or eleven, which were the remainders of near seventy, which at the first subjected themselves, of which I advertised your worship, but all again departed, or never came to him; so that two or three

of these he had with him ; the rest were at Monahiganick and Pequet.

Okace was desired to give in the names of his. He answered, that he knew not their names. He said there was forty on Long Island ; and that Juanémo and three Nayantaquit sachims had Pequets, and that he himself had but twenty. Thomas Stanton told him and the magistrates, that he dealt very falsely ; and it was affirmed by others, that he fetched thirty or forty from Long Island at one time. Then he acknowledged, that he had thirty, but the names he could not give. It pleased the magistrates to request me to send to Nayantaquit, that the names of their Pequets might be sent to Qunticut ; as also to give Okace ten days to bring in the number and names of his Pequets and their runaways, Mr. Haynes threatening also (in case of failing) to fetch them.

Sir, at Plymouth, it pleased the Lord to force the prisoners to confess, that they all complotted and intended murder ; and they were, three of them, (the fourth having escaped, by a pinnace, from Aquedenick,) executed in the presence of the natives who went with me. Our friends confessed, that they received much quickening from your own hand. O that they might also in a case more weighty, wherein they need much, viz. the standing to their present government and liberties, to which I find them weakly resolved.

They have requested me to inquire out a murder five years since committed upon a Plymouth man (as they now hear) by two Narriganset Indians, between Plymouth and Sowwams. I hope (if true) the Lord will discover it.

Sir, I understand there hath been some Englishman of late come over, who hath told much to Cutshamoquene's Indians (I think Auhaudin) of a great sachim in England (using the king's name) to whom all the sachims in this land are and shall be nothing, and where his ships ere long shall land ; and this is much news at present amongst natives. I hope to inquire out the man.

Mr. Vane hath also written to Mr. Coddington and others on the island of late, to remove from Boston as speedily as they might, because some evil was ripening, &c. The most holy and mighty One blast all mischievous buds and blossoms, and prepare us for tears in the valley of tears, help you and us to trample on the dung-hill of this present world, and to set affections and cast anchor above these heavens and earth, which are reserved for burning.

Sir, I hear, that two malicious persons, (one I was bold to trouble your worship with not long since,) Joshua Verin, and another yet with us, William Arnold, have most falsely and slanderously (as I hope it shall appear) conspired together (even as Gardiner did against yourselves) many odious accusations in writing. It may be, they may some way come to your loving hand. I presume the end is, to render me odious both to the king's majesty, as also to yourselves. I shall request humbly your wonted love and gentleness (if it come to your worship's hand) to help me with the sight of it, and I am confident yourself shall be the judge of the notorious wickedness and malicious falsehoods therein, and that there hath not past aught from me, either concerning the maintaining of our liberties in this land, or any difference with yourselves, which shall not manifest loyalty's reverence, modesty and tender affection.

The Lord Jesus, the Son of righteousness,* shine brightly and eternally on you and yours, and all that seek him that was crucified. In him I desire ever to be

Your worship's most unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All respective salutations to kind Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs.

* righteousness ?

VII.

CAUCAUMSQUTTOCK, 11. 7. 48 (so called.)

Dear and worthy Sir,

BEST salutations to you both and loving sister premised, wishing you eternal peace in the only Prince of it, I have longed to hear from you, and to send to you, since this storm arose. The report was (as most commonly all Indian reports are) absolutely false, of my removing my goods, or the least rag, &c. A fortnight since I heard of the Mauquawogs coming to Paucomtuckut, their rendezvous; that they were provoked by Onkas wronging and robbing some Paucomtuck Indians the last year, and that he had dared the Mauquawogs, threatening, if they came, to set his ground with gobbets of their flesh; that our neighbours had given them play, (as they do every year;) yet withal I heard they were divided, some resolved to proceed, others pleaded their hunting season. We have here one Waupinhommin, a proud, desperate abuser of us, and a firebrand to stir up the natives against us, who makes it all his trade to run between the Mauquawogs and these, and (being a captain also himself) renders the Mauquawogs more terrible and powerful than the English. Between him and the chief sachims hath been great consultations, and to my knowledge he hath persuaded them to desert their country and become one rebellious body or rout with the Mauquawogs, and so to defy the English, &c. I have sent also what I can inform to the commissioners. At present (through mercy) we are in peace. Sir, I desire to be ever

Yours in Christ Jesus,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

The letter I have sent by Warwick, twenty miles nearer than about by Secunck.

For his much honoured kind Friend }
 Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, *at his House* }
in Nameag, these.

TWO LETTERS OF HUGH PETER.

[THE two following letters of the celebrated Hugh Peter, though of little importance for the direct information contained, are curious enough for publication. They are copied from the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, Lib. 8. fol. 11. Ed.]

Dear Sir,

I FEAR you are angry because you do not hear from me nor I from you. I have by Mr. Gott ordered you what I have in New England word.* I ever loved you and yours, and am truly sensible of all your cares. Nothing under heaven hath more troubled me, than that you had not my company into New England with you. I have sent you by this bearer a loadstone, which I pray keep for me if I come; if not, it is yours. O that I were. My old malady the spleen....and never had heart or time to attend any cure....that now I give my life gone, and shall outlive my parts, I fear. My heart is with my God, and desire after him; in whom I am

Yours ever,

30 of April, '54.

HUGH PETER'S.

[Superscribed,]

To JOHN WINTHROP, JUNIOR, Esq. }
these....with a Token in a Paper. }

3. 1. '54.

My dear Friend,

I HAD yours, and truly do love you heartily, though I have been sometimes troubled at my business having no returns, and you selling my house for £20, and lending out my books and things, and sending home nothing to me, but only what Spencer sent, and arose of a colt and three sheep, &c. though I am no way angry

* world?

with you, for I love you heartily; but great payments have gone forth, you write, and truly I know no debts, but such as Mr. Paine made upon me. My mind is, that Mr. John Winthrop might be spoke with about what I have, to whom I assigned it long since upon some conditions, though I profess nothing but want of health (I think) could detain me from New England, such is my love to the place, and lovely it will yet be. I pray do but for me as I would do for you. Mr. Downing owed me £180. Nobody would seize the house he made over to me, and now he is here wish her to make haste after him. Salute your good wife, pay yourself what charge I put you to, and love

Yours,

HU. PETER'S.

[Superscribed,]

*For my good Friend Mr. GOTT, Deacon }
at Salem, now at Wenham. }*

UPON the request of John Winthrop, Esq. this is to certify whomsoever it may concern, that we, whose names are hereunder subscribed, have seen two letters, dated as appears to us, one directed to Charles Gott, deacon of Salem, and the other to John Winthrop, Esq. Junior, about what Mr. Hugh Peter's then had in New England, which letters we do undoubtedly believe and know them to be the hand-writing of him the said Hugh Peter's, as far as may be known by a man's writing not seen to write them. The date is, of the one, the 3d day of the first month, the other is the 30th of April, 1654.

SAMUEL SIMONDS.

WM. HATHORNE.

THOMAS LATHROP.

THE gentlemen above-subscribed made oath to what is above-written this 24th of October, 1672, before us,

JOHN LEVERETT, *Dep'y Gov.*

JOHN PYNCHON, *Assistant.*

Entered and recorded, October 25, 1672.

LETTER OF WILLIAM HOOKE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Honoured Sir,

I HUMBLY salute you, together with Mrs. Winthrop and your sons and daughters, with the remembrance of my entire respects to you and yours. I received the letter, which you sent aboard to me newly after my departure from Boston, it being no less a trouble to me than to yourself, that I was so hurried away that I could not see you once again, and solemnly take my leave of you, to whom I reckon myself very much engaged for your love and care of me and mine. The Lord was pleased to afford us a very comfortable and speedy passage from land to land in the space of five weeks, our sea exercises being no other than ordinary. After our landing we were all held with colds and coughs, and I am scarce free to this day.—We found the parliament sitting when we came, whose greatest work hath been, to raise the present government to that which is kingly, this of kingly being now voted by the far major part, though not the melior, as I understand, yet some godly persons joining therein. It is apprehended, that settlement is not obtainable in the present way. The churches throughout the land, that are Congregational, and likewise particular godly persons, are, mostly, averse to this change, and sundry churches, from several counties, have petitioned to the protector against it. In his first meeting with the parliament, he desired time of consideration; in his second he expressed himself negatively; in his third he did not speak, as it is said, so perspicuously and expressly; in his fourth the parliament delivered their reasons for this change; and now, the fifth hasting, it is expected that he should deliver his reasons for refusal, or accept what is tendered. I suppose his spirit inclineth to refusal, as the case is circumstanced; but he is put upon straits through the importunities of such as urge

the necessity of this change, knowing also that the parliament may, and perhaps will, disown him in the Spanish wars, and withdraw their help, and also in many other things relinquish or oppose him, and render the present arbitrary sword-power odious and tyrannical, and, when he shall die, choose a king, whose little finger may be very heavy upon the people of God; whereas now (if he accept of the present offer) he shall have the power of nominating his successor, etc. But, on the other side, a design is feared, the promoters being not men (for the most part) of a desirable gang, many of them not very good well-willers, perhaps, to the better party; and the hand of the lawyers is chief in these things, to settle their forms (it is thought) no less than the state of the land. Likewise, former professions and protestations against kingly power are alleged and much insisted upon, as made sometimes by the army; though I have heard several officers of the army, godly men, and not of mean rank, utterly denying any such engagements or protestations. Some fear, also, lest things should revert to their first principles, in the issue, and our gains by all these bloody wars lie, at last, in a narrow compass, etc. The protector is urged utrinque and (I am ready to think) willing enough to betake himself to a private life, if it might be. He is a godly man, much in prayer and good discourses, delighting in good men and good ministers, self-denying, and ready to promote any good work for Christ.

As touching myself, I am not, as yet, settled, the protector having engaged me to Him, not long after my landing, who hitherto hath well provided for me. His desire is, that a church may be gathered in his family, to which purpose I have had speech with him several times; but though the thing be most desirable, yet I foresee great difficulties in sundry respects. I think to proceed as far as I may, by any rule of God, and am altogether unwilling that this motion should fall in his heart. But my own weakness is discouragement enough, were there nothing else.

Your letters were delivered, Mr. Peter undertaking for two of them. For Sir Kenelme Digby is in France, and when he will return I hear not. Mr. Peter is not yet thoroughly recovered out of his late eclipse, but I hear better of his preaching than was formerly spoken of it. He hath been loving to me, and hath (I hope) received benefit by the things have lately befallen him. The steward of the house and I speak often of you. His name is Mr. Maydestone, who (as he saith) sucked the same milk with you. He is a godly wise man, and one to whom I am much bound for his love. The land is as full of wickedness as ever it was, excepting that there is a remnant professing the pure ways of God with more clearness, liberty and boldness, than heretofore; and here are many good churches in city and country, far and near, and many able ministers.

There have been two conspiracies discovered since my arrival—one of the levellers, many of whom were engaged by some great enemy to take away the life of the protector, and scarce three or four of them known one to another, that if any of them should be discovered, they might not discover very many others, but the plot still go on in the hands of other men. One Sundercombe was a chief man in this design, a very stout man, who, with one Cecill, was apprehended, and he condemned to die, who, the night before the time appointed for his execution, poisoned himself. He was a very atheist, not holding the immortality of the soul. One of the life-guard had his hand also in the conspiracy, and had received a reward to act in it, who, fearing a discovery, to save his life, detected Sundercombe, made known the business, and prevented the burning of Whitehall, when the match in the basket, full of the most combustible and furious materials, was lighted, and placed in the midst of the chapel in a seat, etc. — The other conspiracy was discovered the last week. It was carried on by tumultuous, outrageous, discontented men, pretending to fifth monarchy, but discovering in their declaration (which

is in print) a bloody spirit, though under a specious shew. Some of them were lately apprehended as they were praying, ready to set forward in an hostile manner, to gather together in a body, having accordingly furnished themselves. In this design, one Vennour, not long since dwelling in your Boston, a wine cooper, is a principal actor, who being brought before the protector, spoke and behaved himself with as great impudence, insolence, pride and railing, as (I think) you ever heard of. It is thought also, that Major General Harrison, Col. Rich, Carey, Danvers, Col. Okey, Sir Henry Vane, are engaged in this plot. I suppose some of them are secured, or sent for so to be. We hang here upon ticklish points, and scarce know what to think, only the people of God are still looking up to him. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Fenwick are gone to God, within two or three days one of the other, in a time wherein we have very great need of the presence and prayers of such men.

Sir, I would not tire you: I have very great need of the help of your prayers: I am still also valetudinarious, and should rejoice to do God any acceptable service before my great change cometh. I have spoken again and again to Mr. Peter to remember your sister Lake; what he will do I know not; I pray remember my respects to her also, and to Mr. Blinman. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all yours, prospering your endeavours to his glory and the good of many. To his grace I heartily commend you, and rest

Yours very much bound to you,

WILLIAM HOOKE.

April 13, 1657.

*For the much honoured Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, }
at his House in Pequot, in New England. }*

LETTER OF JOHN MAIDSTON TO JOHN WINTHROP,
GOVERNOUR OF CONNECTICUT.

[THE original curious letter from John Maidston, of which a copy follows, is the last article in the 19th volume of Trumbull MSS. It was in the possession of John Winthrop, Esq. grandson of the governour of Connecticut, to whom it was addressed; and he furnished a transcript for Birch's great collection of Thurloe's State Papers, where it is printed, Vol. I. p. 763—8. Probably the erasure of half a line was made when that copy was given. Some errors, of which two or three are of importance, will be found in the English copy. This letter has been often referred to by students of the character of Cromwell, desirous of learning what one of his intimate friends thought of him. As nearly a hundred and seventy years have elapsed since his death, some agreement in opinion may now be formed, in spite of the calculating toriyism of Hume, and the eager fanaticism of Mrs. Macauley. The hypocrisy of Cromwell was almost unavoidable in the unhappy times, when he achieved his greatness, and his perfidy to the republicans was first expedient, and afterwards defensive. Ed.]

Sir,

YOUR kind remembrance of me in Mr. Hooke's letter covered me with no small shame, that I have neglected a person of so signal worth as all-reports (I meet with) present you in; especially when it is attended with the consideration of the obligations your father's memory hath left upon me. Yet may I not be so injurious to myself as to acknowledge, that the long omission of writing to you proceeded from forgetfulness. The frequent discourses I have made of yourself and honoured father have created testimony sufficient to vindicate me from such ingratitude: But the perpetual hurry of distressing affairs, wherein for some years I have been exercised, deprived me of gaining a fit opportunity of conveying letters: And this is, briefly and truly, the cause of so long an intermission.

For me now to present you with a relation of the unheard-of dealings of God towards his people in these

nations, is not my design ; partly because (I believe) you have heard much of it, but principally because such a work would better become a voluminous chronicle than a short epistle. For it would weary the wings of an eagle to measure out the ways, wherein God hath walked, with all the turnings and intricacies that are found in them. The quarrel, at first commenced betwixt king and parliament, was grounded upon a civil foundation ; the king accusing them of invading his prerogative, and the houses charging him with the breach of their privileges, and consequently the invassallaging the people represented by them. When this argument had (for some time) been agitated by as hot and bloody war as this latter age hath seen, it fell at last to be managed (on the parliament's side) by instruments religiously principled, in whose hand it received so many evident testimonies of God's extraordinary presence and conduct, that in conclusion a period was put to it, the king made a prisoner, and all his expectation of rescue utterly defeated and cut off. While the matter stood in this posture, great debates, solicitous consultations and cabals are held in order to settlement. For these transactions (according to the constant product of all such things) had created factions and divisions betwixt persons of equal worth in point of parts, and (as themselves thought) of balancing merit, to receive the reward of so great and hazardous an undertaking as they had gone through. These parties instantly divided themselves (or rather did appear divided, for they had been so before) under the heads of Presbytery and Independency. The former had the advantage in number, the ministry generally adhering to them ; the latter in having been the active instruments, by whose valour and conduct the king was brought from a palace to a prison, and thereby were possessed of the military power of the nation ; by help whereof, and having many friends in the house of commons, against the mind of the major part, they first secluded them, and then set aside the house of lords ; and by a co-operation with the house of commons then

sitting, (whom they owned as the supreme power of the nation,) the king was brought to trial before an high court of justice, (consisting of members of parliament, officers of the army and others,) and proceeded against to execution.* This act was highly displeasing to many, who, with equal zeal and forwardness, had assisted in the war; insomuch that the difference which the king's party put between them that fought with him, and those that took away his life, they expressed in this proverb, that Presbyterians held him by the hair, till Independents cut off his head. Yet have the former struggled hard, ever since, to do something that might render them under a better character as to their covenant and loyalty to the king.

The peace of the nation being thus settled, and the king's family and offspring departed into foreign places, his eldest son, the prince of Wales, travelled into the Netherlands, where (after some short time) application was made to him by the most serious and prudent party of Scotland, (amongst whom I know some to be as choice men as most I have been acquainted with, for wisdom and true holiness, for so it becomes me to judge,) who presented to him the consideration of the stupendous judgments of God upon him and his father's house, and pressed upon him the sense of it, endeavouring to reduce him to Scotland, in order to restore him to his dominion, upon hope that he might be instrumental to honour God, and re-establish publick peace. To this he gave very fair returns, and in a short time shipped himself for Scotland, and arrived there; where he was honourably entertained by that which is called the kirk party, and is indeed the religious party of that nation. By them he was crowned king of Scotland, and so brought into a capacity of action. The kirk party had now the command of him and the nation. But another party had a greater room in his heart, having been constant to his father, when the other had raised war against him. These divided under

* This was done in the year '48.

two heads, called Resolutioners and Protesters.* The parliament of England by this time grew awakenèd, foreseeing that this whole action was calculated to the perfect capacity of Scotland's imposing a king upon England, of which they were evinced by more than probable arguments; to obviate which, they resolved to send a potent army, under the command of General Cromwell, (the Lord Fairfax refusing that service upon the influence of Presbyterians, as was said,) that Scotland might be rendered the seat of war, and so made less able to annoy England. This accordingly was done; an invasion made from England. Scotland put into arms to resist it, whereby they wearied and wasted the English army, and forced it (in a miserable condition) to retreat for England, had they not at Dunbar, out of pure necessity, enforced an engagement to their own destruction: For the defeat then given the Scotch army was as signal as any thing in the whole war. The advantage of number, and men fit for fight, was very great. But that which is most observable, is the quality of the persons: For Presbytery being the golden ball that day, I am credibly informed, that thousands lost their lives for it (after many meetings, debates and appeals to God betwixt our English officers and them) of as holy praying people as this island or the world affords. The Lord General Cromwell was a person of too great activity and sagacity, to lose the advantage of such a victory, and therefore marched his army to Edinburg, and possessed himself of that place, laid siege to the strong castle in it, and distressed it, till it submitted, being so situated as not to be entered by onslaught, nor undermined, by reason of the rock on which it is built. There he spent the winter, but was not idle, for in that time many strong places became subject to him. By this means the young king had opportunity to fall in with his beloved

* Resolutioners were of the more dissolute sort of people—Protesters a precise party, called, formerly, Puritans. At this time they published a remonstrance, and therefore were indefinitely called Protesters or Remonstraters.

party, called the Resolutioners; his interest likewise wrought here in England, carried on by the Presbyterian party; and in this quarrel honest Mr. Love, who doubtless was a godly man, though indiscreet, lost his head, and many of his brethren were endangered, being detained prisoners, till General Cromwell came home and procured their release. But before that, his continuance in Scotland was a time of great action, wherein he so distressed the king, as he enforced him to march, with all the force he could make, for England; but being close pursued by the English horse, under the command of General Lambert, (a prudent, valiant commander, and a man of gallant conduct,) and resisted by forces raised in England, he was compelled to make a halt at Worcester city, till the lord general, with the body of the army, advanced thither, and after a short time, totally defeated his army, himself escaping very hardly, and afterwards (with great difficulty) conveyed himself beyond the seas.

The idea of the stock of honour, which General Cromwell came invested with to London, after this crowning victory, (superadded to what God had before clothed him with, not only by his achievements in England, but those in Ireland,*) (which I pretermitted, because being grounded on those barbarous massacres, the habitable world sounded with the noise of them,) will in my silence present itself to your imagination. He had not long continued here, before it was strongly impressed upon him by those to whom he had no reason to be utterly incredulous, and strengthened by his own observation, that the persons then ruled the parliament of the commonwealth of England, etc., from whom he had derived his authority, and by virtue whereof he had fought so many holy men in Scotland into their graves, were not such as were spirited to carry the good interest an end, wherein he and they had jeopardized all that

* [The London copy absurdly gives *Scotland*. Ed.]

was of concern to them in this world. And I wish cordially that there had not been too great a ground for those allegations. The result of them, after many debates betwixt the members then sitting and the general, with some who joined with him, was, the dissolution of that parliament by military force, since called by a softer word, Interruption. Great dissatisfaction sprang from this action, and such as is not yet forgotten amongst good men. For let the reasons and end be never so good, upon which the general acted this part, yet, say they, 'Twas high breach of trust in him to overthrow that authority in defence of which God had appeared, and made him so significant an instrument. Yet factum valet, say others, who were not well satisfied neither; and now care is used to settle fluctuating Britain; in order to which, the lord general, by his authority, (which was but military,) summons one hundred persons out of all parts of the nation, (with competent indifferency and equality) to represent the nation, and invests them with legislative authority. They meet and accept it, assume the title of parliament, and sit in the house of commons, and enact sundry laws; but in a short time made it appear to all considering and unprejudiced men, that they were huic negotio impares, non obstante their godliness; of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter so as to dissolve themselves by an act of their own, and revolve* their authority whence they first derived it, viz. upon the general. It was not long before he was advised to assume the government of this nation in his single capacity, limited with such restrictions as were drawn up in an instrument of government, framed to that purpose. This he accepted of, and (being by it with due ceremony in Westminster Hall inaugurated, he) assumed it accordingly. According to one of the articles in it, he summoned a house of commons at Westminster the September following, of which house I had

* [London copy has *resolve*. Ed.]

the honour to be a member. The house, consisting of many disobliged persons, (some upon the king's account, and others upon pretence of a right to sit upon the former foundation, as not being legally, though forcibly, dissolved, and others judging that the powers given by the instrument of government to the protector, were too large, professing that, though they were willing to trust him, yet they would not trust his successors, with so large a jurisdiction,) fell into high animosities, and after five months spent in framing another instrument instead of the former, (which they said they could not swallow without chewing,) they were by the protector dissolved.

This was ungrateful to English spirits, who deify their representatives. But the protector's parts and interest enabled him to stem this tide. Yet the weight of government incumbering too heavily upon him, before many years passed, he summoned another parliament, and his experience guided him to concur with them in a new instrument to govern by. In it they would have changed his title, and made him king, and I think he had closed with them in it, not out of lust to that title, (I am persuaded,) but out of an apprehension that it would have secured (in a better way) the nation's settlement. But the party to whom the protector ever professed to owe himself (being the generality of his standing friends) rose so high in opposition to it, (by reason of the scandal that thereby would fall upon his person and profession,) as it diverted him, and occasioned him to take investiture in his government, though from them, yet under his former title of protector. As in former cases, this found acceptance with many, but was dissatisfactory to a greater number.

The instrument of government made in this parliament, and to which the protector took his oath, was called, The humble Petition and Advice. In it provision was made for another house of parliament, instead of the old lords, that this might be a screen or balance betwixt the protector and commons, as the former lords had been betwixt the king and them. These to consist of

seventy persons, all at first to be nominated by the protector, and after, as any one died, a new one to be nominated by him or his successors, and assented to by themselves, or without that consent not to sit: Twenty of them was a quorum. It was no small task for the protector to find idoneous men for this place, because the future security of the honest interest seemed (under God) to be laid up in them: For by a moral* generation, (if they were well chosen at first,) like foundationals in the gathering of a church, they would propagate their own kind, when the single person could not, and the commons (who represented the nation) would not, having in them, for the most part, the spirit of those they represent, which hath little affinity with, or respect to the cause of God. And indeed, to speak freely, so barren was this island of persons of quality spirited for such a service, as they were not to be found; according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. 1. 26, Ye see your calling, not many wise, nor noble, etc. This forced him to make it up of men of meaner rank, and consequently of less interest, and upon trial too light for a balance, too thin for a screen, and upon the point ineffectual to answer the design, being made a scorn by the nobility and gentry, and generality of the people; the house of commons continually spurning at their power, and spending large debates in controverting their title, till at length the protector (finding the distempers which grew in his government, and the dangers of the publick peace thereby) dissolved the parliament, and so silenced that controversy for that time. And that was the last which sat during his life, he being compelled to wrestle with the difficulties of his place so well as he could, without parliamentary assistance; and in it met with so great a burthen, as (I doubt not to say, it drank up his spirits, of which his natural constitution yielded a vast stock)† and brought him to his grave; his interment being the seed-time of his glory and England's calamity.

* [London copy *mortal*. Ed.]

† [The parenthesis seems to be out of place in the original. Ed.]

Before I pass further, pardon me in troubling you with the character of his person, which, by reason of my nearness to him, I had opportunity well to observe. His body was well compact, and strong; his stature under six feet, (I believe about two inches;) his head so shaped as you might see it a store-house and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery, as I have known; but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart, wherein was left little room for any fear, but what was due to himself, of which there was a large proportion; yet did he exceed in tenderness toward sufferers. A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was. I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world well possessed with it, she would add him to her nine worthies, and make that number a decemviri. He lived and died in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons near him well observed. He was that Mordecai, that sought the welfare of his people, and spake peace to his seed: Yet were his temptations such, as it appeared frequently, that he that hath grace enough for many men, may have too little for himself; the treasure he had being but in an earthen vessel, and that equally defiled with original sin as any other man's nature is.

He left successor in the protectorship his eldest son, a worthy person indeed, of an obliging nature, and religious disposition, giving great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and others, and having to his lady a prudent, godly, practical Christian. His entrance into the government was with general satisfaction, having acceptance with all sorts of people, and addresses from them importing so much. It was an amazing consideration to me, (who, out of the experience I had of the spirits of people, did fear Confusion would be famous Oliver's successor,) to see my fears so

confuted ; though, alas! the sin of England soon shewed, that they were not vain fears. For in a short time, some actings in the army appeared tending to divest the protector of the power of it. This bred some jealousy and unkindness betwixt him and the officers of it, but it was allayed, and things looked fair again.

About this time, writs were sent out to summons a parliament, which accordingly sat down in March following. The power of the protector, and that of the other house, was instantly controverted in the house of commons, which house consisted of a tripartite interest, viz. — the protector's, the commonwealth's, (as it was so called by some, though groundlessly enough,) and Charles's, the king of Scots. Each party striving to carry an end their own design, siding one while with one, another while with another, obstructed settlement, and acted nothing but what tended to leave religion and sobriety naked of protection. The vigilant army observe this, and dispose themselves to prevent this growing evil ; in order to it, keep general councils, publish remonstrances, and make addresses. The parliament, fearing the co-ordinary (at least) of a military power with the civil, forbid the meetings of the army. The army resent this so ill, as by a violent impression they prevail with the protector to dissolve the parliament. This he did, *animo tam reluctanti*, that he could not conceal his repentance of it, but it brake out upon all occasions. The army, observing it, reflected on him as a person true to the civil interest, and not fixed to them ; and the officers keeping general councils, in a few days resolve to depose him, and restore the members of the parliament dissolved by the first protector in the year '53, to the exercise of their government again, in order (as they ridiculously styled it) to the settling of a commonwealth. The nation resented this act of the army exceeding ill ; the godly party being generally much dissatisfied with it, in regard the persons brought together were, for the most part, disobliging to any thing of reason or sobriety, so that they enslaved the people to the

lusts of a few men, as it soon appeared. From these the officers of the army and all in civil power derived their authority; and they seemed to have brought all under perfect subjection. But their department waxed too swelling for the army to bear long. For upon an insurrection raised in the west by Sir George Booth, a secluded member, in behalf of a free parliament, forces were sent against him under General Lambert, by whom Sir George was soon reduced and made a prisoner. This so elevated the ruling men in parliament, as they began to increase the thickness of their fingers. The army, fearing they would not rest till they had brought them to Rehoboam's scantling, make complaint to them by way of remonstrance, out of which egg a bird sprang, that made new division, or rather renewed the old betwixt them, till it came to another INTERRUPTION. This put us into so great distemper, as one regiment marched against another, some for the parliament, others against them, and drew up near Westminster Hall, even to push of pike; but God in mercy kept them from engaging, so that no blood was spilt.

The house, thus disturbed, used its interest to redintegrate its power. Members meet in private cabals about it. They send into Scotland to General Monke, who was placed there by the old protector, commander in chief of the forces of that nation. To him they complain of the breach of trust by the army here, and by them of the violence offered to parliament. This Monke resents ill, and declares for the parliament against the army. The army in England meet in council. They choose the Lord Fleetwood captain general of all the forces in England, Scotland and Ireland; send letters to Monke for accommodation; appoint a committee of safety for the publick peace, made up of many chief officers of the army, and others of the best quality they could get; declare a resolution to call a parliament; appoint a committee to draw a platform of government for the three nations.

While this was acting, the nations grew into a flame, greatly hating any government introduced by the sword.

So the officers of the army, and committee of safety, and all, began to draw heavily, and in a few weeks, by the revolt of the soldiery (which began first at Portsmouth, was second by the fleet, and generally fallen in with by the private soldiers,) their wheels fell off and left them on the ground; the members of parliament return to sit; all the officers that were looked upon as having a hand in their interruption, set aside, though to other things indemnified. Thus far was Jotham's parable in the case of Abimelech and the men of Shechem realized in this matter also.

General Monke advances now to London, and is there honourably entertained. He is invited into London, courted and caressed there, upon hope he would introduce the king of Scots, whose interest grew all this while, and the generality of the people expressed intentness upon it, abuse the parliament, and affront (to violence) the speaker at his lodgings, and the members walking in the streets.

In this interim, the house dismisses Sir Henry Vane from sitting in it, as a person that had not been constant to parliament privileges, and Major Saloway, a person of great parts and Sir Henry Vane's second in most things, with some others who acted in the committee of safety. Yet were they greatly pressed by declarations from the people, who, though they were pleased with the dishonour put on Sir H. Vane, (he being unhappy in lying under the most *catholick* prejudice of any man I know,) yet partly dissatisfied with the seclusion of the members of '48, and partly thirsting after their liberties in free parliament, were restless and impetuous.

General Monke is now earnestly applied to by the greatest of the citizens of London, and the members of parliament who were secluded in the year '48, to restore them to the exercise of their trust in that capacity. After some debate with some of the then sitting members concerning this matter, without further consent obtained from the then sitting members, and without their privity, they were by the general brought into the house. They sat not three weeks, before they, by act

of parliament, dissolved themselves, and made provision for a succeeding parliament, which is to sit down the 25th day of the next month. In this time they made sundry acts; one about the ministry, to the advantage of the Presbytery; another, in which they settled a militia distinct from that of the army, put into such com^{'ners'} hands, for the most part, as are for the king's interest. They likewise settled a council of state, consisting of one-and-thirty very prudent, sober men, and of good interest as to civil concernments.

But to draw to a period, and trouble you no longer with this discourse. The interest of religion lies dreadfully in * the dust; for the eminent professors of it, having achieved formerly great victories in the war, and thereby great power in the army, made use of it to make variety of changes in government, and every of those changes hazardous, pernicious and dissatisfactory in one considerable respect or other. These were all charged upon the principles of the authors of them, who, being Congregational men, have not only made men of that persuasion cheap, but rendered them odious to the generality of the nation; and that the rather, because General Fleetwood, who married the protector's daughter, and the Lord Desborow, who married his sister, were principal instruments (as is apprehended, though I think not truly of Fleetwood) in overthrowing the family, from which they had their preferment and so many signal kindnesses. It is not to be exprest what reproach is brought upon profession of religion by this means, and what a foundation laid to persecute it out of England, if that party prevails, [an erasure of a more modern date than that of the letter.] For demonstration is made by experience, that professors were not more troublesome and factious in times of peace, before the wars of England began, and the great instruments of them, than they have been imperious, self-seeking, trust-breaking and covenant-violating, since they were invested with power. And whether this scandal will go, or what the effects of it will be, the Lord knows.

* [London copy on. E.D.]

But to be sure, as Solomon says, He that breaketh a hedge, a serpent will bite him. And this is fulfilled upon them, who have been the greatest hedge-breakers that I have known. And as there is a wo pronounced to the world by our Saviour, because of offences, so is there a redundant wo to them by whom those offences come.

I have cause to believe, that you have met with most of what I have here communicated to you, in a better dress, from some other hand. If so, I entreat the pardon of your stomach for my crambo bis coctum. I also entreat your advice, by the next opportunity, concerning friends here, what encouragement persons may have, if times press them, to transport their families into New England, with some general directions of so doing to the best advantage.

I do promise myself this fruit of my writing, that as it may renew our intercourse, and kindle the former coals of love, so it will provoke you with greatest fervency to lay the sad state of our affairs here before the Lord, whose name is greatly engaged in them. For the rage of the enemy is swelled to an intolerable height, and his mouth set against the heavens. God hath great cause now to fear the enemy and the avenger. And this is our last refuge ; for we have forfeited all to the utmost. I pray present me to my cousin, your wife, under the character of a person ready, though unable, to serve her ; and accept of the like tender from,

Sir,

Your real servant and unworthy kinsman,

JO. MAIDSTON.

WESTMINSTER, *March 24, 1659.*

If you shall give yourself the trouble, at any time, of honouring me with a letter, you may please to direct it to Pond House, at Boxted in Essex, where my father lived. It is three miles from Colchester.

These for his honourable Friend and Kinsman, }
 JOHN WINTHROPE, Esq. *Governour of the* }
Colony of Connecticut in New England. }

PLYMOUTH COMPANY ACCOUNTS.

1628. *The Company of Plemouth in New England are Debtors as foll. viz.*

TO so much paid for Mr. Rogers' passage, 20s. his diet 11 weeks at 4s. 8d.	3	11	4
Paid for Constant Sother's passage, 20s. and diet 11 weeks at 4s. 8d.	3	11	4
John Gibbs, for freight of beaver and other skins, 30s. charges at custom house,	1	13	0
To Mr. Elbridg for freight of 3 hogsheads,	3	0	0
For primage of the said 3 hogsheads,	10	0	0
For custom thereof at Bristowe,	8	0	0
To the boatswain, by Mr. Winslowe's order,	2	5	0
For bringing the beaver from Bristowe,	1	15	0
Paid to Mr. Elbridg for 125£. taken up at 50£. p. c.	187	10	0
Paid to John Pocock for 20£. taken up at 30£. p. c. for 2 years,	32	0	0
Paid to Edward Basse for 5£. taken up at 6s. p. £. for 2 years,	8	0	0
Paid to Timothy Hatherley for 10£. taken up at 6s. p. £. for 2 years,	16	0	0
Paid to Wm. Thomas for 10£. taken up at 6s. p. £. for 2 years,	16	0	0
Paid to Mr. Linge for 5£. at 6s. p. £. for 2 years,	8	0	0
Paid, being the first year's payment towards the purchase,	200	0	0
Paid to Mrs. Armstronge in full for her debt, which now belongeth to the Company,	2	0	0
To Mr. Viner about the patent, and spent thereabouts,	39	15	0
More since laid out by Mr. Hatherley, as in your account, for the patent,	7	0	0

To so much paid for custom and charges by Mr. Brand for the goods out of Mr. Wm. Peeters,	7 12 4
	541 10 0
So here you are indebted to the Company which I set here to balance,	118 6 11
	659 16 11

But now I find in your letter of the 7th and 12th of December, 1628, that you have laid out for the Company as followeth, besides what you know belongeth unto them, and that I have not taken out of the account betwixt you and me :

Paid for shoes and leather,	30 0 0
Paid for cloth,	40 0 0
Irish stockings and cloth of all sorts,	40 0 0
Pitch, tar, ropes and twine,	5 0 0
Knives, scissors, and the piece of rowle,	18 0 0
Rudge of divers sorts,	14 0 0
Lead, shot and powder	25 0 0
Hatchets, hoes, axes, scythes, reap-hooks, shovels, spades, saws, files, nails, iron pots, drugs and spices,	60 0 0

All these I find you put down, which amount to	232 0 0
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Besides many other I imagine you omit, and the charge of your servants. So now I find the Company are in your debt (the 118 : 6 : 11 above being set off) the sum of

113 13 1

JAMES SHERLEY.

1628. *The Company of Plemouth in New England are Creditors for Goods sent by them, and sold here, as foll.*

Rec. out of the Marmaduck, by John Gibbs, 220 otters' with mincks' and quash skins, sold at	78	12	0
Rec. out of the Whitt Angell, by Christopher Burkett, 494 lb. 8 d. beaver, sold at 15s. 6d. amounts to	383	14	3
Rec. out of the Pleasure, Wm. Peeters master, 209 lb. 12 d. beaver, at 16s. 4d.	171	5	11
40 otters' skins sold together,	29	0	0
	<hr/>		
	200	5	11
Rebated, because they were exceeding wet, and doubtful some mistake in the weight, the sum of	2	15	3
	<hr/>		
So they yielded, to be put to account,	197	10	8
	<hr/>		
	8-197	10	8
	<hr/>		
	659	16	11
	<hr/>		

JAMES SHERLEY.

Memorandum. The Company stand indebted unto these several men following, for principal moneys borrowed of them, as foll.

To John Beauchampe, p. bond bearing date the 18th day of November, 1628, payable on the 25th day of October, 1629, being principal money only, the sum of . . . 160 0 0

To James Sherley, p. bond dated the 18th of November, 1628, payable on the 25th

of October, 1629, being principal money only,	80	0	0
To Richard Andrewes, p. bond dated the 18th of November, 1628, payable the 15th of October, 1629, being principal money,	40	0	0
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	280	0	0
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MEMOIR OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD, ESQ.

SOME biographical notice of members of the Historical Society has been always given on their decease. In compliance with this invariable practice, and by particular request of the Society, at its last meeting, the following sketch of the life of *Gamaliel Bradford, Esq.* who died March 7th, 1824, has been prepared. He was born at Duxbury, November, 1763, and was of the fifth generation from WILLIAM BRADFORD, many years governour of Plymouth colony. Gov. *Bradford* had three sons, the second of whom bore his name; was major of militia; judge of probate; one of the council of war; a commissioner of the four United Colonies of New England; deputy governour of Plymouth colony; and one of the council of Massachusetts, after the union of these two colonies in 1692. This *William* had nine sons, by three wives; one of whom was *Samuel*, who lived in the south part of Duxbury, and possessed an extensive tract of land, which he inherited from his father: He was an active man, and largely concerned in trade. His eldest son was graduated at Harvard College, 1713. His youngest son was *Gamaliel*, and succeeded to the landed estate of his father. He was a colonel of the militia; judge of the county court; a representative from Duxbury to the General Court for several years; and also a member of the council from 1764 to 1770. *His* second son, *Gamaliel*, lived also in

Duxbury. He was a captain in the war of 1756—8; afterwards colonel of the militia; and colonel in the continental army from 1776 to 1783. He was also, several years, a representative for Duxbury, and a magistrate of the county of Plymouth. The subject of this article was his second son. His maternal grandfather was *Samuel Alden*, grandson of *J. Alden*, one of the first settlers at Plymouth in 1620. He received his early education at a grammar school in his native town, kept successively, by Hon. *G. Partridge* and others, all graduates of Harvard College. In youth he was remarkable for activity and decision, as well as for a candid and generous spirit; traits of character, for which he was distinguished through life. In 1776, when scarcely thirteen years old, he accompanied his father to the American camp; and continued connected with the army till the autumn of 1783. In 1779, at the age of sixteen, he received a commission as ensign; and in 1780 was advanced to a lieutenantancy. He had the reputation of a resolute and brave officer.

For several months after he left the army, he was hesitating as to his future pursuits of life. He was at one time desirous of a publick education in the University; but did not pursue it, as he could not think of being behind his cotemporaries in any respect—(a feeling of pride, perhaps, not to be entirely justified.) He was now about twenty-one, and those of his age would have a standing several years before him. He was not long, however, in a state of indecision. A life of indolence is irksome to an active mind, nor can a man of good principles forget his obligations to be useful in society. He soon decided in favour of a sea-faring life, and in 1784 made a voyage to France, where he remained for some months for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language, in the study of which he had already been engaged. He wrote and spoke the French language with correctness and facility. Afterwards he acquired a knowledge of the Latin, Spanish and Italian; and the best English poets, the

most eminent writers in belles lettres, ethicks and history, were familiar to him. In his leisure hours he read and wrote much. His style was pure and copious. His letters to his friends, from London, Paris, Naples, Cadiz and Venice, indicate an inquisitive and discriminating mind, and give evidence of extensive reading and observation. The intelligent editor of the paper, in which some of his letters were published, observed, "that they were written by a gentleman, whose gallant conduct and misfortune were well known; that they partook of the ease and spirit of epistolary writing, and discovered the intelligence and accuracy of a well-informed traveller."

His description of Mount Vesuvius, and of his descent into the crater 250 yards, at a time when it was in a comparatively quiet state, was published in 1801, and afforded much entertainment to those who are fond of daring adventures, or desirous of minute details respecting that wonderful volcano. His account of the antiquities of Rome and its vicinity, and of the remaining works of the celebrated sculptors of early times, was very interesting — especially as we had then few statements from native Americans — and may justify us in giving him the humble character of an *amateur*. He was at Venice when NAPOLEON entered that city, in 1807, in all the pride and pomp of imperial power, and his representation of the scene, published in the Boston Anthology, was read with great avidity and interest.

In the course of his maritime career, he encountered many and severe hazards. When commander of a large ship of four hundred tons, in 1799, at the time our merchantmen were allowed to arm on account of French privateers, he was attacked by four of those marauders at once, in the Mediterranean Sea; but he made a brave and successful resistance, to the great chagrin of the enemy, and much to the gratification of his friends. The generous owners of the ship, citizens of Boston, bore honourable testimony to his skill and

courage, by presenting him a valuable piece of plate, to perpetuate the remembrance of the transaction. The next year, in a like situation, and on his return from Naples, he was attacked by two large French armed vessels, near the coast of Spain, and in this rencounter he received a wound in his thigh, which occasioned the loss of a leg. This was a severe privation to one of his activity and enterprise. But he bore up under the misfortune with great resolution and fortitude.

After this unfortunate event, he was several years engaged in mercantile pursuits on land. But the employment was not congenial to his active habits, and he again entered on the sea-faring life, in which he continued four or five years. One less enterprising would have found an excuse for declining such a course, in the loss of a limb, which must have subjected him to peculiar inconveniences on the ocean. When he finally left the employment of a shipmaster, in 1803, he resumed the business of a merchant, but in a way which required less labour and attention than the ordinary concerns of the profession demand. About this time, on the formation of a Society in Boston for the moral Improvement of Seamen, he was elected president, and continued an efficient member for several years. While an officer of the society, he wrote several pamphlets, of a moral and religious cast, with a view to distribution among sailors, for their improvement; and they were considered happily calculated for the object. When the captain of a merchantman, he was very attentive to the moral conduct of his crew, and usually read prayers to them, when at sea.

In 1787, a regiment was raised in this state, by order of the Continental Congress. This was done by request of the rulers of Massachusetts, on account of an insurrection in the western parts of the state. It had been suppressed, indeed, by the firm policy of Gov. *Bowdoin*, by the aid of the military under command of Gen. *Lincoln*; but fears were entertained of further opposition to government. Mr. *Bradford* had an appoint-

ment as lieutenant in this corps. And in 1798, when Mr. ADAMS was president of the United States, and a naval force was prepared to defend the country, he was proffered the command of the Boston frigate. Both these commissions he declined. When the first was tendered him, he had but just engaged on a new course of business, for the purpose of obtaining a living; and in the other case, though he declined the honour with some reluctance,—for the prospect was flattering to his ambition, and consonant to his patriotick feelings,—he believed his duty to a numerous family was paramount to all other considerations.

In 1813 he was appointed warden, or chief executive officer of the State Prison, and he continued in this station until his death. The proper government of such an institution must be extremely difficult. It requires great judgment and firmness, and a due mixture of severity and compassion. Few men are well qualified for such a command. Mr. *Bradford* gave very general satisfaction in his management of the convicts. A leading trait of his character was pity for the wretched. He was generous and humane in his feelings; at the same time he knew the importance of subordination, and the necessity of entire submission on the part of the unhappy prisoners. During the first year of his being in office, he was supposed by some to be too lenient in his treatment of the convicts; and there is reason to believe, that he was too much inclined to listen to their stories of misfortune and of pretended innocence. His generous feelings led him to pity, and sometimes almost to excuse them, and to plead for their release. But more experience of the depraved and hardened character of many of them, induced him to alter, in some measure, his former views. He found it necessary to maintain a rigid execution of the regulations of the prison, requiring constant labour and absolute submission. The discipline he maintained in the latter part of his command, was by some thought severe. Those who knew but little of the arts and depravity of many of the convicts were

liable to imposition, and were ready to accuse the warden of inhumanity and want of feeling. But he was always careful to discriminate ; and while he used his authority to discipline most strictly the hardened, whom nothing but fear could restrain, he was always reasonably indulgent and compassionate toward those, who regretted their faults and were disposed to submission. He felt much concern in maintaining the discipline, which he considered necessary, and in having the institution productive of good, according to one great design of its establishment, as a *penitentiary*. Perhaps there was some personal ambition enlisted in behalf of this object. Mr. *Bradford* was always anxious to discharge his duty ; nor was he insensible to the praise bestowed upon those who do well and are useful.

As he had the chief concern in the immediate regulation and government of the State Prison, he considered his own character identified, in some measure, with its reputation. He opened a correspondence with the principal officers of other similar establishments in this country, and read the history of those in England, to learn their modes of discipline, and the general results attending confinement to labour, instead of corporal punishment, for crimes, either as a preventive or as the means of reformation. He gave his views to the publick on this subject, in a pamphlet, about four years ago, which was noticed with approbation both in the United States and England. Occasional religious instruction and admonition, classification, and constant employment, were found to be very important, and even indispensable ; but ineffectual, in most cases. Solitary confinement, therefore, when the convicts were not at labour, was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary to produce contrition and reformation. A degree of lenity, also, towards those who had any ingenuousness of disposition, so far as consistent with the execution of the laws of the institution, and their entire submission to discipline and order, he found eventually favourable. He wished to cherish in the mind of the convict a hope of his res-

toration to a reputable standing in the world, upon his uniform good conduct in future. He would not only restrain the hardened offender, through fear of greater or continued punishment; but he would encourage the penitent, industrious and obedient, to expect good treatment, and a degree of confidence even, from their fellow-men in society. He endeavoured to impress on those, who left the prison, and who had discovered some hopeful symptoms of reformation, that their case was not desperate; that they would find some sympathy from the world, upon their being sober and industrious; and that, therefore, they had much to hope from a regular and moral course of life; and he exerted himself to find some honest employment for such, when they were dismissed from confinement. In this respect, perhaps, publick opinion, or rather the general conduct of men, may be changed, with happy effects upon those, who have once erred, but are disposed to reform. There is need of much caution and judgment in these cases, no doubt. Yet a mild and encouraging deportment towards an unfortunate wanderer, evidently resolved to amend, must have a salutary influence in giving strength to his good purposes, and serve to inspire hope, without which there is no reason to look for reformation. When one is shunned and deserted by his fellow-men, as unworthy of all confidence, he will soon become desperate, and abandon himself, without shame, to every species of crime.

When the government of the Massachusetts General Hospital was formed, he was elected one of the trustees, and he was chosen to this place for several years, until his feeble health and other duties induced him to resign it. In 1820, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts in Harvard University—a proof of the reputation he sustained for literary acquirements, and of the respectability of his general character.

It would not be doing justice to the character of Mr. *Bradford*, were we to omit noticing his faithful

and worthy conduct as a parent. His chief happiness was in his own family circle. He was a kind and attentive husband; and to the moral and literary improvement of his children, he was anxiously devoted. He spared no expense for their education; and it was his greatest pleasure to join them in reading useful books, and in free discussions on literary subjects. To his friends, he was generous, and to all, with whom he had intercourse, just and honourable. As a soldier and as a sailor, he was brave, resolute and enterprising. No obstacles discouraged him, and no dangers appalled him. He was generally accustomed to command; but he manifested no insolence towards his inferiours; nor was he desirous of exerting authority to display official superiority. He was truly republican, as well as honourable, in his feelings. Every one, who did his duty, he considered as entitled to esteem and commendation; and when he saw those, who were clothed with power, employ it with partiality, or to oppress and mortify their fellow-men, he was sometimes excited to expressions of indignation, which might be construed into an opposition to lawful authority. His principles, and generally his feelings, were correct. He had a high sense of honour: he thought little of wealth or place. In his view, true worth consisted entirely in the discharge of duty, in awarding justice and impartiality to all, and in compassion and benevolence towards the unfortunate and the wretched.

He was chosen a member of this Society in 1794, and always took a lively interest in its usefulness and prosperity.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THAT PART OF NEW ENGLAND
CALLED THE NANHIGANSET COUNTRY.

IT is an undoubted truth, and known to many persons still living, that Cononicus was the sole and chief govern-

our or sachem of the Nanhiganset country ; which might also be distinguished by particular appellations, as Co-wesett country, Niantuck country, and many more not commonly known, but in general terms passed under the denomination of the Nanhiganset country, whose bounds and limits may and is supposed, by the best evidences of sundry ancient English and Indians, to be confined, as the northerly bounds of the Narraganset country, by Pantuckit River, Quenebage and Nipmuck countries ; westerly by a brook called Wequapaug, not far from Paquatuck River ; southerly by the sea, or main ocean ; and easterly by the Nanhiganset Bay, wherein lieth many islands, by deeds bought of the Nanhiganset sachems, which, by deeds [of] conveyance and many memorials will shew, the above bounds doth include the whole dominions and territories belonging unto the aforesaid Cononicus and other the Nanhiganset sachems, hereafter named, (viz.) Miantinomy, Cussusquench, alias Paticus, alias Mossup—for the Indians change their names—and Conjanaquond, all being the sons of Cononicus his brother and Niniclade his sister's son. Meika was the son of Cononicus, and, after his father's death, was the chief sachem, who married with Matantuck, sister to Ninaclad, who had two sons, named Scuttup and Quequaquenuct, alias Gedeon, who died young, a daughter, Quinemiquet, who also died young. Matantuck, the mother of those last above-named, was a woman of great power, and called the Old Queen, and was killed in the Indian wars. Quanopin was the son of Cojonoquond, and was shot to death in Newport. Miantinomy, aforesaid, was taken prisoner by the Mohegan Indians, a nation in war with them, and by them put to death. Cussusquench, before-named, was killed by the Moqui in the wilderness, about twenty miles above Piscataqua, in his travel eastward in the time of the Indian wars, and other Indians with him, and were buried by order of Major Waldron of Piscataway. Cononocus, being the sole governour or chief sachem, employed his nephew, Miantinomy, to manage his warlike affairs,

as general of his army, and in his declining years took him as a partner in his government for assistance ; it being a custom amongst the Indians, that all persons of the blood royal did, by some measure, bear sway in the government ; and each sachem had his particular place for residence, and a kind of bounds between them, but not positively certain or determinate ; and each sachem had his particular men, or subjects, who submitted unto him, or had a chief. Under these sachems are many petty sachems, or captains, who bear some rule or command amongst the people, but subordinate to the chief sachems, whose commands are absolute and without control, yet much ruled by their council, who are chosen for their wisdom and ability. To these sachems belong the power of disposal of lands, to which the people subject themselves as a power due to them, some gratuity being usual first bestowed on the possessors by the purchasers, to make them more free to remove and depart. Matters being thus stated, the next thing requisite, is to shew the gradual purchasers and settlements of the English in the country.

Firstly, Mr. Roger Williams bought of Cononocus and Miantinomy a tract of land, about the year 1634. chiefly situated between two rivers called Patuckit and Pautuxit, above five miles in distance, twenty miles in length, and with some other persons settled a town, called it Providence, and though its beginning was small, yet is now considerable, having many inhabitants. The next tract of land southward, called Warwick, was purchased of Miantinomy by twelve persons, whose names are all mentioned in the deed, dated January 12th, 1642, and are all since dead, and their titles very weak. About this time, or rather before, Mr. Richard Smith, sen. went further southward into the Narraganset country, about twelve miles, and, by the sachem's leave, erected a house for trade near a place called by the natives Cacumqunssut, and afterwards bought the land and there remained amongst his Indian neighbours for several years, adjudged by Mr. Richard Smith, jun.

to thirty thousand inhabitants, young and old, until Mr. Roger Williams, afore-mentioned, about seven or eight years after, came thither and built another house for trade, not far from the former, who in a few years grew weary of his new settlement, and sold it to Mr. Richard Smith, and departed, (who again remained alone, being courteous to all strangers passing that way, till the year 1659,) and after the conquest of the Pequid wars, the Narraganset sachems, being friendly to the English, did capitulate and agree with the United Colonies upon sundry articles and conclusions, and did then submit themselves and people unto his majesty's government, and to be tried by the English laws, in case of difference, as by said articles may be seen.

Afterwards, June 22d, 1643, Punham and Sacanoch put themselves under the government of the Massachusetts, by a writing signed, and was interpreted to them by Mr. Benedict Arnold.

And in March 7th, 1644, Wassamegun, Nashawanon, Cutshamacke, Massanomell and squa sachem, made their voluntary submissions to the Massachusetts colony, and on the 19th of April, 1644, Pessicus and Cononicus submitted themselves and people to the care, protection and government of his majesty, as may appear in print.

These settlements of the Narragansett, above-mentioned, by the English, together with Rhode Island, which lieth eastward in the Nanhigansett Bay, being then without government but what they set up by consent amongst themselves, the colony of the Massachusetts procured a charter for government of the Narragansett country from some lords in England, dated December 10th, 1643. Afterwards, Mr. Williams, before-mentioned, procured another charter for the same tract of land, from the same lords, dated March 1st, 1644, being both invalid in themselves, and the power, &c. granted them, condemned afterwards. So they fell of themselves.

But to proceed to further settlement in the Narragansett country to the southward and northward of Mr. Smith's house. Mr. John Hull and company purchased some lands, about the year 1658, at or about Point Judah, as [by] their deeds appears.

Another purchase was then also made by Mr. John Winthrop, Major Humphrey Atherton, and others joined with them, of lands of Cojonoquond for a tract of land lying to the northward of Mr. Smith's house, called Acquedneseth, as [by] the deed bearing date June 11th, 1659.

Again the same men purchased another tract of land of Cojonoquond, lying to the southward of Mr. Smith's house, called Naomuck Neck, now called Boston Neck, and a further tract without the neck, adjoining to it, and bounded with certain bounds, as appears by their deed, dated July 11th, 1659. For confirmation of these two purchases, Scuttop, the grandson of Cononicus, ratifies and confirms the sale thereof, by deed dated August 5th 1659. Cusimquch, Scuttop and Quequaquomet, also, confirms the sale of the two tracts above-mentioned, by their deeds dated June 14th, 1660. About this time, Capt. Hutchinson, who was one of the purchasers of Rhode Island, on the behalf of himself and company, came to Rhode Island and made a tender to the inhabitants thereof, to be equal concerned with him and them all in purchases made in the Narragansett country; but, upon much debate, the people saw cause not to accept of his and their tender.

The Narragansett Indians, having done some damage about Mohegin in a hostile manner, and being called to account for the same to make satisfaction, the Nanhiganset sachems agreed with the commissioners of the United Colonies, to pay them six hundred fathom of wampompeage, or thereabouts; and for performance did mortgage and make over their whole country to the said commissioners, by their deeds dated September, 1660; but not having the peage in time, they applied themselves to Major Atherton and his associates, desiring

them to pay the obligation, and would assign over the said mortgage to them ; whereupon a new mortgage was made to Major Atherton and his associates of the land, and a longer day allowed them for payment, with all necessary charges arising thereon, as per deed, dated October 13th, 1660, appears, and signed by Cussumquinch, Niniclad, Scuttop and Quequamutt, the former principal sachems of the country. According to this agreement, Major Atherton and his associates pays to Mr. John Winthrop, governour of Connecticut, in behalf of the United Colonies, seven hundred and thirty-five fathom of wampompeage, as per his receipt appears, dated November 16th, 1660 ; and giving the said sachem further time of payment, and from time to time, and no payment made, they, about or near two years after, surrendered up the said land by turf and twig, in the presence of two or three hundred witnesses, both English and Indians, four of which English witnesses have given their oaths to the truth thereof, as may appear by their testimonies, dated September 22d, 1662 ; and further, in the year 1664, upon gratuities given, and twenty pounds in money paid, Scuttop acknowledges full satisfaction received of all debts and demands whatever for lands of the whole Nanhiganset country. Matantuck, relict of Misca, called the Old Queen, confirms what her son did, as by her deed, October 1st, 1668.

Scuttop and his sister confirms the aforesaid grant and the possession given, and desires to be under the English government, as per their deeds, dated December 28th, 1664, may be seen.

Quonopin, son of Cajanoquond, confirms and ratifies what his father had done, as per his deed, dated October 24th, 1672. Lastly, the sachems, in their articles of peace, on July 15th, 1675, in the seventh article, renewed to the company aforesaid, and then confirmed unto the English, all their former grants and conveyances of said lands sold them ; and also largely confirms all former articles with the confederate colonies.

Now, by what is written, appears the legal progress and the true purchases bought, bona fide, and due consideration paid for these lands to the native princes, the true owners and proprietors of said country, from whom all other the purchases in this bay were had, as Providence Island, Rhode Island, Quonanaquot, and the rest of the islands and tracts of lands; and my Lord Vaughan, in his Reports, saith, without leave and permission of the first occupants of any land, no person can have a legal title thereto. One purchase more I have heard of, which was made to a tract of land lying to the southward of Mr. Smith's house, bought of the sachems by Mr. Samuel Gorton and Mr. Randall Houldon, and was long since the year 1644, the pretended year of the sachems' surrender of themselves and lands, and by these men, who often plead surrender, and most of which tract of land Mr. Smith bought of them and their assigns, all which tracts of land here above-mentioned was purchased before any government was here settled by his majesty; and his majesty in his charter afterwards approved; and I cannot understand what reason any person can render, why one purchase in this tract should be counted good, and another, bought of the same persons, and have the money paid and charges great, be condemned; and yet most abominable have been the practice of some on such concerns, whose title from the natives are nothing so firm; and further, the purchasers of Rhode Island, Providence, Warwick and Quononoqu, and all the other purchases in the Narragansett country, came all from the same sachems and their successors. Perhaps some interested or prejudiced persons may endeavour to weaken these titles by means of Pessicus and Canonicus their subjection to his majesty in the year 1644; and the Indians did the same thing presently after the Pequid wars, and Pumham and Seconocke did the like in the year 1643, and another surrender was made before any purchase was made in the Narragansett country, Providence excepted; yet these sachems never intended thereby, that they had given away

their particular rights, or the power of the disposition of these lands; neither did his majesty intend thereby to deprive them of their native right, which they had ab origine, as appears afterwards by the several charters granted by his majesty, where he approves of the several purchases, and as a motive to induce his majesty to grant the said charters, he said therein is the bringing the heathen to the sincere profession and due obedience of the Christian faith, which the depriving them of their lawful rights and liberties could never be thought effective to accomplish, but would rather deter them; and for any thing done by them, called a surrender, they still concluded they were as much sachems as before, nor lost no right nor power, but were strengthened; and if their power of government was gone thereby, they ought to have the privilege of their fellow subjects to dispose of their own without control, and by their subjection they became not villains. There is a great disparity between a throne and a slave, and those that thought to injure them in such a way, deserves the name of infamy, for abusing them on such a cause they were wholly ignorant of, as may be seen by all the procedals since.

And whereas there is a great noise of the Indians tendering the wampompeage at the day prefixed to redeem their land, that also will be found false; for their is oaths to prove the contrary; and if there was a stratagem contrived by some men to endeavour to get the land out of said Atherton and company's hands for themselves, this they can prove; and for a further vindicating Atherton and company's right against the false assertions, the payment was due in April, 1661, and the sachems delivered possession of the land freely and willingly in the year 1662, which they would never have done, had their peage been once tendered, as by some falsely said. And Scuttop, in 1664, gives a receipt in full of all demands concerning the premises, and acknowledges full satisfaction; and again, the same year, he with his sister owns the possession delivered by

turf and twig; and when the king's commissioners was here, in 1664, there was no such complaint made to them, that the peage was tendered, but rather to the contrary, by their following orders, that they should pay it by such a time, which the Indians never did, and after the instigation of some ill spirits to the commissioners, they passed a severe sentence, that the English should quit their habitations; and yet that act could not be of any force, for without Col. Nicolls being one, they could do nothing; afterwards, Col. Nicolls passes an act, an order, and wholly disannulled that former act, and made it of no force. And after this, to shew these fellows' actings and false reports, Mattantuck confirming her sons' grants in the year 1668, and in the year 1672 Quonopin confirms what his father had done; and in the year 1675, in their articles of peace, there makes a full acknowledgment of their satisfaction in all that concerns of lands, and ratifies their former acts.

Yet there may be some room for a mistake, which may not be impertinent to insert. Catomny, an Indian, sold land to some Warwick men, and took peage for it: his father, disliking his son should sell land whilst he was living, carried the peage to Warwick, and tendered it to them before Sir Robert Carr; but it not being accepted, Sir Robert Carr, as it is said, took it; and this, I suppose, may be the peage so much talked of.

Thus, having shewed the conveyance from the natives, something shall be said of the gradual progress of his majesty's subjects; and as nothing could have due settlement without a method and rule and government, so none was looked legal of any government that was given by them, who, by a strong hand, kept his majesty from his crown; and at his return, many petitions were presented, some for charters of corporations, others for confirmation of former grants; but his majesty, to gratify his subjects' requests, first grants a charter to his subjects of Connecticut, the eastern bound being therein mentioned was the Narragansett Bay, or river; thereby they claim the whole Narragansett country; the ex-

tent of which charter proving prejudicial to the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, who requested the same grant of the Narragansett country, and declared that Connecticut grant was surreptitiously gotten; and to comprise the difference on that concern, the two agents, viz. the Connecticut agent and Rhode Island agent, put the debate thereof to some worthy gentlemen in England, to give a result and a composure of said differences; and they, after debate, on the allegations of both agents, draw up their results in four heads, and signed them; to the which both agents also sign the said articles interchangeable, and was looked as an approved composure of the differences. The articles are as follows:—That, firstly, Paugatuck River should be the bounds between the two colonies; and that for the future that river shall be called Narragansett River. The second was concerning Quenibaug purchases; and the third, that the proprietors and inhabitants of that land now settled about Mr. Smith's trading house, claimed or purchased by Major Atherton and company, should have free liberty to sell and choose to which of these colonies they will belong. And, fourthly, they do declare, that property should not be altered nor destroyed, but carefully maintained through the said colonies.—And upon these articles, a charter of incorporation was granted to Rhode Island and Providence Plantation; and long before Connecticut charter was sent over into this country, many gentlemen, concerned in the property of the Narragansett country, some belonging to all the three colonies, had made purchase and settlements, viz. the colony of Boston, Plymouth and Connecticut; and they, finding many turbulent spirits belonging to the present government of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, who never had any concern with them as to government, they therefore, according to his majesty's grant to Connecticut, submitted, and were settled under said charter government; and the grants and deeds of their land were enrolled in the records of said colony at Hartford;

and all manner of officers, as justice of peace, &c. were chosen of the people settled there by Connecticut, and the people peaceably remained under that government; all part of that Narragansett country, (Warwick and Providence excepted.)

And after some time, the men that set forth the new-modelled story of the Indians' subjection in the year 1644, began a stir to destroy the good settlement of the country. And now begins some men to strike at all Major Atherton and company's purchases, and also all the southern purchases in that country, and south the several islands since settled in the Narragansett Bay, and with the most prodigious misapplication of things, without considering what might tend to their own ruin; also, in one of their addresses, they declare to his majesty, that there is no such river known as Paugatuck, alias Narragansett River. This, I suppose, was through some inadvertency; and differences arising, the purchasers, with Major Atherton, address themselves to his majesty for relief: whereupon his majesty recommends the care and protection of them to the United Colonies in New England, by his letter dated January the 21st, 1663; and better to compose all differences arising between colony and colony, his majesty grants a commission to Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Knight, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, and constitutes them commissioners, or the survivors of them, of whom Col. Richard Nicolls, during his life, to be always one, to examine and determine all differences, as by their commission, dated April 25th in the sixteenth year of his reign. Sir Robert Carr, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Maverick, sitting at Petequomscut, orders, upon complaint made unto them of difference, that the Narragansett country, for the future, should be called the King's Province, and that no person of that colony presume to exercise jurisdiction there, but such as receive authority from them under their hands and seals, until his majesty's pleasure should be further known, and did then declare the purchases of Mr.

Atherton to be void, and did order the inhabitants thereon to quit their habitations by Michaelmas following, as may be seen by their order, March 20th, 1664. Now here take notice, here was an act void as soon as made, for Col. Nicolls had not assented to it, and therefore no act.

And in order to the settling a government in the King's Province, after they had taken it from all the colonies, they grant the government of it the same day to fourteen persons, part whereof was before officers in the government of Rhode Island, and part private persons. Thus the magistrates or government fling away part of the land supposed to be in their charter government, complying with them, that of themselves had no power to act, as I have said, without Col. Nicolls, and these commissioners, as abovesaid, they make justices of the peace of part of them, and the others, before being magistrates, they order that any seven of them, whereof the governour or deputy governour should be one, should hold a court, to determine any difference in their created province, and that the deputy governour should be a magistrate when the governour was present; and on the 8th of April, 1665, the said commissioners put an end to that commission, and further ordered, that the governour, deputy governour and assistants of said colony, for the time being, to be and exercise only the authority of justices of the peace, and to do what they think fit for the peace and safety of the province, and as near as they can to the English laws, until his majesty's pleasure should be further known. Thus, you may see, they took the whole government of the Narragansett from Connecticut and Rhode Island, and gave the government of it to some particular men only, (here there is no colony nor assembly to be,) and to exercise that authority and power, but made a particular government, and most of these men since dead.

But, upon complaint of Col. Nicolls aforesaid, who during his life, always must be one, he, with Sir Robert Carr and Mr. Maverick, reverses part of the aforesaid order, in these words following:—

“Whereas, by a former order, bearing date March 20th, 1664, at Petequomscut, it was then ordered, that all the inhabitants within the King’s Province of Nanhigansett should quit their habitations and plantations in the month of September following, we have, upon serious consideration, thought fit to order and appoint, and by these presents do order and appoint, that the said former orders shall not remain in force ; that the inhabitants of the King’s Province of Nanhigansett shall remain in quiet and full and peaceable possession of all their lands and houses and appurtenances, until his majesty’s pleasure be further known, any order before made or granted to the contrary notwithstanding. Given under our hands and seals, the 15th of September, 1665.

RICHARD NICOLLS.
ROBERT CARR.
SAMUEL MAVERICK.”

And was directed to the justices of the peace and magistrates of Rhode Island, appointed by his majesty’s commissions to regulate and govern the King’s Province, until his majesty’s pleasure be further known. Here is no directions to the government of Rhode Island, but to the justices of their own appointment ; and there was two orders more from the same commission to the same purport, one in August, 1665, the other in November following, one whereof more particularly speaks to the matter, that Col. Nicolls disliked the removal of any families settled in Nanhigansett, which may be seen by his letter and protests against those that molested the heirs of Mr. Haines, and an Indian called Hermon Garrott, in their possessions, and directed to the justice of peace, &c. And then our people, to help the matter, and to shew the certain bounds of the King’s Province, the governour and council of Rhode Island, in the year 1669, states the bounds to be northerly on the south line of Warwick, from west to east to the sea or bay, commonly called Cowsett Bay, and from thence round about to the south-

ward and westward, confined by the salt water, to the mouth of Pagatuck, alias Nanhigansett River, where the said river falleth into the sea, and so northerly to the middle of a ford in the said river, next above Thomas Shaw's house, and thence upon a due north line extending towards the southerly line of the Massachusetts colony, and until it comes in latitude of the south line of Warwick, which above-written bounds was afterwards sent to Mr. Edward Randolph, to be communicated to the honourable president, Joseph Dudley, Esq. and by Major John Green, of Warwick, July 13th, 1686. And for a further confirmation of Major Atherton's and associates' their rights and titles to the land above-mentioned, the general assembly of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation passed an act, in the court held October 20th, 1672, and confirmed their deed or deeds, grant or grants, and declare those deeds or grants shall be a good and lawful estate and title to them to possess and enjoy forever. And whereas it is commonly reported, that the land called the mortgage land is not concerned in this act, their mistake or error may easily be corrected, not only by some of the assembly now living, who have given evidences that there was a full debate of the matter, and also the petitioners, whose interest lay therein and not elsewhere in the country.

Now comes to view another act of the general assembly, made six years after, in the year 1678, sitting by adjournment, being repugnant to the former act in 1672, and the king's commissioners' act in 1664; and thereby all persons whatever were prohibited to settle in the Narragansett without their leave and approbation, and that the government and disposition of those lands belong to them; and the next year, July 9th, 1679, they passed an act, [which] contradicts their former act in 1678, and declares the government to be as the king's commissioners had ordered it.

Thus is declared the original settlements of the Narragansett country, and the several purchases and govern-

ments to the year 1679, the several acts and contests and orders and confirmations and prohibitions from time to time. But now, at last, comes the king's pleasure to be known, for the issuing the long contests and differences about this litigious country of Narragansett, the occasion arising about difference between Mr. William Harris of Pawtuxet and the town of Warwick, about certain lands claimed by both parties. To the issuing thereof, Capt. Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies from the town of Warwick, prefers a petition to his late majesty, in or about the year 1678, and in their petition makes a digression from their lands, and steps into the Narragansett country, giving his majesty an account thereof not pertinent to their deputation, which gives an occasion to the lords of the committee for trade and plantations to notify a petition, presented by Major Richard Smith, concerning the Narragansett country, to which petition the said Greene and Houlden answered readily; but his majesty, finding their reports various, and the differences great, takes the readiest way to issue them; and therefore, by his letters to the several colonies in New England, dated February 12th, 1678—9, acquaints them, that Capt. Houlden and Capt. Greene, deputies for the town of Warwick, had certified to his privy council, of their certain knowledge, as having inhabited for above forty years, that never any legal purchase had been made thereof from the Indians by the Massachusetts or any others; that the Indian sachems had submitted themselves and people unto the government of King Charles; and thus these magistrates concludes by their assertion, that the absolute sovereignty and particular property is invested in him, and therefore strictly wills and requires, that all things relating to the King's Province, or the Narragansett, should remain in the same condition as now they are, or lately have been in, as to the possession and government; and to put a stop to any other contests here, commands all persons, who pretend any right or title to the soil or government of said lands, that they forthwith send over persons suffi

ciently empowered and entrusted to make their rights and titles appear before his majesty ; and for want thereof, his majesty's will proceeds, &c.

Now hereby you may understand, that his majesty, upon information given him, as before rehearsed, asserts his right to both soil and government of the Narragansett country, and hereby he nulls and makes void the act of the assembly, August, 1678, which said the government and disposition of the lands belongs to them ; but his majesty, by their report, concludes the lands are his ; and to have a more and true understanding of his subjects' rights and claim, he requests them to come before him, his majesty being desirous all his subjects should enjoy their rights ; neither did Capt. Houlden and Greene's assertion gain credit with his majesty, for then his majesty would immediately have settled the government and disposed of the lands ; but he concludes his subjects had a right, and therefore commands them to make their right appear before him ; and the purchasers, with Major Atherton, knowing their purchases to be good and valid as any Indian purchase are or can be for the lands in this colony possessed by others, and much more legally drawn by deeds than many others, and that both Providence and Warwick have legal rights derived from the true proprietors and first occupants thereon. — But, to proceed, after his majesty, in the year 1678—9, had ordered that all rights should be made before him, the colony of Rhode Island made their application to his majesty in the first place, as by their address dated August 1st, 1679, signed by the governour, wherein they beg of his majesty the lands they have formerly legally purchased of the natives Indians, which positively contradicts the former assertion, that there were no legal purchases made ; and also humbly beseeches his majesty, that he would bestow upon them the unsettled and vacant lands, as they term them, on them before any other. In this application they turn beggars, and would beg other rights ; and his majesty's commands was for them to make their right

and titles appear; so they having none to the land, they would a-begged it. But he never intended to take the right of soil of others and give it to them, but to confirm it on them that had right; for no rational man can imagine, that his majesty will dispose of his subjects' right of land they have purchased, possessed and improved to a great value, and now for about forty years, and give it to others of his subjects, that lay no claim to it, nor have any thereto, nor expended their moneys, unless to molest their neighbours of their just rights and settlements; for we are all the king's subjects, and his majesty takes equal care of all his subjects, although diverse governments. Thus may be seen, the colony of Rhode Island makes no claim to this soil according to his majesty's command; but, like the man that would a-begged the ship of war, to which the king made that reply, it was not his to give—for though it was called the king's ship, the subjects' money paid for it—so the king never intended to give away any one subjects' right to another, because he did not live in the same colony where his lands was.

And afterwards, in the year 1682, the assembly of Rhode Island declares they will not meddle with the title or propriety of those lands in the Narragansett country in difference, and commands obedience to be given to his majesty's letter in the year 1678—9. The second address was by Connecticut, who sent their agent, Mr. William Harris, fully empowered and instructed to present their rights of claims; but the said Harris, being by the Algerines taken and carried in Algiers, lost all his papers and writings, and was deprived of his liberty to make application to his majesty on their behalf that employed him; which being known at Whitehall, there was a stop put to any further proceedings for some time, as per Mr. Blaitwait's letter to the government of Rhode Island, dated June, 1680, appears. Lastly, Major Atherton's partners and associates made their humble addresses to his majesty, declaring their rights to great part of the soil of the

country, and therein answers some objections, and rendered many reasons for their assertions, and was presented in 1681. No other address being made and presented to his majesty for claim of soil, and their application being made according to his majesty's command, his majesty, to cause impartial justice to be done amongst his subjects here inhabiting, which could not be so well understood at a distance, it being so great to bring all their claims, caused a commission to be drawn and sent to Mr. Edward Cranfield, Mr. William Stoughton, Mr. Edward Randolph, Mr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, and others, empowering them to examine and inquire into the several titles and pretensions, as well of his majesty, as of all other persons whatever, to the jurisdiction, government and propriety of the soil, of or within the King's Province, so called, or the Narragansett country, as may be seen and appear by their commission at large—a copy of which commission was presented at Newport by the said Cranfield to some in government then, and before several still living witnesses thereof—and printed briefs, dispersed throughout all the colonies, to let all people be acquainted of their power, and the day they appointed for a meeting in the Narragansett country, according to their commission; which publick declaration in print was dated July 19th, 1683, and therein the place and day appointed. Upon convening at Mr. Richard Smith's house at Narragansett, and receiving such information as was presented them, and claims of land before them, by them at that time adjourned to Boston from thence, and sent forth a strict summons to Major John Green, and Capt. Holden to give in evidence pursuant to their information given his majesty in council at Whitehall, but they never appeared. Thus, after they had perused all instrument of claims and petitions of right of particular persons, where also was presented to them a printed book, containing a deed, bearing date April 19th, 1644, being the subjection of two sachems, Pissacus and Cononicus, of themselves and lands to the king, to the care, protection and

government of King Charles the First, of blessed memory. Whereupon, hearing the whole matter that was presented to them, the commissioners made a report to his majesty in favour of the purchases, and partners with Major Atherton, to the soil of the said country, as may be seen by their report at large, dated October 20th, 1683, and was sent home and presented to his majesty. His majesty, having seen and heard the report, he then declares and makes known his pleasure concerning the government and settling the province, and puts a final issue and determination to the temporary orders of his commissioners, and in 1664 [?] grants a commission to President Joseph Dudley, dated October, 1685, to take possession of the government of the Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and the King's Province of the Narragansett, and in the commission fully empowered to settle all titles and all controversies, both relating to both the king and subjects. Whereupon President Dudley took possession of the several governments above expressed, and in particular came into the Narragansett country or King's Province, established officers and courts of judicature, as may be seen by the records thereof; and did choose a committee to examine the rights, titles and pretensions of the partners of Mr. Atherton to the soil of the said land, and, upon report of the said committee, allowed and confirmed their grants, deeds and purchases; and these things may be seen in the book of records per Edward Randolph, being secretary by commission, all persons then concerned yielding obedience; and the colony of Rhode Island and Providence plantations empowered Major John Coggeshall and Mr. Walter Newbery to see the president's power, who not only had a sight thereof, but had a copy also. Whereupon Major John Green sent the secretary a copy of the bounds of the King's Province, as himself and others of the government of Rhode Island had stated it, Anno 1669; but what power he had so to do, I know not, without it was to give away a part of our colony; for the charter never gave

them any such power, neither did the king's commissioners, in 1664, give any power or government to the assembly or to the governour and council, but did order and appoint the governour, deputy governour and assistants to be justices of the peace throughout the King's Province. And thus did they run into confusion, not minding, if they break one limb of our charter, the other part may continue lame till it hops away also. After this, many of the inhabitants of Greenwich, alias Depesford, make their application to Major Smith, he being a justice of the peace, for the settlement of them in their lands, as by their letter and petition, dated November, 1686, still to be seen. Whereupon there was an agreement compounded on between them; and then, soon after, came Sir Edmund Andross, and took the government under him, and the country remained under his government some years; and since Rhode Island have assumed the government of said country, and now within these few years, the government have let several villains and notorious fellows, who have fled, some of them, from other colonies, to settle on the lands, being some of them that hath fled from the hand of justice, and the true owners and proprietors thereof they have threatened the jail, for only claiming their right, and endeavouring to persuade them in the government to observe the law, and let equal justice be done. This is a small part of the trouble, that many have waded through by the means of some persons that have been, and now are in government, whose opinion and principles are, that men may do what they will in this world, it is no sin against God.

[The writer of this tract is unknown. It is preserved by Trumbull in the 19th vol. of his MSS. but evidently appears a modern copy by a hand not much skilled in orthography. Ed.]

LETTER OF JOHN HAYNES TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Worthy Sir,

I WAS right glad of any opportunity of hearing from you in this silent time of winter. The messenger you sent by only left your letter at Agawam, or Springfield, from whence it came to my hands; but the party himself was not yet with me, but if he repairs to me, I shall follow your advice in that thing you mentioned concerning Anogamey; for he is not any confederate friend of ours. That the express, that Onkus should take wampham of the Narragansetts for Myantonimo's ransom, (which I have understood also from Mr. Eaton,) I cannot but concur with you, if really it appears so, equity and justice calls for no less; but this I must *needs* say, that this very thing was cast abroad by some Indians of the Narragansett party, and myself coming to understand it somewhat before Myantonimo his death, both myself and Capt. Mason strictly examined Onkus concerning the matter, acquainting him with what we heard. He utterly denied, that he had taken wampham or any other thing upon any such terms. He confessed, indeed, he had wampham and other things given him and his brother freely; and he as freely promised to bring him to the English, which he said he had performed; and this I also know, that the same day that Myantonimo was delivered into our hands and imprisoned, that Onkus and his brother, with many of their men, were at that place where he was committed, myself and Capt. Mason then present also. Onkus desired him to speak before us all; and this Myantonimo did then utter and confess, that the Mohegan sachems had dealt nobly with him in sparing his life, when they took him, and performing their promise in bringing him to the English, (a thing the like he never knew or

heard of, that so great a sachem should be so dealt withal,) although he himself pressed it upon them, again and again, (as they all could witness,) to slay him ; but they said, No, but you shall be carried to the English ; which therefore, if it should prove other upon due trial, I should marvel much ; for his own confession, I should think, goes far in the case ; but I leave it to further consideration and better judgments. I have not since spoke with him since I received that from you, but I shall by the first opportunity. The Narragansetts, I fear, notwithstanding their fair promises and pretences, will not sit down quiet, as you suppose. (Mr. Pincheon thinks the same also with me,) from whom I lately heard.

The evidence to the contrary are these two, which is manifestly known. First ; they have sent a very great present to the Mowhawkes. Secondly ; those Pequots, that were under the Niantick and Narragansett sachems, have lately slain a sachem squa that belonged to Onkus. He sent lately a messenger to us to signify the same, desiring he may have the aid of the English against them, as conceiving, by what was read to him, that was agreed upon and sent for that purpose from the commissioners, gave him hope of aid, if the Narragansetts should fall upon him again ; which he desired yourself and the rest of the English sachems should be made acquainted withal, that he might understand their pleasure. You may be pleased to return your answer, for I promised to acquaint you with it.

There is late news by a vessel that came to the Dutch, and from them to New Haven, by Mr. Allerton. The substance this ; that there hath been a great battle betwixt the king's and parliament's forces, (since that of Newbery,) at Ailsborow in Buckinghamshire, wherein the parliament forces prevailed, pursuing their victory with very great slaughter of the adverse party. Also, that the fleet is again out under that noble Earl of Warwick, who came lately into the harbour of some great town held by the contrary party full sail with his fleet, both by block-houses and castles, and lands his men, takes

the town, sets many prisoners at liberty. (The town's name I heard not.) I leave the truth of the report to be judged of by you, only latest letters give some probable conjectures of the possibility thereof. It was said, there was much sadness in Holland about it; but we received no letters from thence. I am sorry to hear of Mr. Dudley his cause of sorrow and heaviness. I shall add no more, only due respect to yourself; mine with my wife's to Mrs. Winthrop; desiring to be remembered also to Mr. Dudley, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wilson, I rest yours, to his power,

JO. HAYNES.

HARTFORD, the 17th 11, '43.

In the catalogue sent to Mr. Eaton, &c. some of those things Myantonimo confessed he freely gave him; other he took with him, when he apprehended him as due prize. For the remainder, we shall hear what Onkus can say to it, &c.

*To the Right Worshipful, his much honoured
Friend, JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. Governour of
the Jurisdiction of the Mattatusetts, these
present.*

[This letter of Gov. John Haynes, besides its intrinsick importance, seemed to have a claim on the Editors for publication, as being the only known composition of that distinguished man. The original is preserved in the 19th volume of Trumbull MSS. ED.]

A MEMORIAL, SHEWING THAT THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS ON THE RIVER OF CANADA DO ORIGINALLY AND OF RIGHT BELONG TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND FOR OTHER IMPORTANT REASONS OUGHT TO BE RESTORED TO THE SAID CROWN ON A TREATY OF PEACE.

THE whole tract of land, situate on either side of the River of Canada, called Nova Francia and L'Acadie, was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot and his son in

the reign of Henry the Seventh, king of England, which discovery was prior to that of Johannes Verrazanus, a Florentine, under Francis the First of France, and accordingly was under the power and jurisdiction of the crown of England until the year 1600, when some of the French, invited by the traffick on the River of St. Lawrence, seized first on the north side of the river called Canada or Nova Francia, and afterwards, in 1606, did possess themselves of the south side, L'Acadia.

In the year 1621, King James, looking upon their possessions as an invasion of his territories, did, by letters patent, grant unto Sir William Alexander (afterwards earl of Sterling) L'Acadie, by the name of Nova Scotia, who, in 1622—23, subdued the French inhabitants, carried them prisoners to Virginia, planted a colony there himself, and held possession of it a two years, when, upon the marriage of King Charles the First with the lady Henrietta Maria, the said Nova Scotia was, by order of the king, returned into the hands of the French.

Afterwards, a war rising between the kings of England and France, Sir David Kirk, with his friends, did, in 1627—28, by virtue of a commission obtained from his majesty, send to sea, at their own charge, nine ships, fitted with warlike stores, to expel the French from both sides of said River of Canada; in which enterprise they had success, so that, after bringing off the French inhabitants and traders into England, they took possession of all Nova Francia, or Canada, and L'Acadie, the former of which fell to Sir David Kirk, who was governour of Quebeck, and set up the king of England's arms in all places of publick resort in the city; the latter fell to Sir William Alexander.

In 1632, a peace being concluded between the two crowns, it was agreed, that the forts on the said French settlement should be delivered to the subjects of France, the French king, on his part, stipulating to pay, in lieu thereof, to Sir David Kirk, five thousand pounds sterling, which sum does nevertheless remain unpaid to this

day, although the forts were delivered up, as per agreement.

In 1633 King Charles, considering he had only surrendered the forts, but had not debarred his subjects from planting and trading there, did grant a commission to Sir Lewis Kirk and company to trade and settle there, which accordingly they attempted, but were plundered and made prisoners by the French.

In 1654 Cromwell, weighing the premises, and in consideration that the articles were not performed on the French king's part, sent one Sedgwick, who assaulted and subdued the French on that settlement, and restored the country into the hands of the English; and although a peace between the two nations was settled in 1655, and the French ambassadour made pressing instances for the restoration of that country, yet it was not delivered up, but remained under the jurisdiction of England.

Yet, after the restoration, ('tis not easy to say how, or on what account,) the French were permitted to re-enter, and do yet hold the unjust possession of it.

From the premises it seems manifest, that the French territories on that part of the continent of America do originally and of right belong to the crown of Great Britain, which is however submitted to better judgments. In the mean time it is humbly remonstrated,—

That the French, by their unwearied industry, and many artful methods, gain ground continually, by making new alliances with the Indian nations,* on the back side of New York and Virginia, so in a little time they will become formidable to the English settlements:

That by intermarrying with the natives; by having always a great number of Jesuits and priests with them; and by instructing them, that the Saviour of the world was a Frenchman and murdered by the English; they are excited to commit all manner of cruelties upon the English as meritorious;—and particularly about twelve months since, the French and savages made a descent

* Viz. the Hurons and Illinois, &c. as may be seen by Monsieur De La Salle's Voyages.

upon a considerable town in the province of the Massachusetts, and there barbarously killed the colonel of the militia, and minister of the town, with many others of lesser note, notwithstanding the extraordinary precautions, which his excellency, Col. Dudley, had taken to prevent it :

That, by means hereof, the best part of New England, the Eastern Country, is entirely abandoned and left desolate :

That the whole trade of New England, out and home, is very much awed and dampt, especially by L'Acadie, the capital of that place (Port Royal) being a nest of privateers and a Dunkirk to New England :

That the mast trade is endangered, many persons having been surprised and murdered whilst cutting masts for the supply of the town :

Lastly, that this country they possess is very proper and apt to yield all naval stores, and has the best fishery in the world on its coasts ; so that the French king may resign up all Newfoundland, and we not obtain our end, whilst L'Acadie is left them, which will supply France and the Straits with fish notwithstanding.

Upon the whole, it is humbly moved, that this country may be demanded at the next treaty of peace, at least the south side of the river, which, being New Scotland, and adjoining to New England, may be united to it by the name of New Britain, after the great example of England and Scotland, that the Union may, in all parts, be complete and entire in her present majesty's most happy and glorious reign.

LONDON, *September 10th*, 1709,

This memorial is humbly laid before the government
by JEREMIAH DUMMER.

This is a copy of what I delivered to my Lord Treasurer at Windsor, and to my Lord Halifax and my Lord Sunderland, &c.

J. D.

LETTERS OF HENRY JACIE TO JOHN WINTHROP, JUN.

[The three letters following are from a celebrated Puritan minister, mentioned by Wood in his *Athenae*, and by Crosby in his *History of the Baptists*, who have mistaken the spelling of the author's name, while they preserve its sound. See Vol. I. 165, 168, of our Second Series. They afford a representation of the treatment received from the bishops not less graphical than interesting; and, referring to some who were driven to New England, have been thought worth transcription from the originals. Ed.]

Kind Sir,

I HUMBLY salute you and yours in the Lord.

We eagerly covet to hear of your safe arrival, yours with your good company, for we have good hope, that we shall hear well when it shall be, (it may be before your receipt hereof,) both in regard you were guarded with so many prayers and so many angels, (as, if you had heard and seen, would much have rejoiced you, and so may do in greatest perplexities you have been, are, or may be in;) and also we hear this day from Mr. Huison, (at London stone,) that some that came lately from your coasts saw your ship com'd within three days' sail of your desired haven. It would be very acceptable to this house, if you writ to some of them, and if you pleased to send over also some of your Indian creatures alive, when you may best, as one brought over a squirrel to Bures, another some other creature, one a rattlesnake skin with the rattle.

I have herewith sent to John Sanford a note of the winds ever since [you] went till after your arrival in New England, the pattern whereof I sent before your going to John Sanford, desiring his noting also. I pray you desire him to send back a copy of his, that so we may compare (for I have a copy of this) how they agree or disagree. I have not time now to write to him, no not to your worthy father the governour, nor to Mrs.

Winthrop, nor others, to whom I would gladly. I pray you excuse me to them.

The affairs beyond sea in Germany are almost beyond credit, how so weak a king as Sweden should go on and prosper and subdue still so much against the mighty emperor and Spain's forces, maugre all their malice and their holy father's curses. Our affairs at home are almost as lamentable, as I have writ (and want time to rehearse) to goodman Firmin and goodman Child. The plague having been lately at Colchester, the bishop's visit was *propria persona* at Keldon, where with much gravity and severity he inveighed against the pride in the ministry, that they must have their plush and satin, and their silken cassocks, and their bandstrings with knops; if every knot had a bell at it, it would be a goodly show; saying, if any would inform him of abuses in the ministry by drinking, &c. he would severely censure them. Mr. Cook there being commanded to attend him in his chamber, got a black riband to his ruff, which he so played upon, O what a show it would make, if it were of carnation or purple, &c. He was very pleasant thus sometimes. By both which he drew the most people to admire him, and applaud his proceedings. There he excommunicated Mr. Weld, who had been suspended above a month; and requiring Mr. Rogers of Dedham to subscribe there, (no law nor canon so requires, I take it,) he refused. He told how he had borne with him, and showed how he must needs suspend him, and so proceed, if he reformed not, to do all according to canon—after a month to excommunicate him, and then after a month to deprive him of the ministry, (so lying open also to a writ of *excommunicato capiendo*,) as was read in the canon. Mr. Rogers said, if he would rather now put him by for altogether. He said, no, he would proceed according to law. So suspended him. Mr. Shepherd he charged to be gone out of his diocess, as one that kept conventicles.

Colchester men would have had his admission of Mr. Bridges of Emanuel for their lecturer in Mr. Maiden's

stead. He was angry, and said, When you want one, you must go first to Dr. Gouge and to Dr. Sibs, and then you come to me ; I scorn to be so used ; I'll never have him to lecture in my diocess, that will spew in the pulpit : (it seems, he had preached on this—I will spew thee out of my mouth.)

At Braintree (whither he went thence) Mr. Whar- ton, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Bruer and others were spoke to, after the bishop had looked in his book, opening it before them. He first commended them for parts, and pains, and their lives, and then charged them with non-conformity. All denied it. Mr. Marshall said, he was misinformed. Aye, but, said he, do you conform always ? He answered, he did sometimes, but not always ; he was much employed in preaching and in catechising the youth. The bishop answered, Your preaching I like well, and your catechising wondrous well ; but I mis-like your answers, (which he spake angerly.) You wear the surplice sometimes, and then you lay it aside from you for a long time, and what say your people then ?

These good men cannot abide these ceremonies ; and, if they might, they would never use them. But to avoid the persecution of these bishops, that would fetch them up to the High Commission, therefore these good men are fain to stoop to them sometimes. Thus they will say, &c. So, enjoining them to conform, and seek the peace of the church, they escaped. Mr. Car of Twin- steed being called, Mr. Allen stood up and said, (trem- bling as he spake, as he did at Bury, when he informed against his Sudbury people, sitting with heels as high as their head,) that many of his people of Sudbury were entertained by him, &c. The bishop took him up there- fore sharply, if he admitted any to the communion not of his own parish ; or if any such came to hear him, and he forbad them not, he would take a course with him.

He said he hoped to join with his brother of Norwich for reformation there also. Now York being dead (on whose tomb he appointed should be indelibly engraven, *Hic jacet Samuelis Harsnet, quondam vixit indignus*

Episcopus Cestrensis, indignior Norvicensis, indignissimus Eboracensis, in his will, therein protesting against the Genevensians) Winchester Dr. Neile to York, Durham to Winchester, Coventry and Litchfield, Dr. Morton to Durham, Rochester Dr. Bowles to Coventry, our Norwich Dr. White to Ely, who is dead, Oxford Dr. Corbet to Norwich, that Rev. Dr. Linsel to Rochester or Oxford.

The king's attorney, Sir Ro. Heath, is removed; Mr. Noy is put by the king into his place, who is very just in it. 'Tis said W—— for his book laid him down about five or seven or eight pieces. He asked what he meant; 20s. was due, and would no more. Some used to pay £5, I think. And hearing his man scraping with his foot at the door, he came and asked what he gave him. He told, a piece. He answered, 2s. was his due; he should have no more.

But I forget myself; 'tis near one o'clock; I must bid you a good night. Yet a word more with you, before I take my leave; for I know not when I shall talk with you thus again. Where I left before. Mr. Nat. Ward being called, whose silencing was expected, and charged with rejecting the ceremonies and common prayer book, he answered, (as 'tis said,) There is one thing, I confess, I stick at—how I may say, for any that die IN SURE AND CERTAIN HOPE; or that, WE WITH THIS OUR BROTHER, &c. Upon this the bishop, to resolve him, made a large explication, and so he escaped then. Mr. Weld, after excommunication, coming into a church where the bishop was visiting, the bishop spied him and called him and asked him, if he were on this side New England, and then if he were not excommunicated. He said, Yes. And why here, then? He hoped he had not offended. But he would make him an example to all such. Take him, pursuivant. The pursuivant called Mr. Shepherd, and said he would rather have Shepherd; but he escaped, and Mr. Weld by a bond of one hundred marks—others bound with him—and so fled to Bergen.

Either he or Mr. Hooker was abated £40 in the forfeiture.

Mr. Bruer the last term had twenty-two articles against him, and six or seven additional—these devised by Ja. Allen, as Mr. Bruer's late sexton confesseth in anguish of conscience. I would write more, as I could write too much, such as I joy not in writing; but you more safely hear, than I write it.

I beseech you, Sir, consider our condition, and provoke others to it, some in the general, for some would make the worst of things, to your disparagement, though 'tis more their own shame. Accept of what I have writ, in scribbling after midnight; haste, and let me hear of your receipt hereof, and of your welfare, and yours and all your liking of the country, as you may. The Lord, our good God and gracious Father, be with you all, as he will be with all his in Christ, in whose arms and sweet embracings, though tost in afflictions, I leave you, resting, at your service, to be used in him,

HEN. JACIE.

January 9, 1631.

My brother Thomas desires to hear, whether Mr. Winthrop the governour have employment for him; he is yet willing to come, if he may do him service. He can shoot well, and is content to endure what he can, and to work, &c. if it may be for his bettering in outward estate. Methinks I repent I have writ aught about him, for I would not have him to cumber you. John Sanford knows my mind about him. I pray you desire him to write to me, with the note of winds.

If I can, I will send you herewith a book of the *MORNING STAR*, 'tis called, of that great star, 1572, in the north, (in 63 of latitude, and, I think, 53 of longitude, which is Finland, of which Sweden is the great prince,) which Tycho Brahe, in his spiritual book on that star, page 800 and so forward, shows not to be an ordinary comet, but a *NEW* star, the forerunner of happy changes to the churches, especially beginning about

1632, as he calculates, from one that should come from such a place of longitude and latitude, applying it to the king of Sweden.

In this book he stands not so on the anagram, Gustavus, Augustus, nor that saying, that, 'tis said, appals the emperour's wise men, *Te debellavit adversus DEUS*; why or how *Deus*, 'tis said *SUED*, and relates many passages of the late victories.

To his very worthy and much respected Friend,
Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, Jun. Son to the right wor-
thy Governour of New England, at Boston,
there these be d'd.....with a Book.
Leave these with Mr. Huison, at London Stone,*
whom I desire to convey safely.

Received by Mr. Wilson.

Good Sir,

I SALUTE you in the Lord.

Hearing that as yet the ship towards New England is not yet set forth, I adventure, this third week, to send some thither, having sent one letter to you, and another with a packet to the worthy governour, the two last weeks, to be conveyed by Mr. Huson.*

Since my last week's letters we hear it's questioned whether Cologne have yielded to pay £300,000, yea, whether it have yielded; though we hear it confirmed, that Mentz hath, (I mean to that renowned instrument of God, the king of Sweden,) and Oppenheim and Worms and Creutznach; and also that he hath taken Frankendel, where is a strong castle, and it was strongly fortified. We hear he lost about four thousand men thereby.

We hear, the Spanish ambassadour, being at Rome, affirmed that the king of France had assisted the king of Sweden, which, though the French ambassadour there

* [The name is spelt both ways by this writer. ED.]

denied that he knew any such thing, the cardinals would needs have the pope excommunicate the French king. But he would not, till he might see it further proved, and that king answer for himself. Hereupon, 'tis said, was a great faction there; insomuch that the pope fled to a strong hold in France. 'Tis said so.

A book of the Northern Star (by Dr. Goad) was sent you to go herewith. There are now added to that book in print verses in Latin, (two or three leaves,) dedicated to our king, by Mr. Gill, jun. in London, bachelor in divinity, in commendation of the king of Sweden's proceedings, relating part, and encouraging our king in assisting that way. We have heard of some exploit done by the Marquis Hamilton. Magdenburgh, that was cruelly used by Tilly's forces, and a great part of it burnt, (for which we hear was solemn procession in Hungaria by the Jesuits' procurement, and casting the pictures of Luther, Calvin and Beza into a pit with fire, which they called hell, when suddenly God sent such thunder and lightning, that killed three or four hundred that day or the next, as we heard,) we hear it's now besieged by the Duke of Saxony's forces, who joined with Sweden, about September 6, near Leipsick. Bohemia and Moravia is subdued by them for the most part, (many countrymen revolting from the emperour to them.) Mr. Harrison of Sudbury molested by means of Mr. Allen, Mr. Warren, Mr. Smith of Caundish, and Mr. Steward (the most favourable) sate in commission about him, and now, by his conforming more than ever he did, he yet preacheth at Sudbury.

Sir Arthur Herries of Essex was buried about the 8th of January instant, for whom Dr. Aylot made many English verses, which are much applauded, expressing his life beyond sea and here, his two wives and twelve children, his faithfulness to the country and king, &c. Mr. Hudson of Capel is departed, and his brother is in his stead, as I have writ. I pray you, good Sir, let me have exchange of news from you, of your commodities and discoveries, &c.

Your good company is remembered at table here in drinking, oft in a week, besides more solemnly. We hear you do not drink one to another; therefore not to us; but remember us in a more serious sort. Remember us still, for this land and corner have great need. The grace of our God be with you all.

Yours in him to use,

H. J.

ASSINGTON, *January 23, 1631.*

*To his worthy good Friend, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, Jun. }
in New England, these be d'd.*

The Lord make his face shine upon you, and be gracious to you and to the whole plantation, and grant you peace in Christ Jesus.

Kind Sir,

I RECEIVED your loving letter, bearing date July 4, 1632, by goodman Bruise of Boxford, (who came safely from your coasts to ours, he said, in three weeks and three days.) I humbly thank you for your so large relations of your affairs therein. Whereas both you and that right worthy governour had wished my furtherance to boys and young maids of good towardness, for your service, I have inquired, and found out some few. But they desiring some knowledge of their maintenance, and good conveyance, &c. I spake to Mr. Gosling, who could say nothing in it, but would inquire of Mr. Downing; and afterward he said Mr. Downing would undertake for no more but a boy and a maid or two for Mr. Governour, but no more. I pray you therefore, good Sir, write over to either of them, that there may be good satisfaction in these following particulars, and I shall not be wanting in endeavours for your best furtherance, viz. What shall be the most of their employment there, whether dairy, washing, &c. and what should be their

wages, and for how many years tied, whether apparel found, who should provide for their shipping over, their journey thither, their diet while they stay for the wind or ship's setting forth, and provision in the ship, besides ship diet, (for, 'tis said, that must be, or it will go very ill with them.)

She that was Mary Bird, of late the wife of goodman Bigsby of Hadleigh, now a good widow, being poor, (whom Mr. Governour knows,) desires, if she could, to come to you herself, and she would gladly have her two daughters, the one about sixteen years old, well disposed, I hear, the other younger, to serve Mrs. Winthrop the elder, or you. So a maid or two about Assington, and some others. Goodman Choat with his wife, and goodman Bowhan, (such a name,) an honest, simple, poor man, a locksmith of Sudbury, and goodman Bacon, with his good wife, of Boxford, (having divers young children,) desire to have their service humbly remembered to Mr. Governour, and desire his kind remembrance of them, to pity their poor condition here, and, when he can, to send for them, as it pleased him to say he would. They are filled with the contempt of the proud, and their spirits are ready to sink and fail in them.

I send you herewith a note of the judgment of a goldsmith in Norwich, my good friend, concerning that little thick piece, which is in it, and another less piece, which he returned to me, (I having had them of one that had them from N. E. and thought them better metal than he judges,) with other glassy pieces of that which he counts to be of the same metal, whereby you may better judge of the same ore, if you see the like, and not count it better than it is.

I have now received another letter from you. I thank you kindly for it. In it you mention your readiness to have observed that eclipse, that I (with Mr. Milburne) writ about, but the cloudiness hindered. But you have writ the calculation of another, about which, as soon as I can, I shall send to the said Mr. Milburne, that you

may have his calculations also, and judgment of the same. I was gone down to Yorkshire, when your last letter came to Suffolk, being writ to and desired to come to a place there, about nine miles S. S. E. from York. It's called Aughton, where a godly minister was lately for about twelve or fourteen years; and I conceive, as my Christian friends do also, that God hath called me to go thither, where now I am, but not certain how long I shall have freedom to be here. Arminianism doth much spread, especially in York. (Bishop Neale is now their archbishop, and Dr. Cousins, dean.) Command is given in York, 'tis said, from the king's majesty, that the chancels be kept neat and comely; therefore the seats to be removed thence into the body of the church (as it's enjoined at Hull and Beverley by Dr. Cousins.) Much renewing old customs, setting tables altarwise, genuflexiones ad nomen Jesu, solemn processions, (as 'tis called,) observing Wednesday and Friday prayers, and other such things, that are counted most for order and decency, and keeping unity in conformity in all such things in the church. Popery much increaseth. In many places in Yorkshire are swarms of Papists. In Durham county and Northumberland many are known to go as openly to a mass, (where such and such are famed to be priests,) as others to a sermon. Many Papists grow very insolent to boast over Protestants thereabouts. O pray for us, that God would root out all idolatry and superstition, and every plant that he hath not planted, and that he would uphold his gospel in the power and purity of it, notwithstanding our sins, as he yet doth in divers places. I often think I shall yet see you again before I die. The Lord direct.

Our king, in his progress toward Scotland, to be crowned there, (and establish conformity, 'tis said, in a parliament,) came safely to York on Friday, May 24. He is exceeding greatly commended and extolled for his courtesy and affableness, and his piety. It was a very rainy day, so that he came into York in a coach, and sent word afore, he was sorry he could not so come in,

that those, that desired to see him, might all see him ; and after forbad those, that would keep people from crowding to see him and come near him, looking still on them with a smiling countenance, and received all the petitions were put up to him. After his lighting out of his coach, his first work was to go to the minister (the bishops of London and York being nearest him) to give God thanks, and to pray, &c. As soon as they began prayers, he set himself very devoutly to it. He went from York on Tuesday, and came to Durham on Saturday, June 1, on Monday to Newcastle, (for he always rests the Lord's day,) intending to be, the next Lord's day, (being our Whitsunday,) at Edinburgh, viz. June 9.

I pray you, dear Sir, be not offended, that you had no letter from me of so long a time ; (the like I desire of the worthy governour and others with you ;) for, though I began this letter to you soon after my receipt of yours dated July 4, yet have I been hindered till now from finishing it by manifold urgent occasions. The Lord be with you, and prosper you and all your good designs in that so hopeful plantation. Thus, desiring the remembrance of my best respect and Christian service and duty of love to that much honoured governour and his dearest helper, and to your worship with yours and your two sisters, and to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, and Mr. and Mrs. Weld, and Mr. Phillips, also to Mr. Dillingham of Rocksbury, and Mr. Coddington, to Ephraim Child, John Firmin, &c. desiring all your prayers to him, that holds the stars in his right hand, and is the Sun and Shield of his people, I humbly commend you all to him, remaining

Your constant friend and co-petitioner
at the throne of grace,

HEN. JACIE.

AUGHTON, in *Yorkshire*, June 12, 1633.

Although I be removed, yet I entreat you, and other my friends with you, to write back to me, and direct

your letters thus: To H. Jacie, minister at Aughton in Yorkshire. Leave them with Mr. Downing, to be given to Mr. Overton, stationer, to send by York carriers to Mr. Hodshon, mercer, in Ousegate, to be delivered as aforesaid. So it may be safe.

*To the Right Worshipful his much respected
good Friend, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, JUN. ESQ. }
Son to the right worthy Governour of New
England, these.*

ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO GOV. TALCOTT OF CON-
NECTICUT, AND HIS ANSWER.

[WE have extracted from the 19th volume of Trumbull Papers the address of condolence to Gov. Talcott on the death of his wife, with his answer, which do equal honour to both parties. ED.]

May it please your Honour,

WE, the representatives of the colony of Connecticut, in general court assembled, humbly take leave, with one heart and mind, to address your honour under the sore and awful rebuke of the Almighty, who has, by his holy and wise providence, removed from you that dearest part of yourself, the desire of your eyes and the greatest comfort of your life, by a sudden and unexpected death, and to let your honour know, that we esteem ourselves sharers in your loss, and afflicted by your affliction, and that we do affectionately condole your honour's lonely and widowed state, and desire, with your honour, to take notice of the divine rebuke, and to quiet ourselves with the consideration, that the *Almighty Lord of Hosts*, all whose works are done in truth, hath done it, and would not complain of, but mourn under a sense of the heavy stroke of his holy hand; especially when we consider the subject of our present mournful meditations in the relation of a worthy consort to your honour, or that of a mother, a mistress, a Christian

friend or neighbour, in all which we should fall short of doing justice to her memory, if we should fail of pronouncing her to be virtuous, affable, tender, kind, pious, charitable and beneficent.

And, considering the removal of a person so truly great and amiable, so near to your honour, and by so sudden and surprising a stroke, we cannot wonder to see your honour so covered with sorrow, and so tenderly bewailing a loss so truly great, nor censure ourselves, that we have mingled our tears with your honour's on so solemn and mournful an occasion; but rather admire that greatness and presence of mind, which your honour discovered, when you appeared at the council board, at the head of this legislature, managing the important affairs of this colony, in so few hours after so heavy a stroke, which has so manifestly discovered, not only that your honour's heart and hopes were supported from views above the best enjoyments here, but also that the special presence of the *Great Governour* of the universe was then afforded, of which we most thankfully take notice.

And as we are sharers with your honour under the weight of your sorrows and burthens, so we take leave to assure your honour, that we willingly bear our parts thereof, and should, with the greatest sincerity, rejoice to be any ways instrumental in alleviating the same.

We look on it our duty, and shall endeavour to make our addresses to the throne of the Almighty Repairer of breaches, that he would sanctify to your honour, your family, and to the people under your government, this cup of trembling and astonishment; that he would lift on your honour the light of his countenance, and send in all needful supplies of his grace; that your life, which is so valuable and precious to us, may be rendered, in every respect, comfortable to yourself; that your honour's stability and presence of mind, notwithstanding your present afflictions, may be preserved and increased, that the great affairs of your government, under their present critical circumstances, may be conducted by you with

ease, satisfaction and success ; that God would lengthen out your honour's life as a lasting blessing to your people.

To Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen Representatives :

As every spark adds to the fire, so every fresh mention made to me of my departed companion is a fresh wound to my bleeding heart ; and upon the sight of your address in condolence in the loss of her makes such impressions on me, that I cannot express myself, nor speak a word, but only, with a trembling heart and hand, thankfully acknowledge your kind respects and honour done both to the living and the dead. I wish I could in a more suitable manner, express myself to you on this solemn occasion. I hope that, in consideration of my present pressure of grief, you will cover all my infirmities with a mantle of charity ; for I am, gentlemen, yours to serve, in all things that I may, to the utmost of my power,

J. TALCOTT.

CHARLESTOWN CHURCH AFFAIRS.

[THE following curious papers, relating to a cause of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the early times, are from a large collection of John Winthrop, first governour of Connecticut under the charter, and of his son, Fitz-John, afterwards governour of the same colony, Richards being a brother-in-law of John Winthrop. We hope, in a future volume, to present many of these documents. ED.]

To the Reverend and Honoured the Elders and Messengers of the Churches formed into a Council in Charlestown, November 5th, 1678.

The Reasons of us, who are underwritten, upon which we dissent from our Brethren, who have called Mr. Daniel Russell unto office in this Church.

1. BECAUSE we judge our brethren have been too undeliberate, over-hasty and precipitate in their motions

for Mr. Russell : For we cannot but suppose it not only a rational thing, but even a Christian duty, for a people, bereaved (especially) of so worthy, faithful and able a shepherd as it hath pleased God to take from this people, to proceed in their seeking of a supply with most serious deliberation, choice advice, and earnest and frequent supplication to the Lord of the harvest ; that so, by these means, they may be directed by him to fix upon such a person as may best make up the breach, which hath been made upon them.

But now, our brethren, (after too great a slight cast upon the advice of the reverend elders, who, upon our application to them for their help in so weighty a case, had propounded another person to our consideration,) upon the first mention of Mr. Russell, singly and alone, were very earnest for a vote to pass in the church, to give Mr. Russell a call immediately to the ministry, in order to office, (although they were then told, that, having made one step further (by pitching upon this one person) than they had done before, when there were several propounded and left to their consideration, it was now their way seriously to consider and deliberate, to advise and seek God, that so they might, by this means, come to discern whether it were the mind of God, that he whom they had now, so many of them, (though the major part had not yet declared themselves,) concentrated in, should be the person to be settled among us, yet) they manifested how much they were troubled at us, that we could not concur with them for such a sudden vote ; which being unexpected by us, we did not then, nor yet can see that there was reason for us so to do. And further, we may add, that, although they were called upon from the pulpit, by one in high esteem in this land, to be willing to take advice in a matter of this moment, yet, the very next day after this exhortation, they came together and passed their vote.

Wherefore, our brethren thus neglecting what the nature of so weighty a business called for, not regarding the seasonable motion of their brethren, and not yielding

to the wholesome exhortation of one of the messengers of God, we cannot but think their way will be found not pleasing unto God, and therefore that we were not bound to concur with them therein.

2. Because our brethren would call Mr. Russell, without due consideration of another, whom the church had (before Mr. Russell was spoken at all of, or, it may be, thought of) unanimously professed to have an eye unto in order to settlement here; and said, they thought they had reason for it, not only upon the account of their now glorious Shepherd, but also for what they did partly see and further hope to find in his worthy son: For,

1. We persuade ourselves, that even our brethren will grant, that it is firmly to be desired and endeavoured, that, where two persons are to be joined in office together, they should be, as much as possible may be, of one mind and one heart. 2. We suppose, that, if not our brethren, yet others will readily grant, that a people that is to call two persons are greatly concerned to see some very plainly probable grounds to hope for and believe such good agreement between such persons before they engage too far in calling of them. And, 3dly, We also suppose it will be granted, that such a people are firstly and chiefly concerned to see such grounds to believe, that he, whom they have unanimously professed to have an eye unto in order unto office, be satisfied concerning that other person, whom they think of joining in office with him; if, at least, they would have such as shall observe their motions to believe they have such a singular respect to that first person as they profess they have.

But now Mr. Thomas Shepherd, the worthy son of our now blessed shepherd, was first nominated, when the church gave a call to worthy Mr. Brown deceased; and it was at that time, with much affection and unanimity, by the whole church, given in commission to those whom they employed to acquaint Mr. Brown with their call, that they should, withal, signify to him, that the church had an eye to Mr. Shepherd for office-work in

convenient time ; and therefore they desired him to encourage and draw on Mr. Shepherd to preach as speedily among us as might be : which they accordingly did ; and, afterwards, the church, on all occasions, professed the same respect to him : Yea, when Mr. Brown had given his answer in the negative, and several other persons came to be nominated to the church's consideration, and Mr. Shepherd not being mentioned among them, some saying, that they hoped he was not excluded, or forgotten by us, it was answered, and so understood by the church, that whichsoever of the persons then nominated the church should pitch upon, was intended not to exclude, but to join with Mr. Shepherd in the work of the ministry among us. Yet our brethren never used any means whereby they might come truly to understand whether Mr. Shepherd could freely and cheerfully join with Mr. Russell, before the vote for Mr. Russell's call was pressed by them : Nay, afterwards, the question being put to him by some, he, wisely considering, that himself had, as yet, no call from the church to the work of the ministry, refused to declare whether he were willing or unwilling to join with Mr. Russell, truly judging it quite out of season for him to declare himself either way in point of joining with another in a work, unto which himself, as yet, had no call at all : Nay, further, some of our brethren, and those not inconsiderable, have said, that they think, if they must so far consider Mr. Shepherd as we think needful, that would be to leave it to Mr. Shepherd to choose them a minister ; which, said they, were too great a betraying the church's liberty.

Wherefore, though we would hope, that our brethren do yet bear a good respect to the well-deserving son of our dearest shepherd that is dead, yet, considering how things have been managed among us, and are now circumstanced with us, we cannot but think that (whatsoever may indeed be, yet) there does not appear any plain grounds for any rationally to conclude, that these two persons can freely and cheerfully join in carrying on

the work of the ministry in this place ; nay, we are apt to think there are some probable grounds to fear they cannot.

3. Because, although we question not but that Mr. Russell may be of good use in the work of the ministry in some other place, yet we do judge him not to be so meet for the managing of the work of a church officer in this place ; and, consequently, that it is neither safe for the church to call him thereunto, nor for him to accept thereof.—Here we must humbly beg your pardon for our brevity on this head, as judging it not meet, in such an assembly, or in any assembly, to insist on that which may, in the least degree, disparage one, that we have a real respect for and love unto. We also beg your pardon for our plainness in this matter, because we verily apprehend, that we are bound, in faithfulness to the church, whereof we are members, to declare our dissatisfaction in and dissent from his settlement in the ministry here.

Thus, having laid before you the reasons of our dissent from our brethren, which are of force with us, and will, we question not, be allowed their just weight with you, we heartily beseech the wonderful Counsellor and Prince of Peace to direct you to give such advice as may tend to the peace and settlement of this disquieted and shattered church and town. We subscribe our names.

LAUR. HAMMOND.
THO. GREAVES.
JON. HAYMAN.
AARON LUDKIN.
SAMUEL WARD.

This was given per the subscribers as reasons of their dissent from the church's motion, and publickly read the 5th November, '78.

Attest,

JOHN RICHARDS, *Scribe.*

HONOURED, reverend and beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ, that that is the occasion of this church's desiring of your advice at this time, is the practice of some particular brethren among us, to be frequently charging of this church with their irregular, rash and unreasonable actions, and our going out of a way of God in electing and calling our beloved brother, Mr. Daniel Russell, to be a present supply unto this church and town in the work of the ministry, and that in order to office in this church, as also their objecting against him as being no meet person for us, although that, many times, since his proposal to this church, they have said, they had nothing against his person, but against our way of proceeding; so that, until our church be cleared from such aspersions, we are like to enjoy no settled ministry.

Our way has been according to the liberty our Lord Jesus Christ has purchased for and given unto his church here established, and the person's qualifications, that we have called and chosen, are scriptural, and according to our law, title Ecclesiastical, requires, we leave to this honoured and reverend council to judge; he being a person that we have had good experience of, having been a considerable time in full communion with us, and cannot but judge both pious, able and orthodox, and finds high acceptance among our people; so do therefore humbly entreat your advice, hoping, that, upon your hearing the whole case, which we shall present to you as briefly as we can, we shall receive such council from you as will tend unto our future peace, and the speedy settlement of all God's ordinances again among us. Human frailties, no doubt, have not been wanting on our part, for which we beg your most charitable construction, and that you would heartily pity and pray for us, that the men we are seeking after may find greater encouragement from you than ever they have had discouragement from our opposers; that so, in God's way and time, they may be brought unto us with the fullness of the blessing of the

gospel, that we may not be as sheep having no shepherd. So shall we not cease to pray, that peace may be your and our portion and the whole Israel's of God.

November 5, 1678.

This was given in per the church as an introduction to the work of the day, upon the meeting of the council in publick.

Attest,

JOHN RICHARDS, *Scribe.*

The names of the council there met are

John Leverett, Esq. <i>Gov.</i>	Deacon Elliott,
Thomas Danforth, Esq.	Deacon Hastings,
Edward Tyng, Esq.	Deacon Bright,
Mr. John Sherman,	Mr. Edward Oakes,
<i>Moderator,</i>	Mr. — Stedman,
Mr. James Allin,	Mr. Daniel Gookin, jun.
Mr. Increase Mather,	Mr. Richard Collicott,
Mr. Samuel Willard,	Mr. Daniel Stone,
Mr. Edward Rawson,	Lieut. Daniel Turell,
Elder Wiswall,	Deacon Cooper,
Elder Rainsford,	John Richards,
Major Thomas Savage,	<i>chosen Scribe.</i>
Deacon Brackett,	

A Brief Narrative of some of the most considerable Passages of this Church, and their several Committees acting since the Death of our dear and reverend Teacher, Mr. Thomas Shepherd, who departed this Life the 22d December, 1677.

Nor long after, the church was staid on the Lord's day, and then appointed a meeting at Capt. Hammond's

house to consider what to do about supply in the work of the ministry ; and, when the church was there assembled, there was a unanimous vote passed for the renewing their call to Mr. Joseph Brown ; after which there was a committee chosen to manifest their mind to Mr. Brown, and to receive his answer, whose names are, viz.

Capt. Laur. Hammond,	Mr. Jacob Greene,
Mr. Thomas Graves,	Mr. John Heman,
Deacon Wm. Sitson,	Joseph Lyndes,
Deacon John Cutler,	James Russell ;
Deacon Aaron Ludkin,	

who, according to the desire of the church, went to Mr. Brown, and made known the church's mind to him, which was to request him to take office amongst them. After some time of consideration, he gave the committee an answer in the negative, and did soon after remove from us to Boston.

Whereupon the church desired the former committee to provide transient help for carrying on the worship of God on the Lord's days ; and likewise some of the brethren desired, that they would use means to obtain a settled supply as soon as might be.

In this time the committee had in their private consideration Sir Shepherd, and did take time to intimate their affectionate desires towards him, agreeing to invite him to preach with us one sermon, that so, having a taste of the gifts and graces of God bestowed upon him, that then we might have the precedency of any other people in that matter. But it was concluded, that we must apply ourselves to the obtaining an officer sooner than he was like to undertake such a work. For that end there was a committee meeting at the house of Mr. Joseph Lyndes, where, after some discourse, it was agreed, that some of the committee should go and advise with some of the neighbour elders, who might be the fittest man to propound to the church.

Capt. Laur. Hammond, Mr. John Heman, and James Russell, went to Watertown lecture, and, after lecture, they went to the house of Mr. Sherman, where was also Mr. Willard of Boston; to whom they declared the matter, and desired their advice. Mr. Willard mentioned Mr Woodbridge of Hominossett; but it was informed, we were not willing to rob any place. Then the Rev. Mr. John Sherman mentioned Mr. Daniel Russell and Mr. Isaac Foster, and then concluded Mr. Foster the fittest person as they could then think of at present. Then they went to the Rev. Mr. Oakes his house to advise with him, who did advise to Mr. Isaac Foster. Mr. Graves went to Mr. Mather for his advice also, who declared, in case they had done with Mr. Brown, he judged Mr. Foster the suitablest person; which was declared to the committee at their next meeting, which was at James Russell's house; and then it was agreed to propound Mr. Isaac Foster to the church next Sabbath day, and to signify to the church, that, if they had any person to propound, they had their liberty. At which time there was nothing spoken referring to consulting with Sir Shepherd about his concurrence, which is one of the arguments our dissenting brethren have much urged against our proceeding with Mr. Daniel Russell.

The next Sabbath, the church being staid, Mr. Thomas Graves did declare to the church, that they had taken advice, and Mr. Isaac Foster was advised to; and he did further declare, that there was liberty for any of the committee or church to propound any other person. Whereupon it was propounded, to make a new address to Mr. Brown, which was urged by several. There was also proposed to consideration Mr. Daniel Russell, Mr. Thomas Shepherd, Mr. Samuel Nowell, Mr. Zechary Sims, Mr. Gershom Hubbard. Then the church was desired to consider of the persons; and it was further concluded, if any considerable number of the church should agree upon any of the persons propounded, and

signify the same to the committee, they might have a church meeting to manifest it.

1678, May 19th. Mr. Thomas Shepherd preached his first sermon. That week following, some of the committee moved to a prosecution of our former intentions of desiring more of his help in the ministry, and that in order to office; but Mr. Thomas Graves opposed it, judging it would be prejudicial to him at present. It was then concluded, that we must apply ourselves to get an officer sooner than he was like to undertake such a work.

June 7th, it being on Friday. In the evening the committee had a meeting at Mr. Thomas Graves his house, and agreed to stay the church the next Sabbath day, to know whether they had considered of any person, so as to be considerably agreed in any one; and also they did agree, that the committee should not lead in proposing any man to the church.

June 9th, it being Sabbath. The church was staid in the evening, and Mr. Thomas Graves did declare to the church, that, if they had ripened their thoughts concerning any of those persons formerly mentioned, that they would speak to it. Then Mr. Elias Maverick began, and propounded Mr. Daniel Russell, a person, whose parents were honourable amongst us, and he was brought up with us, and is one of this church, that we have had good satisfaction in, he judged to be a meet person. Then many others declared themselves of the same mind. After some silence, Mr. Thomas Graves urged those that had not yet spoken, that they would speak; and the generality mentioned the same person, and there was no other mentioned at that time. It was urged by some of the brethren, that the committee would speak. Accordingly, some of them did manifest their concurrence in the said person. It being again desired, that those, that had not spoken, would please to speak, whereupon Capt. Hammond declared, that he judged it unreasonable, that they should be urged so suddenly to declare their thoughts, alleging it was imposing upon

them. Some desired Mr. Daniel Russell might be put to vote; others thought it not meet at that time. So there was discourse about another meeting, to come to a conclusion of this matter. Capt. Hammond proposed a month; some said a week; but the conclusion was, sixteen days after, which was on a Tuesday.

June 25th. The church met. Deacon Cutler desired them to speak to the business they came about. The first man that spoke propounded Mr. Shepherd to be the first man to be called to office; upon which arose a debate, most, not looking on that as to be the work for which that meeting was, propounded for directing their discourse towards a conclusion about Mr. Daniel Russell as the proper work of that day, desiring those persons, that had time granted them for consideration about that particular, would now manifest their minds. Capt. Hammond intimated they would run a hazard of losing Mr. Shepherd, if they then proceeded to call Mr. Russell. Most were for calling both Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepherd at that time. But it was declared by Capt. Hammond, Mr. Graves and Deacon Ludkin, that the church's proceedings were irregular, unreasonable, and out of the way of God. It was desired earnestly, if we were out of the way of God, that they would show us wherein, and help us into it. It was also desired, that they would propound a man, that, if they could not go with us, we might endeavour to go with them. They also declared, they had nothing against the person, but the way; and there was much discourse to little purpose, spirits being raised; and so this meeting broke up without concluding any thing.

July 1st. The committee met at Capt. Hammond's in the evening, where things were debated, some being for the voting of Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepherd both at one time; others objected that was the way to lose Mr. Shepherd.

July 5th. The committee met at Mr. John Heman's, where Capt. Hammond, Mr. Graves and Mr. Greene declared, that the church going on to call Mr. Russell

and Mr. Shepherd both at one meeting, was out of the way; but they would be no further hindrance to the church's proceedings, but resolved to be passive. At which time the committee agreed to stay the church the next Sabbath.

July 7th. The church was staid, and it was desired to know their minds, whether they would proceed to what was spoken to the last meeting; and, when the church was about to proceed to the voting Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepherd in order to office, Mr. Graves and Capt. Hammond declared, they were not satisfied in that way of proceeding, but would not hinder the church. Mr. Greene, Mr. Heman, Deacon Ludkin and Mr. Ward signified they were of the same mind. Some moved to leave the matter with the committee for further consideration, and that they would take advice about the business, and so make return to the church.

July 12th. The committee met at Deacon Stitson's in the evening, and, not agreeing amongst themselves, four of them desired, that the other five would go with them to advise, but they declared they needed none; however, they would hear what advice should be given to Deacon Stitson, Deacon Cutler, Joseph Lyndes and James Russell, who propounded the four elders at Boston. It was feared that would be offensive to the neighbouring elders on this side. There was also propounded, to advise with our honoured magistrates at Cambridge, together with Mr. Sherman and Mr. Oakes; but after, it seeming most grateful to the major part, Deacon Stitson and the minor part did pitch upon the Rev. Mr. Sherman and Mr. Oakes to advise with, and accordingly sent Joseph Lyndes and James Russell to request their company upon the 17th July at Charlestown, at Deacon Stitson's, who went and declared the request of that part of the committee to them at Watertown and Cambridge. Mr. Sherman did encourage us as to his coming and calling Mr. Oakes; but we did find Mr. Oakes not inclinable, for he said, it was neither the church nor committee that did desire him, it being

the least part of the committee only that sent to him. However, it was hoped Mr. Sherman might have persuaded him to come with him.

July 17th. The committee met at Deacon Stitson's, according to their former agreement, and waited so long till it was concluded, that the aforementioned reverend elders would not come. So they agreed, that the church should be staid the next Sabbath.

July 21st. The church was staid. The committee made return to them, that there was different apprehensions among them about proceeding to vote Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepherd; so they could not do any thing further; and so they left the matter with the church again. So the church appointed a meeting the next day.

July 22d. The church met, and it was signified to them by the committee, that they had different apprehensions, four being for giving a call to Mr. Russell and Mr. Shepherd and five against it. Therefore, they left it to the church to go on to voting, or to let all fall, five of the committee still telling the church, they were out of the way of God, but they would give them no more disturbance; or to that purpose. Deacon Stitson declared, he never heard any thing from them to cause him to alter his mind, and that he was still for voting both or none at that time. And, after some further agitating the business, Deacon Stitson put it to vote, which was to this purpose: Whether the affections of the brethren did still continue to Mr. Daniel Russell and Mr. Thomas Shepherd, as formerly, to vote for them both at this time, to call them to the work of the ministry in this place, and that in order to office in this church, they should manifest it by the usual sign of lifting up their hands.—This vote passed generally.

After some further agitation about who should be put to vote first, though the church's eyes were on Mr. Russell for present supply, yet, hoping to gratify some, did agree, that Mr. Shepherd should be first voted, provided both were voted at that time.

Then Deacon Cutler voted it, viz.

If it be the mind of the brethren of this church to call Mr. Thomas Shepherd to the work of the ministry in this place, and that in order to office in this church, let them manifest it by the usual sign of lifting up the hand.—This vote passed generally.

Then Mr. Daniel Russell was put to vote :

If it be the mind of the brethren of this church to call Mr. Daniel Russell as a present help in the work of the ministry in this place, and that in order to office in this church, let them manifest it by the usual sign of lifting up the hands.—This vote passed generally.

These two last votes were read to the church, and no objection made against them.

Then the church came to consider of a committee to manage this matter of making known the church's mind to these persons. The former committee was desired to act in this business ; but some refused it, and judged it unreasonable that they should be desired to act in this business. So the church chose a new committee :

Deacon Wm. Stitson,	Mr. John Phillips,
Deacon John Cutler,	Mr. Joseph Lyndes,
Mr. Elias Maverick,	Mr. James Russell.
Serjeant Richard Kettle,	

The committee concluded to stay the congregation the next Lord's day, to know their minds in this matter.

July 28th. The congregation being staid, Deacon Stitson spake to them to this purpose : That the church had been considering of two persons, that might be a supply to the congregation in the work of the ministry in this place, and that in order to office in this church, which was Mr. Daniel Russell and Mr. Thomas Shepherd, which had proceeded so far with as to pass a vote for them ; and now they did desire the consent of the inhabitants ; and did desire, if there were any that had any objection to make why we might not proceed, that they would speak to it ; but if not, their silence should be taken for their concurrence with the church.

July 29th. The new committee met at Deacon Stitson's, and agreed to send the call of the church to Mr. Daniel Russell, which was accordingly done ; and, the same day, they went to Mr. Shepherd and declared the church's call to him, who thankfully acknowledged the church and town's love towards his honoured father and himself, and gave us very good encouragement, that we might, in time, enjoy his help.

August 4th. The church was staid, and a copy of the letter, that was sent Mr. Daniel Russell, was tendered to be read, if any desired it, but none spake to it. So the church was dismissed.

August 19th. The committee received a letter from Mr. Daniel Russell in answer to the church's call, and on the 25th of August, being Sabbath day, the church was staid, and the letter read to them.

Sept. 15th. The church was staid, and it was signified to them, that Mr. Daniel Russell was come in to answer to the church's call, and was willing to help them at present in the work of the ministry, as he had formerly written to them.

It was then put to vote, whether the brethren of this church did continue in their desire, that Mr. Daniel Russell should help at present in the work of the ministry, as formerly their silence should manifest it ; or to that purpose.

Upon which Mr. Graves and Capt. Hammond declared, they were against it ; and Mr. Graves said Mr. Daniel Russell was not a fit man for that place ; though he had formerly declared, several times, that he had nothing against his person, doctrine or conversation.

It was then put to the vote, as formerly, that, if they did desire Mr. Russell, that they would manifest it by the usual sign of lifting up the hand.—This vote passed generally.

The church desired, that thanks might be returned to Mr. Daniel Russell for his acceptance, as far as he had expressed it.

Charlestown Church Affairs.

Capt. Hammond made a speech, and gave his reasons, why he concurred not with the church, which were, viz. Because they did not first consult Mr. Shepherd, whether he could close with Mr. Russell ; as also the rash and unreasonable actions of the church in their proceedings in this matter.

Counsel of churches was then propounded by one of the church, as an expedient towards peace, rather than to reply one to another, without an indifferent judge.

Then Capt. Hammond answered, that if they needed counsel, they could go to it.

The next day the committee declared to Mr. Daniel Russell the church's thanks for his acceptance of their call, so far as he had expressed ; also their desire of his continuance in the work of the ministry amongst us.

September 24th. The committee had a meeting, and did agree to give the dissenting brethren a meeting to discourse matters, that so we might agree, if it might be, amongst ourselves, or else to propound to the church to desire counsel in this matter.

September 26th. The committee had a meeting with their dissenting brethren, and had a loving discourse about calling a council. They refused to be active in it, or to draw up any thing to propound to the council, though they were much urged to it by the committee ; yet they declared, if the church would call a council, they would afford their presence as to clearing up matters ; and further told us, it was our duty to go to council. The committee promised the dissenting brethren, that they would endeavour to draw up something to propound to the church, and show it them first. But we could not agree upon drawing up any thing, only to propound to the church, whether they would go to council or not.

October 13th. The church was staid, and it was agreed and voted, to call a council of elders and messengers of churches ; and the dissenting brethren signified, as before, that they would not act with us in going to council, though they were much entreated ; yet they

said, they would attend the council; and Mr. Graves declared, he would set himself in opposition against the way and the person mentioned, what in him lay.

October 20th. The church was staid, and it was voted and agreed, that the three churches of Boston, together with Cambridge and Watertown, their elders and messengers, be desired to afford their presence here on the 5th November, and to give us their advice. And these seven persons were chosen, viz.

Deacon Wm. Stitson,
Deacon John Cutler,
Elias Maverick,
Richard Kettle,

Richard Lowder,
Joseph Lyndes,
James Russell,

who were desired to write to the several churches, to request the presence of their elders and messengers; and that they should draw up a narrative of the whole proceedings, and deliver it to the council; and that they would manage the business when the council is present, not hindering any other brother to speak, if there be occasion. All these things were then voted and agreed upon in the church.

It was also propounded to the church, whether they would renew their call to Mr. Shepherd, which was presently opposed by Mr. Graves, who said, that, as he had declared against all our former proceedings, so he did against that, as being unreasonable and unseasonable. One asked him a reason, and he said he would give them none; and so he departed the house.

Note, that the several votes, beforementioned in this narrative, were all proposed by the forementioned parties, by the consent of the church.

This declaration was presented by the church, and, after reading in the publick meeting, was then voted by them as the substance of transactions in this matter.

Attest,

JOHN RICHARDS, *Scribe.*

November 5, 1678.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM JONES SPOONER, ESQ.

TO the names, already so numerous, of those, who have fallen among us within a few years, in the threshold of usefulness, disappointing the highest and most confident expectations of their future eminence, as if they had been exalted by their talents and their virtues only to become a more conspicuous and earlier mark for death, we have now to add that of our late associate, WILLIAM JONES SPOONER. The feelings, excited by such a disappointment of such expectations, can be realized by none but those, who have watched with intense interest the progress of similar excellence, and its premature fate. It is not our purpose to recall those feelings or to show the bitterness of that disappointment, in the present instance, by dwelling on what our friend might have been, or might have done, if he had been longer spared to society; but simply, in conformity with our usual practice on losing any of the more distinguished among our associates, to state what he was, and what he did, and thus to preserve in our transactions some testimonial of his worth and of our regard. Several of the following dates and facts were communicated, at our request, by one of his near relatives, whose words we shall not hesitate occasionally to use.

Mr. Spooner was the eldest son of William Spooner, M. D., and was born in Boston on the 15th of April, 1794. His mother was Mary Phillips, only daughter of John Phillips, Esq. the commander of Castle William, in this harbour, at the commencement of our revolutionary troubles, who was a lineal descendant of George Phillips, the first minister in Watertown. The wife of Mr. Phillips was the daughter of Adam Winthrop, the great grandson of Gov. Winthrop. The name of Jones he derived from his paternal great grandfather. His education, preparatory for the University, was ob-

tained at the publick Latin school in this town, then under the superintendence of Mr. William Bigelow, and which is now esteemed inferiour to no classical school in America. He entered Harvard College in 1809, and was graduated in 1813 with distinguished honours. The assignment of the parts for Commencement gave great dissatisfaction to his class, and a committee was appointed to draw up a remonstrance on the subject. This remonstrance was written by him, and is said to have set forth the reason for dissatisfaction in a manly, dignified, and independent manner, but without any disrespect to the College government.

Having determined on the law as his profession, he pursued his studies for one year at the Law School at Litchfield, in Connecticut, and for the two following years in the office of Peter O. Thacher, Esq. in Boston. In October, 1816, he was admitted to the bar, where, in a few years, he became distinguished by thoroughness of research, acuteness and ingenuity in argument, precision of language, and readiness in reply; and, still more honourably, by his perfect fairness, and his freedom from all artifice or concealment. He met every objection directly and without evasion, not seeking to avoid its weight by misinterpreting the law or the evidence, or by misrepresenting the arguments of his opponent. It was not easy to perplex him by sophistry, and, what is more remarkable in one so ready and acute, he never attempted to perplex others by it. Every opportunity, which he had of being heard in court, especially on questions of law, increased the respect, which his associates at the bar entertained for his talents, and raised their expectations of his future eminence.

While fulfilling with exemplary diligence and fidelity his duties to his clients, he yet found ample time for the cultivation of literature, and especially for the study of politicks, always his favourite pursuit. While yet a boy, his attention had been strongly attracted to the great events, and the animated political discussions, which then agitated Europe and America, and, with characteristick

ardour, he made himself minutely acquainted with them. He early took peculiar pleasure in reading the lives and works of the eminent statesmen of modern times, both in our own country and in England. The dissertation pronounced by him at College, on Commencement day, in which he maintained with great ingenuity and force the opinion, not common here at that period, that it is the natural tendency of our federal institutions to diminish the power of the several states, and to consolidate them under the general government, has been repeatedly spoken of as evincing a remarkable maturity of judgment and familiarity with his subject. He studied very carefully the early history of our country, and was quite familiar with the state papers and principal publications, which preceded and accompanied the revolution, and those which illustrate the origin and principles of the constitutions of the state and of the nation, as well as with the decisions of our courts, in relation to the construction of those instruments.

The science of political economy, the interests and resources of the several parts of our Union, and their connexion and intercourse with each other, as well as with foreign countries, engaged much of his attention. On these subjects his views were sound and practical. The establishment of any new branch of industry, capable of maintaining itself, and of supporting and enriching those engaged in it, was regarded by him as at once proving and promoting the prosperity of the nation; but he deemed the forced introduction of any, which must be supported by constant bounties, whether direct, or indirect, in the form of imposts on similar articles, a publick burden.

Without evincing any wish for office, he had thus quietly, and in the indulgence of his own peculiar tastes, laid a broad foundation for eminence in political life, and qualified himself to discharge the duties of any office, to which he might have been called, with honour to himself and advantage to the community.

He was a member of several scientifick and literary associations, and in all an active and efficient one, entering with strong interest and generous emulation into the friendly competitions, in which some of these societies engaged him, but without exulting in his own successes, or envying those of his companions. The only publick office, which he ever held, was that of one of the superintendents of our primary schools, the duties of which were performed by him with his usual diligence and ability. He interested himself in all publick improvements, and especially in those relating to our literary institutions ; and frequently discussed the prominent topicks of the day with much talent in the newspapers.

Possessing a very acute intellect, combined with a sober and mature judgment, he was remarkably ready in determining what measures ought to be pursued in cases of difficulty and embarrassment arising in the actual conduct of life, so that he often seemed to decide with the promptness and certainty of instinct. Yet he was always able and willing to give good reasons for his decisions. These qualities, together with his perfect sincerity and openness, while they commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him, gave him great influence with his associates, and rendered him an invaluable adviser to his more intimate friends. His opinions were independent and decided, and always freely and explicitly avowed. His attachments were strong, but not blind ; his feelings quick, but generous. His manners and conversation were perfectly simple and unpretending, not sportive or winning, but frank, animated and sincere. Having no taste for trifling, but taking a lively interest in all rational intercourse, he seemed always in earnest, and bore his part in society with manliness and candour, never engrossing the conversation when the topick was more familiar to him than to his companions, nor appearing negligent or indifferent when it happened to be less so. Indeed, he neither said nor did any thing for display. Distinguished himself by the

most scrupulous uprightness and veracity on all occasions, he was singularly impatient of any deceit or artifice in others; and if it was detected by him, as it was very likely to be whenever it attracted his attention, it was instantly and openly rebuked.

Mr. Spooner seemed incapable of being dazzled or overawed, recognising no other claim to distinction than merit; and, in this respect, his life was a publick benefit. Young men, at the moment when their education is completed, and their conduct first exempted from the controul of their teachers, have great influence on the welfare of society. They become the models and examples of those, who are younger than themselves, yet sufficiently near them in age to sympathize in their feelings, and who stand therefore precisely in the most perilous period of life,—that, in which the restraints of discipline are so far relaxed as to be easily evaded, and yet are felt to be restraints more than ever, in which permanent intimacies are formed, and lasting habits contracted, and the character, in a great measure, determined. A youth, at this period, is more careless of precepts, and more influenced by example, than at any other, and naturally imitates those, who are next above him in society, and who avowedly possess the entire independence, which he affects; commonly preferring the qualities, by which distinction and influence are acquired among them, to those, which lead to more permanent, but more remote honours. This preference often has an effect on his character and conduct through life. Hence, it is highly important to the community, that such distinction and influence should be obtained among young men, not by splendour of dress and equipage, by frivolity or dissipation; but by superior acquirements in literature or science, or by active usefulness in society. For many years past, this has been the case among us to a remarkable degree, thanks to the subject of this memoir, and to young men like him, who have supported real merit, both by their countenance and by their example. This early engagement in the more serious.

occupations of life may, perhaps, be attended by some inconveniences, interfering with the acquisition of elegant accomplishments, and the practice of athletick sports, and substituting, too soon, the anxious sedateness of mature age for the hilarity and buoyancy of youth. But how far preferable is it, after all, to a taste for frivolous pleasures or for criminal indulgence!

In February, 1823, Mr. Spooner, who had exhibited marks of a languid and debilitated system for some months previous, was attacked by complaints of an alarming nature. A visit to the south, as the spring advanced, seemed, in some degree, to repair his constitution; but, as autumn returned, his disease assumed a more serious aspect, and the following winter was one of considerable suffering. In the spring, by the advice of some of his physicians, he determined on another visit to the south, and accordingly set sail for Richmond in the beginning of April. At this time his sufferings were great, and he was almost deprived of rest, never passing an half hour, either by day or by night, without enduring acute pain. He returned from the south on the first of June, without any amendment in his health. As the summer advanced, his disease continually gained ground, and the possibility of affording him even temporary relief constantly diminished. Seized, from time to time, with paroxysms of intense pain, his sufferings were truly distressing. He bore them with great fortitude and equanimity, continuing to attend to his business, and visiting and examining the children at the primary schools; nor did he permit any apprehension of the future, or any actual suffering, to interfere with the duties of the present, while it was physically possible to perform them. About the middle of September, after a short visit to Nahant, his complaints increased to such a degree, and his sufferings became so excruciating, that it was utterly impossible for him to quit the house. Although his sufferings were afterwards much mitigated, he gradually declined until he died, on the 17th day of October, 1824.

In what manner the death of such a man was bewailed by his intimate relations and friends need not, and cannot, be described. It was lamented by his fellow townsmen as a common calamity. The Rev. Mr. Palfrey, on whose ministry he constantly attended, and whose friendship he had the happiness of enjoying, bore publick testimony to his virtues as a man and a Christian, and the Bar of the county of Suffolk attended his funeral in a body, and appointed a committee to prepare a notice of his character, to be inscribed on their records.

His own productions afford honourable evidence of his merit. The only one, which bears his name, is an oration, pronounced in the year 1822 before the society of *F. B. K.* and printed at their request. But, besides other anonymous publications, he contributed several valuable articles to the *North American Review*, of which the following is believed to be a correct list :

On the Bankrupt Laws, May, 1818.

On Birkbeck's Letters from Illinois, March, 1819.

On Phillips's Recollections of Curran, January, 1820.

On Massachusetts State Papers, October, 1820.

On Godwin on Malthus, October, 1822.

Mr. Spooner had been so short a time a fellow of the Historical Society, that nothing written by him is contained in our transactions. His worth, however, was well known and highly prized by us all, and he was appointed one of the committee for publishing the present volume. But what are human appointments !—Instead of being enriched by his talents, it is destined to contain a tribute to his memory.

BRANCH BANK OF THE UNITED STATES AT BOSTON.

BOSTON, *January 22*, 1825.

Dear Sir,

I SEND you herewith a certified copy of the records of the Branch Bank, enumerating the documents and coins, which have been placed under the corner stone

on the south-east, and under the westernmost pillar of the Bank. The documents were contained in a double case of copper, with an half inch of powdered charcoal between the two cases, and the whole covered by an oak box, which had been saturated with oil. I presume, therefore, that they will remain, uninjured by the atmosphere, a great length of time. You are requested by the directors to place the record alluded to with the Collections of the Historical Society.

Your very respectful servant,

T. H. PERKINS,
For the Building Committee.

Hon. JUDGE DAVIS,
President of the Historical Society. }

Office of Discount and Deposit, Bank of the United States, Boston, June 8th, 1824.

At a meeting of the Directors,

Mr. Blake, from the Committee appointed to procure a plate with suitable inscriptions, presented the following report, which was accepted :

“ The Committee, appointed to devise and prepare a suitable plate to be deposited at the foundation of the Banking House now erecting in State Street, have duly attended to that subject ; and they beg leave to make their report, by exhibiting herewith to the personal inspection of the Board, a silver plate, with engravings thereon of such emblems and inscription as, in the opinion of the Committee, are suitable and appropriate.

“ The Committee would recommend, that this plate be enclosed in a glass frame, in which shall also be contained, if the same may conveniently be procured, a single specimen of the whole series of the gold, silver, and copper coins of the United States ; and that the case, with its contents, be placed beneath the south-east corner stone of the edifice.

GEORGE BLAKE, *per order.*”

“ *Boston, June 7th, 1824.*”

DESCRIPTION

OF THE PLATE ABOVE REPORTED, INSCRIPTION AND EMBLEMS.

Plate 10 inches by 7, weighing 11 and $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces.

INSCRIPTION.

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF CONGRESS, APRIL 10th, A. D. 1816.

JAMES MADISON THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CAPITAL STOCK, NICHOLAS BIDDLE, PRESIDENT.	}	An Eagle standing on a portion of the Globe. In his beak a scroll, with the motto, "E pluri- bus unum."	}	35,000,000 Dollars. THOMAS WILSON, CASHIER.
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Directors for the present Year.

Nicholas Biddle, Manuel Eyre, Joseph Hemphill, Cadwallader Evans, Jun. E. J. Dupont, Henry Eckford, John McKim, Joshua Lippincott, Daniel W. Coxe, James Lloyd, John Potter, R. M. Whitney, Thomas Knox, Lewis Clapier, Richard Willing, Thomas Cadwallader, Samuel Wetherell, Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Alexander Henry, Daniel C. Verplanck, William Patterson, John Bohlen, Paul Beck, Jun. John A. Brown, Roswell L. Colt.

This building erected by the Parent Bank for the accommodation of its Office of Discount and Deposit in this city of Boston, A. D. 1824.

Capital Stock appropriated for the employment of this Branch,

1,500,000 DOLLARS.

WILLIAM GRAY, *First President*.....*Resigned Nov. 8th, 1823.*

GARDINER GREENE, *President.* SAMUEL FROTHINGHAM, *Cashier.*

Directors of the Branch at this time.

Gardiner Greene, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, John Welles, John Parker, Daniel Pinckney Parker, Nathaniel Silsbee,

David Sears, Daniel Webster, George Blake, Resin Davis
Shepherd, Henry Gardner Rice, Horace Gray.

SOLOMON WILLARD, *Architectus, Edificium Construxit.*

VIVAT RESPUBLICA.

HAZEN MORSE, *Scult.*

On the back of the Plate inscribed,

This Corner Stone laid July 4th, A. D. 1824, being the forty-
eighth Anniversary of American Independence.

Monday, July 5th, 1824.

Special meeting of the Directors, for the purpose of
placing under the Corner Stone of the edifice erecting
for the accommodation of this office the plate reported
by the Committee on the 8th ult. enclosed in a glass
case ; and the following deposits of coins, &c.

A glass case, containing the following described medal,
presented for the purpose by Mrs. Thomas H. Perkins, viz.

A gold medal, weighing 10 dwts. with the following device :
On one side, Bust of Washington, encircled by a laurel wreath ;
and outer circle formed by the motto

“ He is in glory—the world in tears.”

On the other side, an Urn, with the initials G. W.—Outer side,
B. F. 11, 1732. G. A. ARM. 75. R. 83. P. U. S. A. 89.—Inner
circle, R. 96. G. A. ARM. U. S. 98. OB. D. 14, 1799.

And the following gold and silver coins, viz.

GOLD COINS.

SILVER COINS.

One eagle, coinage of 1801.	One dollar, coinage of 1799.
One half do. “ “ 1796.	One half do. “ “ 1821.
One fourth do. “ “ 1804.	One fourth do. “ “ 1821.
	One disme, “ “ 1821.
	One half do. “ “ 1805.

One glass case, containing copper coins :—Eight cents, coin-
age of 1821 ; six half ditto, coinage of 1804 ; and two cents of
the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, coinage of 1787 and 1788.
—One glass bottle, containing a copy of the act of Congress,

incorporating the Bank, and the several newspapers printed on the anniversary, viz. Patriot and Daily Mercantile Advertiser, Daily Advertiser, Commercial Gazette, Courier, and Statesman.—Also, a small glass bottle, containing a list, on paper, of the officers of the Branch, and the names of the master mason and master carpenter, as follows, viz.

JOHN TUCKER,	<i>Book Keeper.</i>
THOMAS WILEY,	<i>Teller.</i>
CHARLES HARRIS,	<i>Discount Clerk.</i>
JOHN FULLER,	<i>Collection and Bond Clerk.</i>
WILLIAM L. CAZNEAU,	<i>Messenger.</i>
WYMAN OSBORN,	<i>Porter.</i>

LOAN OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

JOHN J. LORING,	<i>Transfer Clerk.</i>
OLIVER W. CHAMPNEY,	<i>Interest Clerk.</i>
JOHN S. LILLIE,	<i>Pension Clerk.</i>
GRIDLEY BRYANT,	<i>Master Mason.</i>
JAMES McALLASTER,	<i>Master Carpenter.</i>

The Directors proceeded from their room at 9 o'clock, A. M. with the Cashier and officers of the Branch, and the deposits were placed by the President in an excavation made under the Corner Stone, 17 by 13 inches, and 7 inches deep.

Extract from the Records,

SAMUEL FROTHINGHAM, *Cashier.*

Office of Discount and Deposit of the Bank of the United States, at Boston, November 22, 1824.

At a meeting of the Directors,

On motion of Mr. Perkins, the following vote was unanimously adopted.

Voted, That, with a view to commemorate one of the most important events of the American revolution, there be collected and placed under the western pillar of the Branch Bank, now erecting in State Street in this city, such documents as are within our reach, which

have reference to the Battle of Bunker Hill, fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between the forces of his Britannick Majesty and the then Provincial militia of this and the neighbouring provinces: with such other documents as illustrate the important events, which separated the United States from the parent country: and that the Building Committee be instructed to cause such collection to be made and disposed of as above directed.

In virtue of the above vote, the Building Committee have deposited, as therein directed, in an inner and outer copper case, enclosed with wood, the following documents, together with a copy of the above vote, signed by the President and Directors and Cashier of this office:

1. A Pamphlet by Major General Henry Dearborn, describing the events of the 17th June, 1775, accompanied by a Sketch of the action by a British officer. The same Pamphlet, containing a Letter to Major General Dearborn, from Daniel Putnam, Esq. repelling the charges brought against the memory of the late Major General Putnam in General Dearborn's Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

2. The Life of Major General Putnam by Col. Humphreys, with an Appendix by Col. Samuel Swett, giving an Historical and Topographical Sketch of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

3. A Plan of the Battle of Bunker Hill, also by Col. S. Swett.

4. A Certificate issued by the officers of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to the members of that Association, with a fac simile of the signatures of the President, Vice President and Directors.

5. A Circular, addressed to the community at large by the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, inviting their aid to the object.

6. An Address by a Special Committee of the Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to the Selectmen of the several towns in the State of Massachusetts.

Also, the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, as executed on the 4th day of July, 1776, with a fac simile of the signatures of the members of Congress, whose names are affixed to that memorable and important document, and which purports to have been compared with the original instrument deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, and certified by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, the

present Secretary of State, and one of the candidates for the Presidency of the United States at the ensuing election.

Engravings of the busts of General Washington, Gov. Hancock, first President of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson, first Secretary of State.

Fac similes of the hand-writing of five of the Fathers, who landed at Plymouth in the May-Flower, on the 22d of December, 1620, viz. William Bradford, William Brewster, Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, Thomas Prence.

Transcript of record and forms of proceedings in an accusation of crime before the Judicial Court having jurisdiction thereof; *in perpetuam memoriam rei*. Attest, James T. Austin, Attorney for the Commonwealth for Suffolk County.

Forms used at the Custom House, and to which are attached the signatures of the President of the United States, the Secretaries of State, and the Collector of the Customs for the time being, viz. Mediterranean Passes on Parchment, a ship's Register and Clearance.

An account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, taken from a periodical publication at Philadelphia, in 1818, called the Analectick Magazine.

Also, a Biographical Sketch of General Warren.

The 20th number of the North American Review, published by Messrs. Cummings and Hilliard in July, 1818, containing a review of "An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill by H. Dearborn, Major General of the United States Army, in 1818." 2d. "A Letter to Major General Dearborn, repelling his unprovoked attack on the character of the late Major General Israel Putnam, by Daniel Putnam, Esq. 1818." This review is understood to have been written by the Hon. Daniel Webster, now a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

Also, a Discourse delivered at Plymouth, December 22d, 1822, in commemoration of the first settlement of New England, by Daniel Webster.

For the information of futurity, the Building Committee give the following facts in relation to the erection of this edifice:

The appropriation for the building of this Bank by the Parent Institution, was one hundred thousand dollars; of which sum, fifty-four thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars was paid for the land; and it is the hope of the Building Committee, that the whole sum disbursed will not exceed the appropriation.

The Pillars, under one of which this document is placed, were quarried in Chelmsford in this State, being the first

granite shafts, of these dimensions, ever erected in this country. Their dimensions are twenty-four feet in length, four feet diameter at the base, and three feet at the head. The cost of them, delivered at the spot where they were quarried, was nine hundred dollars each, and the expense of bringing them here about five hundred dollars each. They were brought separately, by land, and drawn by thirty-four yoke of oxen. The stone of the walls of the Bank was worked principally at the State Prisons at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and Concord, New Hampshire.

The Architect, SOLOMON WILLARD.
Master Mason, GRIDLEY BRYANT.
Master Carpenter, JAMES McALLASTER.

SIGNED,

GARDINER GREENE, *President,* }
 JOHN WELLES, } *Building Committee.*
 THOMAS H. PERKINS,
 DANIEL P. PARKER,
 J. PARKER,

Boston, November 30, 1824.

Attest,

SAMUEL FROTHINGHAM, *Cashier.*

Extract from the Records,

SAMUEL FROTHINGHAM, *Cashier.*

[The Bills of Mortality for Boston have not been inserted in our volumes since that of 1817, in vol. VIII. p. 40, of Second Series. Yet their importance is of increasing interest, to convince us of the improving health of this city.]

ABSTRACT OF THE BILLS OF MORTALITY FOR THE TOWN
 OF BOSTON, FROM DECEMBER 31, 1817, AGREEABLY
 TO THE RECORD KEPT AT THE HEALTH OFFICE.

1818.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	83	89	172	From 50 to 60,	51	38	89
From 1 to 2,	49	49	98	— 60 to 70,	36	35	71
— 2 to 5,	35	22	57	— 70 to 80,	25	24	49
— 5 to 10,	18	18	36	— 80 to 90,	9	11	20
— 10 to 20,	26	17	43	— 90 to 100,	2	2	4
— 20 to 30,	58	52	110				—
— 30 to 40,	57	56	113				Total.....971
— 40 to 50,	60	49	109				—

The Deaths above mentioned were caused by Diseases and Casualties, as follows, viz.

Abscesses,	5	Fever, typhus,	112
Accidental,	1	Fits,	24
Aneurism,	1	Gout,	1
Angina pectoris,	5	Gravel,	1
Apoplexy,	9	Hepatitis,	5
Burns,	2	Hernia,	1
Cancer,	3	Hæmorrhagia,	4
Casualty,	10	Hooping cough,	1
Cholera,	3	Hydrocephalus inf.	4
Consumption,	138	Infantile diseases,	156
Cramp,	1	Inflammation of brain,	1
Croup,	5	Intemperance,	2
Cynanche maligna,	1	Measles,	1
Debility,	2	Mortification,	4
Diseases unknown,	246	Old age,	32
Drinking cold water,	2	Palsy,	6
Dropsy,	23	Phrenitis,	1
Dyspepsy,	12	Pleurisy,	3
Drunkenness,	1	Quincy,	4
Drowned,	12	Rickets,	2
Dysentery,	4	Scalds,	3
Dysury,	1	Scrofula,	2
Fever, Bilious,	7	Spasms,	4
—— Intermittent,	1	Still-born,	46
—— Inflammatory,	5	Suicide,	4
—— Nervous,	2	Sudden,	12
—— Pulmonick,	36	Ulcers,	1
—— Putrid,	1		
—— Puerperal,	4		
		Total.....	971

1819.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	77	53	130	From 40 to 50,	44	28	72
From 1 to 2,	52	39	91	—— 50 to 60,	26	29	55
—— 2 to 5,	27	14	41	—— 60 to 70,	18	27	45
—— 5 to 10,	17	21	38	—— 70 to 80,	13	20	33
—— 10 to 20,	21	28	49	—— 80 to 90,	3	13	16
—— 20 to 30,	67	58	125				
—— 30 to 40,	58	36	94				789

In addition to the above, those buried from the Almshouse, and the town's poor, whose ages and diseases are unknown, amount to } 192

Still-born, 89

Total.....1070

The Deaths above mentioned were caused by Diseases and Casualties, as follows, viz.

Apoplexy,	6	Fever, Puerperal,	2
Burns and scalds,	3	Fits,	15
Cancers,	3	Hepatitis,	6
Casualty,	8	Hæmorrhagia,	5
Cholera morbus,	11	Hernia,	1
Cholera infantum,	7	Hooping cough,	3
Consumption,	174	Hydrocephalus inter.	23
Croup,	9	Infantile diseases,	147
Cynanche trachialis,	8	Influenza,	2
Debility,	9	Insanity,	3
Diarrhœa,	1	Intemperance,	11
Diseases of the heart,	3	Jaundice,	1
Diseases unknown,	192	Killed in a duel,	1
Drinking cold water,	2	Old age,	29
Dropsy,	23	Poison,	1
Drowned,	13	Phthisis,	1
Dysentery,	12	Quincy,	4
Dyspepsy,	2	Rickets,	1
Fever, Typhus,	108	Scorbutick,	1
—— Pulmonick,	46	Scarlatina anginosa,	2
—— Pleurisy,	3	Spasms,	5
—— Bilious,	10	Still-born,	89
—— Nervous,	4	Sudden,	13
—— Scarlatina,	2	Suicide,	4
—— Rheumatick,	6	Suffocation,	1
—— Malignant,	32	Teething,	7
—— Worm,	7	Tetanus,	1
—— Yellow,	1		
		Total.....	1070

1820.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	84	73	157	From 60 to 70,	19	24	43
From 1 to 2,	46	48	94	—— 70 to 80,	14	26	40
—— 2 to 5,	30	32	62	—— 80 to 90,	9	16	25
—— 5 to 10,	13	14	27	—— 90 to 100,	0	4	4
—— 10 to 20,	19	38	57	Unknown,	50	62	112
—— 20 to 30,	66	65	131	Still-born,			89
—— 30 to 40,	54	45	99				
—— 40 to 50,	58	36	94				1103
—— 50 to 60,	43	26	69				

The number of Deaths above include those in the Almshouse, the town's poor, and four who were executed; and were caused by Diseases and Casualties as follow :

Abscess,	1	Fits,	15
Accident,	7	Fracture,	1
Apoplexy,	10	Gout,	4
Bilious Colick,	1	Hemoptisis,	4
Burns,	1	Hæmorrhagia,	4
Calculus,	1	Hanging,	4
Cancer,	1	Hernia,	2
Cancerated uterus,	1	Hepatitis,	6
Casualty,	5	Hooping cough,	24
Cholera infantum,	8	Infantile diseases,	163
—— morbus,	6	Inflammation of the brain,	7
Cramp,	3	Influenza,	2
Consumption,	220	Insanity,	2
Croup,	3	Intemperance,	31
Debility,	4	Jaundice,	1
Diarrhœa,	3	Mortification,	7
Disease of the heart,	7	Murdered,	2
Diseases unknown,	187	Old age,	39
Distorted spine,	1	Paralysis,	16
Drinking cold water,	1	Pleurisy,	2
Dropsy,	14	Poison,	3
Drowned,	9	Quincy,	6
Dysentery,	14	Rickets,	1
Dyspepsy,	11	Scalds,	2
Enteritis,	5	Scrofula,	7
Fever,	3	Spasms,	1
—— Bilious,	6	Strangled,	1
—— Nervous,	5	Strangulated hernia,	1
—— Inflammatory,	3	Still-born,	89
—— Intermitting,	1	Suddenly,	9
—— Puerperal,	8	Suicide,	6
—— Pneumonia,	26	Syphilis,	4
—— Rheumatick,	3	Teething,	3
—— Putrid,	1	Throat distemper,	1
—— Scarlet,	9	Worms,	3
—— Spotted,	1		
—— Typhus,	43		
		Total.....	1103

N. B. There were no deaths in the Hospital on Rainsford's Island, during the above period.—The number of inhabitants in this town, by the last census, was 43,893.

1821.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	103	81	184	From 60 to 70,	26	27	53
From 1 to 2,	94	94	188	— 70 to 80,	20	28	48
— 2 to 5,	68	48	116	— 80 to 90,	7	15	22
— 5 to 10,	31	16	47	— 90 to 100,	0	3	3
— 10 to 20,	26	27	53	Still-born,			99
— 20 to 30,	61	75	136	Unknown,	82	69	151
— 30 to 40,	58	75	133				
— 40 to 50,	62	46	108				
— 50 to 60,	40	39	79				
							Total.....1420

The number of Deaths above include those in the Almshouse, and town's poor ; and were caused by Diseases and Casualties as follow :

Abscess	2	Fever, Inflammatory,	2
Accidental,	1	— Nervous,	1
Angina pectoris,	1	— Puerperal,	7
Apoplexy,	7	— Pulmonick,	31
Asthma,	1	— Rheumatick,	6
Burns,	13	— Scarletina,	1
Cancer,	3	— Typhus,	42
Cancerated uterus,	1	Fits,	19
Casualty,	17	Gravel,	1
Cholera infantum,	6	Hæmorrhagia,	1
— morbus,	9	Hooping cough,	26
Chronick diarrhœa,	9	Hydrocephalus intermis,	6
— dysentery,	4	Hydrothorax,	2
Consumption,	192	Infantile diseases,	153
Cynanche trachialis,	3	Insanity,	4
Croup,	11	Intemperance,	30
Diseases of the heart,	4	Jaundice,	3
— unknown,	243	Lumber abscess,	1
Diseased scapula,	1	Marasmus,	1
Debility,	8	Measles,	149
Delirium tremens,	5	Mortification,	8
Dropsy,	32	Murdered,	1
Drowned,	19	Old age,	31
Drunkenness,	1	Paralysis,	22
Dysentery,	60	Phthisis,	23
Dyspepsy,	3	Phrenitis,	15
Enteritis,	10	Quincy,	5
Epilepsy,	1	Scald,	1
Fever,	8	Scrofula,	5
— Bilious,	10	Scirrhus liver,	5

Scirrhus spleen,	1	Suffocation,	1
_____ uterus,	1	Syphilis,	1
Spina bifida,	1	Tuberculated phtthisis,	1
Spasms,	3	Ulcerated stricture of in-	
Still-born,	116	testine,	1
Sudden,	6	White swelling,	1
Suicide	2		
		Total.....	1420

N. B. There were eleven deaths in the Hospital on Rainsford's Island during the above period, viz. nine of yellow fever, and two of chronick diarrhœa.

1822.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	92	72	164	From 60 to 70,	18	36	54
From 1 to 2,	55	41	96	_____ 70 to 80,	17	22	39
_____ 2 to 5,	32	22	54	_____ 80 to 90,	7	15	22
_____ 5 to 10,	19	23	42	_____ 90 to 100,	1	2	3
_____ 10 to 20,	22	27	49	Still-born,			115
_____ 20 to 30,	63	66	129	Unknown,	63	64	127
_____ 30 to 40,	70	50	120				
_____ 40 to 50,	69	44	113				
_____ 50 to 60,	42	34	176				
							Total.....1203

The number of Deaths above include those in the Almshouse, and the city's poor; and were caused as follows :

Abscess,	5	Dropsy,	43
Accidental,	2	Diseased heart,	3
Apoplexy,	6	Drowned,	21
Asthma,	2	Dysentery,	31
Burnt,	1	Epilepsy,	2
Cancer,	8	Fever, Typhus,	24
Casualty,	15	_____ Lung,	41
Consumption,	166	_____ Inflammatory,	6
Cramp,	2	_____ Bilious,	10
Croup,	10	_____ Puerperal,	6
Cholera morbus,	5	_____ Pleurisy,	5
Colick, bilious,	3	_____ Nervous	4
Cynanche trachialis,	1	_____ Rheumatick,	2
Debility,	4	_____ Yellow,	1
Diarrhœa,	9	_____ Putrid,	1
Diseases unknown,	218	Fits,	8

Cynanche trachialis,	1	Infantile diseases,	184
Debility,	6	Inflammation of brain,	16
Delirium tremens,	7	————— bowels,	15
Diarrhœa,	12	Intemperance,	10
Diseases unknown,	212	Jaundice,	3
———— of the heart,	7	Marasmus,	7
Dropsy,	18	Mortification,	4
Drowned,	16	Old age,	39
Dysentery,	25	Organick disease, brain,	1
Dyspepsy,	3	Palsy,	5
Effusion of brain,	2	Phthisis,	1
Epilepsy,	1	Quincy,	5
Fever, Inflammatory,	12	Rheumatism,	1
———— Pulmonick,	38	Scrofula,	4
———— Pleurisy,	4	Scalded,	1
———— Typhus,	27	Scirrhus liver,	6
———— Nervous,	3	Sphacelus,	1
———— Rheumatick,	1	Spasms,	3
———— Puerperal,	5	Still-born,	109
———— Intermittent,	1	Stricture, urethra,	3
———— Yellow,	1	Suddenly,	5
Fits,	19	Suicide,	3
Fractures,	2	Syphilis,	1
Gout,	2	Teething,	2
Gravel,	2	White swelling,	1
Hernia, strangulated,	2	Worms,	3
Hooping cough,	17	Wounds,	4
Hydrocephalus,	9		
Hydrothorax,	5		
		Total.....	1154

1824.

	Male.	Fe.	Tot.		Male.	Fe.	Tot.
Under 1 year,	105	94	199	From 50 to 60,	48	36	84
From 1 to 2,	54	65	119	—— 60 to 70,	21	33	54
—— 2 to 5,	42	40	82	—— 70 to 80,	17	25	42
—— 5 to 10,	23	16	39	—— 80 to 90,	7	13	20
—— 10 to 20,	24	31	55	—— 90 to 100,	1	3	4
—— 20 to 30,	62	97	159	Still-born,			89
—— 30 to 40,	77	61	138	Unknown,	78	55	133
—— 40 to 50,	64	46	110				
							1297

The number of Deaths above include those in the Almshouse and the city poor; and were occasioned as follows:

Abscess,	9	Fever, Puerperal,	13
Accidental,	9	—— Putrid,	1
Apoplexy,	9	—— Spotted,	1
Asthma,	2	Fits,	27
Atrophy,	9	Fungus,	2
Bilious colick,	2	Gout,	2
Bleeding at the lungs,	2	Gravel,	1
Burns,	6	Hepatico gasteritis,	1
Cancerous humour,	3	Hooping cough,	13
Canker,	18	Hydrothorax,	14
—— in the bowels,	2	Inflammation,	3
Carbuncle,	1	—— of the bowels,	13
Chicken pox,	1	—— of the lungs,	2
Cholera morbus,	7	—— of the stomach,	3
—— infantum,	11	—— of the heart,	7
Complaint of the heart,	4	Insanity,	2
Complication of disorders,	2	Intemperance,	20
Complaint of the bowels,	2	Marasmus,	4
Consumption,	242	Measles,	2
Croup,	30	Mortification,	12
Debility,	11	Old age,	33
Decay of nature,	5	Ossification,	1
Decline,	2	Palsy,	12
Delirium tremens,	4	Phthisis pulmonalis,	2
Diarrhœa,	24	Pneumonia,	4
Diseases unknown,	195	Quincy,	11
—— infantile,	32	Rheumatism,	9
Disorder of the mesente- } rick glands, } —— of the kidneys,	4 1	Rupture,	2
Drinking cold water,	2	Salt rheum,	1
Dropsy,	12	Scirrhus,	6
—— of the head,	33	Scrofula,	3
—— of the chest,	14	Spasms,	9
Drowned,	18	Still-born,	91
Dysentery,	45	Strangulated hernia,	1
Enlarged spine,	1	Strangury,	1
Epilepsy,	2	Sudden,	7
Fever,	5	Suicide,	5
—— Lung,	71	Suffocation,	1
—— Nervous,	4	Syphilis,	3
—— Inflammatory,	2	Teething,	10
—— Brain,	10	Tetanus,	2
—— Pleurisy,	7	White swelling,	1
—— Typhus,	46	Worms,	3
—— Bilious,	14	Wounds,	1
			1297

N. B. There were also three Deaths of yellow fever, and two of small-pox, in the Hospital, Beauford Island.

ALPHABETICAL LISTS OF THE RESIDENT AND THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Resident Members.

Those with * prefixed have died. Those with † have resigned, &c.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
Hon. John Adams, LL. D.	Quincy,	31 July, 1800	
Hon. John Q. Adams, LL. D.	Boston,	27 April, 1802	
Joseph Allen, Esq.	Worcester,	7 Sept. 1808	
Rev. John Allyn, D. D.	Duxbury,	29 Octo. 1799	
*Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M. D.	Charlestown,	24 April, 1798	
†Hon. William Baylies, M. D.	Dighton,	Original member||	25 Apr. 1815
*Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.	Boston,	do.	20 June, 1798
†Rev. William Bentley,	Salem,	25 Mar. 1796	29 Dec. 1819
James Bowdoin, Esq.	Boston,	27 Aug. 1821	
†Alden Bradford, Esq.	do.	2 Jan. 1793	27 Jan. 1820
*Capt. Gamaliel Bradford,	do.	31 Octo. 1797	7 Mar. 1824
*Rev. John Bradford,	Roxbury,	30 Jan. 1798	27 Jan. 1825
*Thomas Brattle, Esq.	Cambridge,	25 April, 1797	13 Aug. 1803
*Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster,	Boston,	25 April, 1811	9 June, 1812
Charles Bulfinch, Esq.	do.	10 Octo. 1801	
Elisha Clap, A. M.	Boston,	29 Octo. 1812	
*Rev. John Clark, D. D.	do.	26 Jan. 1796	2 April, 1798
*Hon. Peleg Coffin, Esq.	Nantucket,	13 Aug. 1792	Mar. 1805
Mr. Joseph Coolidge, jun.	Boston,	25 April, 1811	
†Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.	Hamilton,	29 May, 1792	25 April, 1815
Hon. John Davis, LL. D.	Boston,	24 Octo. 1791	
Hon. Daniel Davis, Esq.	do.	29 May, 1792	
Mr. Samuel Davis,	Plymouth,	30 Jan. 1812	
†Elias Haskett Derby, Esq.	Salem,	28 April, 1801	1801
Aaron Dexter, M. D.	Boston,	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. John Eliot, D. D.	Boston,	Original member	14 Feb. 1813
Dr. Ephraim Eliot,	do	24 Aug. 1813	
*Rev. William Emerson,	do.	13 July, 1801	12 May, 1811
Hon. & Rev. Ed. Everett, P. D.	Cambridge,	27 April, 1820	

|| *The first meeting was held 24 January, 1791. Present, Rev. J. Belknap, J. Eliot, and J. Freeman, J. Sullivan, Esq. Rev. Mr. Thacher, W. Tudor, Esq. Mr. T. Wallcut, and J. Winthrop, Esq.*

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
*William Fiske, Esq. †Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D. D. Rev. James Freeman, D. D. †Nathaniel Freeman, Esq.	Waltham, Williamstown, Boston, Sandwich,	25 April, 1797 30 Octo. 1798 Original member 23 Octo. 1792	13 Aug. 1803 2 April, 1817 25 Oct. 1808
*Caleb Gannett, Esq. Samuel P. Gardner, Esq. Rev. Ezra S. Goodwin, Hon. Christopher Gore, LL. D. Hon. Francis C. Gray,	Cambridge, Boston, Sandwich, Waltham, Boston,	31 Octo. 1797 24 Aug. 1824 25 April, 1822 30 Jan. 1798 29 Jan. 1818	25 April, 1818
Nathan Hale, Esq. Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Levi Hedge, LL. D. †Stephen Higginson, jun. Esq. Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D. Rev. Jonathan Homer,	Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Boston, Cambridge, Newton,	27 Jan. 1820 13 Aug. 1792 29 Aug. 1815 25 Jan. 1803 24 April, 1798 30 April, 1799	25 Aug. 1812
Hon. Charles Jackson, LL. D. Rev. William Jenks,	Boston, do.	29 Aug. 1815 27 Aug. 1821	
Hon. Daniel Kilham, Rev. J. T. Kirkland, D. D. LL. D.	Wenham, Cambridge,	24 April, 1798 26 Jan. 1796	
*Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, *Isaac Lothrop, Esq. John Lowell, Esq. LL. D. Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D. Hon. Theodore Lyman, jun.	Hingham, Plymouth, Boston, do. do.	19 July, 1798 11 Octo. 1791 30 Jan. 1823 29 Aug. 1815 24 April, 1823	9 May, 1810 July, 1808
*Rev. Joseph McKean, John Mellen, Esq. James C. Merrill, Esq. *Geo. Richards Minot, Esq. Hon. Nahum Mitchell, Rev. Jedediah Morse, D. D.	Cambridge, do. Boston, do. Bridgewater, Charlestown,	7 Sept. 1808 23 Octo. 1792 27 April, 1820 Original member 25 Aug. 1818 26 Jan. 1796	17. Mar. 1818 2 Jan. 1802
Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq.	Boston,	29 Jan. 1819	
*Rev. Stephen Palmer, *Ebenezer Parsons, Esq. *Wm. Dandridge Peck, A. M. *Mr. Thomas Pemberton, †Eliphalet Pearson, LL. D. *James Perkins, Esq. Hon. John Pickering, LL. D. Rev. John Pierce, D. D. Rev. John Snelling Popkin, *Ezekiel Price, Esq. Rev. John Prince, LL. D.	Needham, Boston, Cambridge, Boston, Andover, Boston, Salem, Brookline, Newbury, Boston, Salem,	27 Aug. 1816 31 Jan. 1797 8 Octo. 1792 13 Aug. 1792 23 Jan. 1800 29 May, 1792 29 Jan. 1818 31 Jan. 1809 13 July, 1801 30 April, 1793 29 Jan. 1793	1821 Nov. 1819 3 Octo. 1822 5 July, 1807 28 Aug. 1810 1 Aug. 1822 15 July, 1802

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
Hon. Josiah Quincy,	Boston,	26 July, 1796	
*Isaac Rand, M. D.	Boston,	19 July, 1798	Decem. 1322
Mr. Obadiah Rich,	do.	5 Mar. 1805	
Rev. Samuel Ripley,	Waltham,	27 Jan. 1820	
Hon. Leverett Saltonstall,	Salem,	27 Aug. 1816	
Hon. James Savage,	Boston,	28 Jan. 1813	
Hon. David Sewall, Esq.	York,	11 Oct. 1791	
William Smith Shaw, Esq.	Boston,	7 Nov. 1805	
Nathaniel G. Snelling, Esq.	do.	29 Jan. 1818	
Hon. William Spooner, M. D.	do.	26 April, 1796	
*William J. Spooner, Esq.	do.	25 April, 1822	17 Oct. 1824
Hon. Joseph Story, LL. D.	Salem,	25 April, 1816	
*His Ex. Caleb Strong, LL. D.	Northampton,	31 July, 1800	Nov. 1819
*His Ex. James Sullivan, LL. D.	Boston,	Original member	10 Dec. 1808
William Sullivan, Esq.	do.	29 April, 1800	
angdon Sullivan, Esq.	do.	23 April, 1801	
*Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.	Boston,	Original member	16 Dec. 1802
*Joshua Thomas, Esq.	Plymouth,	25 Oct. 1808	Jan. 1821
Isaiah Thomas, Esq.	Worcester,	25 April, 1811	
†Joseph Tilden, Esq.	Boston,	30 Jan. 1812	25 April, 1816
Ichabod Tucker, Esq.	Salem,	26 Aug. 1817	
*William Tudor, Esq.	Boston,	Original member	8 July, 1819
William Tudor, jun. Esq.	do.	25 April, 1816	
†Mr. Samuel Turell,	do.	30 July, 1793	27 Aug. 1811
Dudley Atkins Tyng, Esq.	do.	30 April, 1793	
Mr. Thomas Wallcut,	Boston,	Original member	
Rev. Henry Ware, jun.	do.	31 Jan. 1822	
*Marston Watson, Esq.	do.	29 April, 1800	7 Aug. 1800
Hon. Daniel Webster, LL. D.	do.	27 Aug. 1821	
Mr. Redford Webster,	do.	13 Aug. 1792	
†William Wetmore, Esq.	do.	13 Aug. 1792	29 Aug. 1815
*Rev. Peter Whitney,	Northborough,	23 Aug. 1804	29 Feb. 1816
*John Williams, Esq.	Deerfield,	30 Oct. 1798	27 July, 1816
†Rev. Zephaniah Willis,	Kingston,	23 April, 1801	25 April, 1815
*Hon. James Winthrop,	Cambridge,	Original member	Sept. 1821
Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq.	Boston,	23 Aug. 1800	
*Hon. William Winthrop,	Cambridge,	27 Jan. 1820	5 Feb. 1825

Corresponding Members.

Hon. Frederick Adelong,	Berlin, Prussia,	25 April, 1822
Rev. Timothy Alden, jun.	Meadville, Pa.	1 Oct. 1801
Robert Anderson, M. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	27 Aug. 1805
Hon. Charles H. Atherton,	Amherst, N. H.	25 April, 1816

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
*Gardiner Baker, Esq.	N. York. N. Y.	17 Aug. 1795	Oct. 1798
Rev. John Bassett,	Albany, do.	29 Aug. 1809	
*Benjamin S. Barton, M. D.	Philadelphia, Pa.	26 Jan. 1796	
William Barton, Esq.	Lancast. do.	26 Oct. 1802	
Samuel Bayard, Esq.	New Jersey,	24 April, 1817	
William Blount, Esq.	Tennessee,	25 Oct. 1796	20 July, 1797
M. Carlo Botta,	Paris, France,	26 Oct. 1820	
*Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D.	New Jersey,	29 April, 1813	
Rev. Andrew Brown, D. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	30 April, 1793	
Rt. Hon. Earl of Buchan,	do.	30 Aug. 1808	
George Chalmers, Esq.	London, Eng.	25 April, 1816	
James Clarke, Esq.	Halifax, N. S.	17 Aug. 1795	
His Ex. De Witt Clinton, LL. D.	New York,	28 April, 1814	
Adm. Sir Isaac Coffin,	London, Eng.	31 Oct. 1822	
M. De La Fayette, LL. D. &c.		28 Oct. 1824	
Henry W. Dessaussure, Esq.	Charleston, S. C.	25 April, 1797	
M. Julius De Wallenstein,		28 Oct. 1824	
Benjamin De Witt, M. D.	Albany, N. Y.	18 July, 1799	
Rev. John Disney, D. D.	Hyde, England,	26 April, 1809	
John Dunn, LL. D.	Killaly, Ireland,	1 Dec. 1797	
Peter S. Du Ponceau, Esq.	Philadelphia, Pa.	29 Jan. 1818	
*Rev. Timo. Dwight, D. D. LL. D.	N. Haven, Con.	31 Oct. 1797	11 Jan. 1817
*Rev. C. D. Ebeling (Professor)	Hamburgh,	23 Oct. 1794	
Samuel Eddy, Esq.	Providence, R. I.	27 Aug. 1805	
*Rev. Andrew Eliot,	Fairfield, Con.	30 Oct. 1798	25 Oct. 1805
*Rev. John Erskine, D. D.	Edinb. Scotl.	8 Oct. 1792	
George W. Erving, Esq.		31 Oct. 1822	
Mr. John Farmer,	Concord, N. H.	31 Jan. 1822	
Moses Fiske,	Tennessee,	31 Oct. 1811	
*Hon. Theodore Foster,	Providence, R. I.	28 Oct. 1800	
*Anthony Fothergill, M. D.	Bath, Eng.	28 Aug. 1804	
John W. Francis, M. D.	N. York, N. Y.	27 Jan. 1814	
*Constant Freeman, Esq.	Fort Nelson,	25 April, 1811	
Jonathan Goodhue, Esq.	N. York, N. Y.	29 April, 1819	
Rev. Thomas Hall,	Leghorn,	28 April, 1801	
Rev. Wm. Harris, D. D.	New York,	27 Jan. 1814	
N. A. Haven, jun. Esq.	Portsmouth, N. H.	31 Jan. 1822	
*Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.	Philadelphia, Pa.	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. Arthur Homer, D. D.	Cambridge, Eng.	28 Jan. 1800	1806
David Hosack, M. D.	N. York, N. Y.	27 Jan. 1814	
*Gilbert Harrison Hubbard, Esq.	Demarara,	18 Nov. 1796	11 May, 1803
Baron Alex. Von Humboldt,	Paris, France,	30 Oct. 1817	
*Elisha Hutchinson, Esq.	Birmingham, Eng.	27 April, 1820	

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
Hon. John Jay, LL. D.	N. York, N. Y.	29 May, 1792	
*Edward Jenner, M. D.	England,	29 Oct. 1812	
William Johnson,	New York,	28 May, 1805	
*Sir William Jones,	Calcutta, Bengal,	27 Jan. 1795	27 April, 1794
Michael Joy, Esq.	London, Eng.	27 Aug. 1816	
Hon. Rufus King, LL. D.	New York,	28 Oct. 1824	
Lemuel Kollock, M. D.	Savannah, Geo.	25 April, 1797	
William Lee, Esq.	Washington,	27 Aug. 1822	
*John Coakley Lettsom, M. D.	London, Eng.	27 Jan. 1795	
M. Barbé Marbois,	Paris, France,	28 Oct. 1824	
*Ebenezer Grant Marsh, A. M.	New Haven, Con.	1 Sept. 1800	16 Nov. 1803
Hon. John Marshall, LL. D.	Richmond, Va.	29 Aug. 1809	
Hon. Jeremiah Mason, LL. D.	Portsmouth, N. H.	26 April, 1821	
Major Hugh McCall,	Savannah, Geo.	30 Oct. 1817	
*Rev. David McClure,	East Windsor, Ct.	17 Aug. 1795	
Phineas Miller, Esq.	Savannah, Geo.	17 Aug. 1795	
*Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D.	N. York, N. Y.	18 July, 1799	
Samuel Latham Mitchell, M. D.	do. do.	30 Jan. 1798	
Rev. Robert Morrison, D. D.	Macao, China,	31 Oct. 1816	
John Newman, M. D.	Salisbury, N. C.	27 April, 1802	
Hon. Nathaniel Niles,	Fairlee, Vt.	2 Jan. 1793	
Rev. Asa Norton,	Paris, N. Y.	31 Jan. 1797	
Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D.	Schenectady, N. Y.	29 April, 1813	
Hon. Timothy Pickering,	Then of Phil. Pa.	24 April, 1798	
Mr. Thomas Pieronnett,	Then of Demer.	28 Jan. 1800	
John Pintard, Esq.	N. York, N. Y.	28 Oct. 1813	
Hon. Timothy Pitkin,	Farmington, Con.	25 Aug. 1812	
His Exc. Wm. Plumer,	Epping, N. H.	25 Aug. 1807	
*Hon. David Ramsay, M. D.	Charleston, S. C.	29 May, 1792	
Ephraim Ramsay, Esq.	do. do.	25 April, 1797	
*Edmund Randolph, Esq.	Philadelphia, Pa.	23 Oct. 1792	20 July, 1797
Rev. James Richards, D. D.		26 Jan. 1815	
*Rumford, Benj. T. Count,	London, Eng.	30 Jan. 1798	
*Rev. Ezra Sampson,	Hudson, N. Y.	26 Aug. 1802	
*Hon. Winthrop Sargeant,	Mississippi,	28 Jan. 1794	
Sir Walter Scott,	Edinb. Scotl.	31 Jan. 1822	
*Dr. Isaac Senter,	Newport, R. I.	18 Nov. 1796	1804
Benjamin Silliman, A. M.	New Haven, Con.	Aug. 1806	
*Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith,	N. York, N. Y.	1 Dec. 1797	
Hon. John C. Smith,	Sharon, Con.	29 April, 1813	
Robert Southey, Esq.	London, Eng.	29 April, 1819	
Rev. Alexander Spark,	Quebeck, Can.	29 May, 1792	
*Rev. John Jones Spooner,	Martin's Brandon, Va.	26 Nov. 1793	Sept. 1799
*Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D. LL. D.	New Haven, Con.	23 Oct. 1792	May, 1794

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Time of Election.</i>	<i>Decease, Resignation, &c.</i>
Hon. Samuel Tenney, M. D.	Exeter, N. H.	8 Oct. 1792	
*Charles Thomson, Esq.	Philadelphia, Pa.	29 May, 1792	Aug. 1824
*His Exc. Jonathan Trumbull,	Lebanon, Con.	30 April, 1799	7 Aug. 1809
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OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

OF THE THIRD SERIES.

Cambridge,

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CONTENTS.

Article	Page
I. Memoir of French Protestants settled at Oxford, 1686	1
II. History and Description of Cohasset	84
III. Winslow's New-England's Salamander discovered . .	110
IV. Cotton's Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language	147
V. Account of Plymouth Colony Records	258
VI. Address of the Ministers of Boston to the Duke of Newcastle, December 5, 1737	271
VII. Memoir of the Narraganset Township	273
VIII. Biographical Notice of the late Hon. Dudley A. Tyng	280
IX. Instances of Longevity in New Hampshire	295
X. Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire	299
XI. MS. Journals of the Long, Little, &c. Parliaments . .	323
XII. Acknowledgment of Donations	365

CONTENTS

1. Introduction

2. The History of the ...

3. The ...

4. The ...

5. The ...

6. The ...

7. The ...

8. The ...

9. The ...

10. The ...

11. The ...

12. The ...

13. The ...

14. The ...

15. The ...

16. The ...

17. The ...

18. The ...

19. The ...

20. The ...

21. The ...

22. The ...

23. The ...

24. The ...

25. The ...

26. The ...

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37. The ...

38. The ...

39. The ...

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41. The ...

42. The ...

43. The ...

44. The ...

45. The ...

46. The ...

47. The ...

48. The ...

49. The ...

50. The ...

COLLECTIONS.

MEMOIR OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS, WHO SETTLED AT OXFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, A. D. 1686 ; WITH A SKETCH OF THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

BY A. HOLMES, D. D. CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

AMONG the numerous emigrations from Europe to New England, since its first settlement, that of the French Protestants has been but slightly noticed, and is now almost forgotten. The history of these emigrants, humble as it may seem, is entitled to preservation. The simplest narrative of the causes and circumstances of their emigration, and of their previous and subsequent fortunes, were enough to render it interesting to every descendant of the early settlers of our country, especially to the descendants of the pilgrims of New England.

Nearly a century and a half ago, these Protestants came from France, to seek an asylum in America. The same cause, which brought our forefathers to these shores, brought them. Both, holding the strictest tenets of the Reformation, were denied the privilege of professing and openly maintaining them. In the one instance, conformity to the requisitions of the Protestant Episcopal church was exacted ; in the other, to those of the Roman Catholic. It was to

the last of these that the Huguenots of France were subjected; and when to the distant fulminations of the Vatican succeeded the intolerant edicts of their own princes, they fled, in all directions, from a country where life was insecure, and repose impossible.

The French Protestants, from the first, adopted the principles of that eminent reformer, JOHN CALVIN, who was a native of France. The title of *Reformed* was first assumed by them; and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the Continent.* “The doctrine of their churches was Calvinism, and their discipline was Presbyterian, after the Genevan plan.”† Of this discipline, the judicious Hooker, with no less candour than discrimination, says: “A Founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him.”‡ This was a just tribute of respect to Calvin, to whom the Church of England, in common with all the Protestant *Reformed* churches, is more indebted for the purity of her doctrines, than to any other single reformer. Although the English church and the New England church rejected his discipline, neither were insensible to the merits of this truly great man, nor forgetful of the eminent service, which he rendered to the cause of truth, and to the Protestant interest.

Notwithstanding the barbarous persecutions of the Albigenes and Waldenses by the Roman Catholic church, “there was not a total extinction of the truth. It was suppressed, but not destroyed. Its professors were dead; but the truth lived; it lay concealed in the hearts of the children of these martyrs, who groaned for a reformation.”§ When learning revived

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, iv. 356. Tr. Note.

† Robinson's Memoirs of the Reformation in France, prefixed to his translation of Saurin's Sermons.

‡ Hooker's Eccles. Politic, Pref.

§ Quick's Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, *Introd.* 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1692.

in France under Francis I. the Reformation revived in that kingdom. Luther began it in Germany, and Zuinglius in Switzerland; a little while after, Calvin was "called forth to be a glorious instrument of it in France. And the Lord owneth him," says the English historian of the French synods, "and his fellow servants, notwithstanding all the storms of Popish rage and fury against them in this great work; insomuch that the whole kingdom is enlightened and ravished with it, and many of the most eminent counsellors in that illustrious senate, the parliament of Paris, do profess the Gospel openly, and in the very presence of their king Henry the Second, though to the loss of honour, estate, and life. It was now got into the court, and among persons of the highest quality. Many nobles, some princes of the blood, dare espouse its cause. The blood of the martyrs proving the seed of the church, and, as Israel of old, so now, the more the professors of the Gospel are oppressed and persecuted, the more are they increased and multiplied."*

The Reformed Protestants in France formed themselves into regular church assemblies; and "it was the great care of the first Reformers to preach up sound doctrine, to institute and celebrate pure evangelical worship, and to restore the ancient primitive discipline."

The Bible was translated by Olivetan, an uncle of Calvin, a minister in the vallies of Piedmont, from the original Hebrew and Greek into the French language; and it "was read in their solemn meetings in the great congregations." It was perused and studied by the nobles and peasants, by the learned and the illiterate, by merchants and tradesmen, by women and children, in their houses and families; and they thus became wiser than their Popish priests, and

*Quick's Synodicon.

most subtle adversaries. Clement Marot, a courtier, and a man of wit and genius, by advice of M. Vatablus, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Paris, translated fifty of the Psalms of David into French metre; Beza, the other hundred, and all the Scripture songs; and Lewis Guadimel, a most skilful master of music, composed those sweet and melodious tunes, to which they are sung even to this day.* Sacred music, thus revived, charmed the court and city, the town and country. The psalms, thus brought home to men's bosoms, and adapted at once to their understanding and taste, were sung in the Louvre, as well as in the Pres des Clercs, by the ladies, princes, and even by Henry the Second himself. To this sacred ordinance alone may be greatly attributed the decline of Popery, and the propagation of the gospel, in France. It so happily accorded with the genius of the French nation, that all ranks and degrees of men practised it in the temples and their families. Children and youth were now catechised in the rudiments and principles of the Christian religion, and could give a good account of their faith, and a reason of their hope. Their pious pastors thus prepared them for the communion table, where they partook in both kinds, the bread and the wine, according to the primitive institution of Jesus Christ.

Although the French Reformed churches were internally improved, and became multiplied throughout the kingdom; yet they were subjected to the severest trials. So early as 1540, an edict was passed, interdicting the exercise of the Reformed religion, and prohibiting the giving of an asylum to those who professed it, on pain of high treason.

The complaint of Justin Martyr to the Roman emperor, that the Christians were punished with torture and death, upon the bare profession of their *being*

* Quick's Synodicon.

such, might have been made by the Protestants. To be a Huguenot, was enough to ensure condemnation. Whoever bore this name, were imprisoned, arraigned for their lives, and, adhering to their profession, were condemned by merciless judges to the flames. Some of this name and character were murdered in cold blood, and massacred without any legal forms of justice.

Amidst these barbarous cruelties, and in sight of these horrid executions, the pastors of the several churches were inspired with zeal and courage to meet and consult together about the arduous concerns of the Reformed religion. It was in these circumstances of peril and dismay, that the first National Synod was called, and held its session in the metropolis of the kingdom, and at the very doors of the court. This council published a confession of their faith, that the king and the kingdom might know what they believed and practised. It was entitled, "The Confession of Faith, held and professed by the Reformed Churches of France, received and enacted by their first National Synod, celebrated in the city of Paris, and year of our Lord, 1559."* By this Confession, and the Canons of Discipline then framed and adopted, were regulated the faith and practice of these illustrious churches, which embraced very numerous exemplary members, and a vast multitude of faithful martyrs.†

* This Confession is preserved entire in Quick's Synodicon, and in Laval's History of the Reformation in France. Quick says, there were twenty-nine National Synods during the space of one hundred years; the first was at Paris, 25 May, 1559; the last, at Loudun, 10 November, 1659; but he published his work in 1692. Walch, in *Neueste Religion's geschichte*, 1777, says, their National Synods seldom meet. Their last meeting was in 1763. Erskine's *Sketches of Church History*, 1797. ii. 217. Fleury [xvi. 235.] thought it probable, the Confession and Discipline were composed by Calvin.

† The Retormed church in France had more members and martyrs, and of greater quality, than any one of the Reformed churches in Europe. In the National Synod of Rochelle, in 1571, of which Beza was president, the Reformed could count above 2150 churches, and in many of these, above 10,000 members, and in most of these, two ministers, in some, five. In 1581, it

In 1560, admiral Coligny, in the name of the Calvinists of Normandy, presented to the king a petition for the free exercise of their religion. He was the very first nobleman in all France, who dared to profess himself a Protestant, and a patron of the Protestants. In 1561, the king published an edict, purporting that ecclesiastics should be judges of heresy ; that whoever were convicted of it, should be delivered over to the secular arm, but that they should be condemned to no higher penalty than banishment, until such time as the General and National Council should determine.* This same year, it was expressly ordered, that the Protestant ministers and preachers should be banished out of the kingdom, and every body prohibited to use other rites and ceremonies in religion, than what were held and taught by the Roman church.† In 1562, war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants, and was carried on with mutual cruelties, under the names of *Royalists* and *Huguenots*.‡ The duke of Guise was assassinated ; the king of Navarre was killed at a siege ; and 50,000 Protestants were slain.§

This same year, 1562, admiral Coligny attempted to settle a colony of French Protestants in America,

was computed, that their martyrs, within a very few years, had been upwards of 200,000. In 1598, only twenty-seven years after the National Synod of Rochelle, the Protestants had only 706 churches remaining of the 2150, which were flourishing at the time of the Synod.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. xxi. l. 154, § 89, 90. Du Pin, Eccl. Hist. (*Abr.*) iv. 94. De Thou, lib. 25.

† Davila, Hist. of Civil Wars of France, i. 85.

‡ There are various conjectures concerning the origin of this word. Dr. Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim, supposed it to have been derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgnossen*, which signifies *confederates* ; and which had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III, duke of Savoy. "These confederates were called *eignots*, and from thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenots*." Abbe Fleury was of the same opinion :—"y furent appelés *Huguenots*, du nom des *Eignots* de Genève un peu autrement prononcé." Count Villars, in a letter to the king of France from the province of Languedoc in 1560, calls the Calvinists of the Cevennes, *Huguenots* ; and this is the first time that this term is found in the registers of that province, applied to the Protestants. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. iv. 384, *Note d.* Fleury, Hist. Eccl. xviii. 603.

§ Davila, *ut supra*, and Robinson's Memoirs.

where he hoped to provide for them an asylum. Before the commencement of hostilities he had been desirous of securing to them that liberty of conscience in the New World, which was denied to them in the Old. In 1555, by his influence, an attempt was made by the French Protestants, in concert with those of Geneva, to settle a colony at Brazil; and, the following year, fourteen missionaries were sent out by the church of Geneva, to plant the Christian faith in those regions of America. At their arrival, they were received with great joy, and, soon after, their church was formed according to the constitution and usage of Geneva; but through the perfidy of the chevalier de Villegagnon, to whom Coligny had committed the conduct of the enterprise, the project was frustrated. The few French, who remained at Brazil, were massacred by the Portuguese in 1558.* The same design was now revived. In 1562, admiral Coligny, with the permission of Charles IX of France, sent over a small number of Protestants, under Jean Ribault, to Florida. After exploring the southern coast, they entered Port Royal, still known by that name in South Carolina, not far from which they built a fort, which they named Fort Charles; but they soon after abandoned it, and returned to France. In 1564 and 1565, the admiral renewed the attempt to form a settlement at Florida, at the river of May [St. Augustine]; but his colony of French Huguenots were principally massacred, a few only escaping to France.†

A peace had been concluded in 1563; but in 1567, the Protestants, whose rights were daily violated by

* De Bry, AMERICA, P. III. Thuanus. Mezeray. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, i. 35. Lescarbot, liv. 2. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. xxv. 38—41. Alcedo's Geog. and Hist. Dictionary, Art. JANEIRO. Brown's Hist. Propag. Christianity, i. 3. Plutarque Français, tome iii. Art. VIE DE L'AMIRAL DE COLIGNI.

† Hakluyt's Voyages, iii. 308—362; where are original accounts of these voyages and transactions. Purchas, vols. i. and v. Mezeray's Hist. of France. Plutarque Français, Art. VIE DE L'AMIRAL DE COLIGNI.

new edicts, were compelled to take up arms again, in their own defence. The city of Rochelle declared for them; and it served for an asylum sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and the German princes; and, at the conclusion of this second war, 1568, they obtained the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.*

War broke out again the same year. Queen Elizabeth aided the Protestants with money; the count Palatine, with men; the queen of Navarre parted with her rings and jewels to support them; and, the prince of Conde being slain, she declared her son, prince Henry, the head and protector of the Protestant cause. She caused the New Testament, the Catechism and the Liturgy of Geneva, to be translated, and printed at Rochelle. She abolished Popery, and established Protestantism in her own dominions. After many negotiations, a peace was concluded in 1570, and the free exercise of religion was allowed in all but walled cities; two cities in every province were assigned to the Protestants, who were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, public offices, royal, seignioral, and corporate; and to ensure perpetual peace, a match was proposed between Henry of Navarre, and the sister of king Charles. These articles were accepted; and the queen of Navarre, her son king Henry, the princes of the blood, and the principal Protestants, went to Paris to celebrate the marriage, 18 August, 1572.

A few days after the marriage, on Sunday, the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day, the horrible plot for exterminating the Protestants was executed. The king called his council together in the queen mother's closet. In the apprehension, that, if the admiral escaped, they should fall into greater perplex-

* Davila, A. D. 1562. Robinson's Memoirs.

ities than ever, it was concluded that both he and all the Huguenots, excepting the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, should be despatched. They then gave out orders to execute their resolution that same night ; and the duke of Guise was made the chief manager. About ten o'clock at night, he sent for the Swiss captains of the five small cantons, and some of the French companies, and ordered them to put themselves all in arms, and to John Charon, Prevost des Marchands, as also to Marcel, who was recently out of that employment, to arm the citizens and first draw them together within some houses, then bring them into the market places, to light flambeaux in all their windows, to wear a white scarf or linen on their left arm, and a cross of the same size upon their hats ; and when they were in readiness, then to begin the butchery, at a signal given them by ringing the great bell, belonging to the palace, which was not wont to be used but upon some extraordinary occasion of rejoicing. The orders being given, the duke returned to the Louvre, where the queen's mother, the duke of Anjou, Nevers, and Birague, used their utmost endeavours to resolve the king's mind ; for the nearer he came to the moment of execution, the more he was troubled in his soul, so that the very sweat ran down his forehead, and his pulsation was like one in a fever. They had much difficulty to force a positive and precise consent from him ; but as soon as ever they had obtained it, the queen mother hastened the signal above an hour, and caused the bell to be rung at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. When the king heard the signal bell, and the report of some pistols fired at the same time, he was so affected, that he sent orders, they should forbear a while longer. But word was brought back, that they had proceeded too far ; and indeed the duke of Guise had caused both the admiral, and Teligny, his son in law, to be massacred in their lodgings ;

“and the fierce wolves,” to use the words of Mezeray, “being unchained, and let loose, ran to every house, and filled all with blood and slaughter.” The admiral, inattentive to the presages and premonitions of his firmest adherents, refused to leave Paris, and was himself the first victim of this infamous massacre. He had, only two days before, been wounded by a hired assassin, as he was returning from the Louvre. It was never doubted, says Sully, but that the wound which the admiral received, came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the king’s stable. He was now, on account of that wound, confined to his room, when a party, headed by his implacable enemy, the duke of Guise, broke open the door where he was sitting. At their entrance into his chamber, he showed no signs, either of surprise or terror. His language was becoming a great man, conscious of integrity, and worthy of a Christian, expecting, yet fearless of death. Besme, one of the duke’s domestics, approached him with a drawn sword. “Young man,” said the undaunted, but disabled Coligny, “you ought to respect my age;—but act as you please, you can only shorten my life a very few days.” The barbarian pierced him in many places, and then threw his body into the street, where it was exposed for three days to the insults of the populace, and then hung by the feet on a gibbet. A nobler example of a Christian martyr is rarely to be found in the annals of the church.*

The scene of spoliation and destruction in the city was such, as might better have been expected from Goths or Vandals. Seven hundred houses were pillaged, and five thousand persons perished in Paris.

Of this horrible massacre, Mezeray gives the fol-

* The admiral lodged in the street Betisy in an inn, which is called at present the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered, is still shown there. *Note*, by the editor of Sully’s Memoirs.

lowing description. "It lasted seven whole days; the three first, which were from Sunday, the Feast of St. Bartholomew, till Tuesday, in its greatest fury; the other four till the Sunday following, with somewhat more of abatement. During this time, there were murdered near five thousand persons, by divers sorts of deaths, and many by more than one; amongst others, five or six hundred gentlemen. Neither the aged, nor the tender infants, were spared, nor women great with child. Some were stabbed, others hewn in pieces with halberts, or shot with muskets or pistols, some thrown headlong out of the windows, many dragged to the river, and divers had their brains beaten out with mallets, clubs, or such like instruments. Seven or eight hundred had thrust themselves into the several prisons, hoping to find shelter and protection under the wings of justice; but the captains appointed for this execution, caused them to be hauled out and brought to a place near la Valeé de Misere (the Valley of Misery), where they beat out their brains with a pole axe, and then cast them into the river."*

The rage for slaughter spread from Paris to the provinces; and, according to Sully, the number of Protestants massacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to seventy thousand.†

The duke of Sully, then in his twelfth year, afterwards the prime minister of Henry IV, was an eyewitness of the massacre of Paris, and narrowly escaped with his life. His own description of it is terrible. "I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the

* Mezeray's Chronological History of France, tr. by J. Bulteel, fol. Lond. 1683. P. Daniel says, about 3000 were slain; others say, 10,000. Rapin's Hist. Eng, ii. 102, tr. Strype's Annals, ii. 158.

† Sully's Memoirs, b. 1. p. 31. Robinson and others give a less aggregate number. I follow Sully, who may be presumed to have had the best means of information, at the time. An exact account of the number massacred, either in the city, or in the entire kingdom, could not, perhaps, be ever obtained.

bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor, St. Julien, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to know the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these, who, without doubt, were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dressing myself, when, in a few moments, I saw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmost consternation. He was of the Reformed religion, and, having learned what the matter was, had consented to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied; though the great distance between the house where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous." Having disguised himself in a scholar's gown, he put a large prayer-book under his arm, and went into the street; where he was seized with inexpressible horror, at the sight of the furious murderers, who, running from all parts, forced open the houses, and cried aloud, "Kill! kill! massacre the Huguenots!" and the blood, which he saw shed, redoubled his terror. He was repeatedly in the most extreme danger; but he arrived at last at the college of Burgundy, where, after imminent peril of his life, the principal of the college, who tenderly loved him, conducted him privately to a distant chamber, where he locked him up. Here he was confined three days, uncertain of his destiny; and saw no one but a servant of his friend's who came from time to time to bring him provisions. At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, he was suffered to leave his cell.*

*Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, prime minister to Henry the Great. Translated from the French. 3 vols. 3d edit. Lond. 1761. This great man adhered to his religious principles to the last. "My parents,"

For this horrible achievement, a jubilee was appointed at Paris; and solemn thanks were returned to God, as though the sacrifice had been acceptable to him.

This massacre of the *Protestants*, which, among Catholics is but another name for *Heretics*, was considered as a fit subject of joy and triumph at Rome. The pope and cardinals instantly repaired to St. Mark's, to thank God for so great a favour conferred on the see of Rome, and appointed a jubilee over the whole Christian world, for this slaughter of the heretics in France.* A medal, struck by pope Gregory XIII, to consecrate the remembrance of it, presents, on one side, the portrait and name of this pontiff, and, on the other, the destroying angel, armed with a sword and a cross, massacring the Huguenots, with a legend, signifying, "The slaughter of the Huguenots."† In the Vatican, at Rome, there is a tablet, on which is represented the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with an inscription, declaring the pope's approbation of the death of admiral Coligny.‡

The third day after the admiral's death, while the persecution was still, in some measure, carried on against the Huguenots, the king, attended by all the princes and lords of his court, went to the parliament; and though he had at first, both in his speeches and letters, imputed the whole affair to a popular tumult, yet he there avowed it as his own doing, and expa-

says Sully, "bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the Reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it; neither threatnings, promises, variety of events, nor the change even of the king, my protector, joined to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it." *Memoirs*, b. 1.

* Thuanus, iii. 140, 152.

† "l'ange exterminateur armé d'une croix et d'une épée, massacrant les Huguenots. Autour on lit ces paroles: *Huguenotorum strages*." 1572. M. Aignan.

‡ "Ce qu'il y a de bien certain, c'est qu'il a à Rome dans le Vatican un tableau où est représenté le massacre de la Saint-Barthelemi, avec ces paroles: *Le pape approuve la mort de Coligni*." *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France*, prefixed to "La Henriade."

See NOTE I, at the end of this Memoir.

tiated, in a long discourse, upon the reasons why he had commanded all those perpetual rebels (as he styled them) against his person and government to be destroyed. He then enjoined them to proceed, by the examination of the prisoners, against the memory of the dead, to lay open the enormity of their rebellion, and to brand them with infamy, in such a manner as was prescribed and directed by the utmost severity of the law. The parliament willingly accepted the commission, and founded a judicial process against the Huguenots, upon the depositions of the prisoners. They condemned Brequemant and Cavagnes, who were confined in the palace, to have their flesh publicly torn off with red-hot pincers, and their bodies quartered; commanding also a statue of the admiral to be broken in pieces and burnt, declaring him a rebel, a disturber of the kingdom, a heretic, and an enemy to all good men. Not content with thus cruelly stigmatizing the memory of this great and good man, they ordered his house at Chastillon to be razed to the very foundation, and all his posterity to be deprived of nobility, and rendered incapable of enjoying any office, or possessing any estate in the kingdom of France. The remains of the admiral's body, after receiving the most shocking mutilation and abuse from the populace, were stolen away in the night by two servants of the marshal de Montmorency, and secretly buried at Chantilly. "Thus," says Davila, "died the admiral Gaspard de Coligny, who had filled the kingdom of France with the glory and terror of his name for the space of twelve years."*

* Davila, i. 312. Fleury's Hist. Eccles. xxiii. A. D. 1572.

This great and good man is thus panegyricized in the *Henriade* :

Coligni, plus heureux et plus digne d'envie
Du moins, en succombant, ne perdit que la vie ;
Sa liberté, sa gloire au tombeau le suivit.

The loss of admiral Coligny's papers is extremely to be regretted; for they would have thrown great light upon the history and the affairs of the Protestants. More than a century and a half after his death, a financier, having purchased some land which had belonged to him, found in the park, several

This massacre threw all the Protestants in Europe into the utmost consternation, especially when they knew that it was openly approved of at Rome. In France, it was followed by internal discord, and civil war.

During these troubles, king Charles IX died at the castle of Vincennes, in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel massacre of St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind, and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to show the grief and remorse he felt for it.*

Henry III so far favoured the Protestants, that they obtained an edict in 1576 for the free exercise of their religion; but it was of no avail against the power of a league, formed the same year against the

feet below the surface, an iron box full of papers, which he threw into the fire, as useless. Papers, it is declared, were found, among which was a history of the times, and many memoirs of public affairs; but all, it is presumed, were suppressed or destroyed. "Mais il est sûr qu'on porta sa tête à la reine, avec un coffre plein de papiers, parmi lesquels était l'histoire du temps, écrite de la main de Coligni. On y trouva ainsi plusieurs memoires sur les affaires publiques." *La Henriade, Notes, Du Chant. II.*

*Sully's Memoirs, b. 1. p. 35. Charles IX died in 1574, in the 25th year of his age. It is affirmed, that soon after the massacre, he was attacked with a strange malady, which carried him off in about two years. His blood constantly flowed, and issued through the pores. It was considered as a divine judgment. "Peu de temps après, le roi fut attaqué d'une étrange maladie qui l'emporte au bout de deux ans. Son sang coulait toujours, et perçait au travers des pores de sa peau: maladie incompréhensible contre laquelle échoua l'art et l'habileté des médecins, et qui fut regardée comme un effet de la vengeance divine." *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France.*

Voltaire dilates upon the fact, in the *Henriade*:

"Bientôt Charles lui même en fut saisi d'horreur;
Le remords devant s'éleva dans son cœur."

Le chagrin vint flétrir la fleur de ses beaux jours;
Une languer mortelle en abrégé le cours:
Dieu, déployant sur lui sa vengeance sévère,
Marqua ce roi mourant du sceau de sa colere,
Et par son châtement voulut épouvanter
Quiconque à l'avenir oserait l'imiter.
Je le vis expirant.

Son sang, à gros bouillons de son corps élançé,
Vengeait le sang Français par ces ordres versé."

NOTE upon this passage, in *Chant. III.* "Charles IX fut toujours malade depuis la Saint Barthélemi, et mourut environ deux ans après, le 30 Mai 1574, tout baigné dans son sang, qui lui sortait par les pores."

Protestants ; and three civil wars raged during this reign. Henry III annulled the *arrets*, that had been decreed against several of the most distinguished Protestants ; re-established their memory ; and permitted their heirs to enter into possession of their estates. It is grateful to find, that this justice was done to the memory, and the heirs, of admiral Coligny.*

In 1589, Henry III was assassinated. He was succeeded by Henry IV, who had been educated a Protestant, and had been protector of the Protestants. Yielding to the necessity of the times, he professed the Roman Catholic religion before his coronation. It was necessary that he should receive absolution for his previous heresy ; and the pope gave it.† It was this king who granted the Protestants the justly celebrated **EDICT OF NANTES**. This Edict, which was called “perpetual and irrevocable,” granted to the Protestants liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religion ; many churches in all parts of France, and judges, of their own persuasion ; a free access to all places of honour and dignity ; great sums of money to pay off their troops ; an hundred places, as pledges of their future security ; and certain funds to maintain their preachers, and their garrisons. It was signed at Nantes, on the 13th of April, 1598, and afterwards sent to be registered in parliament, which published it on the 25th of February, 1599.‡

* Sa Majesté y déclaroit qu'elle n'avoit eu aucune part à la journée de la S. Barthelemi, et qu'elle en'etoit très-affligée . . . cassa et annulloit les arrêts portés contre la Mole, Coconas et Jean de la Haye lieutenant de Poitou, réhabilitoit leur mémoire, permettoit à leurs héritiers de rentrer dans leurs biens, et étendoit la même grâce à l'amiral de Coligni, de Briquemaut, de Cavagnes, le comte de Montgommeri, et du Pui-Montbrun. Fleury, xxiv. 45.

† See NOTE II.

‡ Sully's Memoirs, v. i. b. 9. p. 460. Du Pin, Hist. Church, c. 25. Robinson's Memoirs. History of the Life and Reign of Lewis XIV. Lond. 1742, ii. 228. Quick's Synodicon, i. § xv. where the Edict of Nantes is preserved. It contains 92 Articles, and fills 25 folio pages. Mezeray, 866.

France was now in peace, and the free toleration, secured by this Edict, was auspicious to the kingdom. The Protestants applied themselves to the care of their churches; and, having at this time many able ministers, they flourished and increased during the remainder of this reign. "Their churches were supported by able pastors; their universities were adorned with learned and pious professors, such as Casaubon, Daillé, and others, whose praises are in all the Reformed churches; their provincial and national synods were regularly convened; and their people were well governed."* Great pains were taken with the king to alienate him from his Protestant subjects; but in vain. He knew their worth, and protected them until his death. This great prince, who was hated by the popish clergy, was stabbed in his coach by Ravailiac, on the 14th of May, 1610. A judicious French historian† thus delineates his character: "France never had a better nor a greater king than Henry IV. He was his own general and minister: in him were united great frankness and profound policy; sublimity of sentiments and a most engaging simplicity of manners; the bravery of a soldier and an inexhaustible fund of humanity. And what forms the characteristic of a great man, he was obliged to surmount many obstacles, to expose himself to danger, and especially to encounter adversaries worthy of himself. In short, to make use of the expression of one of our greatest poets, *he was the conqueror and the father of his subjects.*"‡

Louis XIII, not nine years of age, succeeded his father Henry. The first act of the queen mother, who had the regency during his minority, was, a confirmation of the Edict of Nantes; which was confirmed

* Robinson's Memoirs.

† Henault.

‡ The historian evidently refers to these lines in the *Henriade*:

"Tout le peuple, change dans ce jour salutaire,
Reconnait son vrai roi, son vainqueur, et son pere."

again, in 1614, by Louis, who promised to observe it inviolably. It was not long, however, before the king, under the influence of cardinal Richelieu, began to make encroachments upon the Protestants, who, though they had resolved, in a general assembly, to die rather than submit to the loss of their liberties, were yet obliged to bear daily infractions of edicts from their oppressors.* Richelieu at length determined, by getting possession of Rochelle, to extinguish their hopes. The city was besieged, both by sea and land. After a long and resolute resistance, the besieged, who had lived without bread for thirteen weeks, were overcome by famine; and of eighteen thousand citizens, not above five thousand were left. This disastrous event, by which the strength of the Protestants was broken, occurred in 1625.

The cardinal suffered the edict to be infringed every day, in the determination not to stop until he should have established uniformity in the church. The affairs of the Protestants were daily becoming more afflictive and perilous. They saw and dreaded the approaching storm; but knew not how to evade it. Some of them fled to England, but found no peace there. Laud, in conjunction with other high churchmen, drove them back, "to the infinite damage of the manufactures of the kingdom," in 1634. Richelieu, in the name of Louis XIII, having, after a seven years' war, taken from the Protestants and destroyed the places that had been given them by the Edict of Nantes as pledges of their future security, they were ever after without any places of refuge, or leader, being divested of all their troops and strong holds.

*Voltaire says, The Huguenots were always quiet, until their adversaries demolished their temples: "Les Huguenots même furent toujours tranquilles jusqu' au temps où l'on demolit leurs temples." *Siecle de Louis XIV.* iii. 30.

Cardinal Richelieu died in 1642. The king died in 1643. The Protestants had greatly increased in number during this reign, though they had lost their power. They were now computed to exceed two millions.* Richelieu had at length become more favourably inclined to toleration, and had formed a project to conciliate the Protestants, and to put an end to the dangerous dissensions between them and the Catholics; but his death prevented its execution.†

Louis XIV succeeded his father. During his minority, the queen was appointed sole regent. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed by the regent in 1643, and again by the king, at his majority, in 1652. No sooner did the king take the management of affairs into his own hands, in 1661, than, following the advice of cardinal Mazarine, of his confessors, and of the clergy about him, he made a firm resolution to destroy the Protestants.‡ In prosecution of his purpose, he excluded the Calvinists from his household, and from all other employments of honour and profit; ordered all the courts of justice, erected by virtue of the Edict of Nantes, to be abolished, and, instead of them, made several laws in favour of the Catholic religion, which debarred from all liberty of abjuring

* Robinson's Memoirs. Hist. of Life and Reign of Lewis XIV, ii. 229. The device for the seal of the National Synods of the Reformed churches of France was taken from the vision of Moses, when feeding his flock under the mount of God: A bramble bush in a flaming fire, having the name of God, *JEHOVAH*, engraved in its centre, with this motto in its circumference, *Comburo non consumo*. "With this seal those venerable councils sealed all their letters and despatches:—a sacred emblem," says Quick, "of their past and present condition." Synodicon, A. D. 1692.

† M. Aignan. "Richelieu avoit formé projet de gagner les Protestans . . . il se promettoit d'effacer dans l'église et dans l'état toute trace de dangereuses dissidences: la mort vint l'arrêter a milieu de cet heureux dessein." M. Aignan, having mentioned as a well known fact, that the French Academy, founded by Richelieu, had conciliated the *litterati* of the two religions, affirms it to be not less true, but less generally known, that Richelieu had serious thoughts of separating France from Rome, by the creation of a patriarchate.

‡ M. Aignan says, the clergy, as appears from the papers of their assemblies, had the ruin of the Protestants in view from 1665 to 1685: "Le clergé, comme l'attestent les cahiers de ses assemblées, de 1665 à 1685, s'y prit de loin, par l'entremise de Louvois et de Le Tellier, pour consommer la ruine des Protestans."

the Catholic doctrine ; and restrained those Protestants, who had embraced it, from returning to their former opinions, under severe punishments. He ordered soldiers to be quartered in the houses of Protestants, until they should change their religion. He shut up their churches, and forbade the ministerial function to their clergy ; and where his commands were not readily obeyed, he levelled their churches with the ground.

Those cities, which had given the strongest proofs of their zeal and loyalty for their late king, were first assaulted. On very slight pretences, the assailants fell instantly upon Rochelle, Montauban, and Milhaud,—three towns where the professors of the Reformed religion had most distinguished themselves for the interests of the court. Rochelle was vexed “with an infinite number of proscriptions ; her best citizens driven out and exiled ; and her temple demolished. Montauban and Milhaud were sacked by soldiers.” The king, at last, on the 8th of October, 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantes, and banished the Protestants from the kingdom. In consequence of this revocation, the public exercise of the Reformed religion was entirely abolished in France ; its ministers were obliged to withdraw themselves ; their churches were pulled down ; and all the king’s subjects were obliged either to abjure, or to depart out of the kingdom ; so that, in a short time, there was no other public religion in France, but that of the Catholic church.*

Bishop Burnet was in France this very year, and witnessed the calamities that preceded, and the still more disastrous calamities that followed, the revocation. “I saw,” says the bishop, “that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in France. . . .

*Quick’s Synodicon, where this Edict of Revocation is preserved. Robinson’s Memoirs. Du Pin’s History of the Church. Histoire de l’Edit de Nantes. See NOTE III.

The king of France had been for many years weakening the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the Edict of Nantes.—M. de Louvoy, seeing the king so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which, he believed, would shorten the work, and do it effectually : which was, to let loose some bodies of dragoons, to live upon the Protestants, on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*.” The people here were thrown into such distress and terror, that, perceiving they must be either starved or imprisoned, and being only required to promise to reunite themselves to the church, and having no time for consultation, they universally complied. Their compliance so animated the court, “that the same methods were taken in most places of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphinè, where the greatest numbers of the Protestants were. Upon which the king, now resolved to go through with what had been long projected, published the edict repealing the Edict of Nantes, in which (though that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of heretics. He also promised in it, that though all the public exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly, should not be disturbed on that account, while, at the same time, not only the dragoons, but all the clergy, and the bigots of France, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury, against such as did not change upon their being required in the king’s name to be of *his* religion ; for that was the style every where.

“Men and women,” proceeds the bishop, “of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stript of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about

from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipt, and barbarously treated. Some few of the bishops and of the secular clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies, importing that they were resolved to reunite themselves to the Catholic church, and that they renounced the errors of Luther and Calvin. It must be acknowledged, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects, it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France," says the bishop, "while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I past, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where one Dherapine seemed to exceed even the furies of Inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys, and, if women, to monasteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that such of the new converts, as did not at their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcasses were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity. And it gave all people so much horreur, that, finding the ill

effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all that saw it, even with more horror than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion, did spread itself with a sort of contagion : for the intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the Regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king showed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me."

Bishop Burnet remained at Paris until the beginning of August, and then went to Italy. He staid at Rome, until he received an intimation, that it was time for him to go ; when he " returned to Marseilles, and then went through those southern provinces of France, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty."*

The retrospect of Saurin, a son of one of the Protestant refugees, and a celebrated preacher at the Hague, is at once eloquent and historical. " A thousand dreadful blows," said the preacher, " were struck at our afflicted churches, before that which destroyed them ; for our enemies, if I may use such an expression, not content with seeing our ruin, endeavoured to taste it. One while edicts were published against those, who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, August, 1669, against those, who, through their weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not

* Burnet's History of his own Time ; apud An. 1685. Referring to the Edict of Revocation, bp. Burnet says, " As far as I could judge, the affairs of England gave the last stroke" to it. In February, king James declared himself a Papist.

being able to bear the remorse of their consciences, desired to return to their first profession. One while, May, 1679, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks, who had abjured the truth. Another while, June, 1680, children of seven years of age, were allowed to embrace doctrines, which, the Church of Rome allows, are not level to the capacities of adults, June, 1681. A college was suppressed, and then a church shut up, January, 1683. Sometimes we were forbidden to convert infidels; and sometimes to confirm those in the truth, whom we had instructed from their infancy; and our pastors were forbidden to exercise their pastoral office any longer in one place than three years. Sometimes the printing of our books was prohibited, July, 1685, and sometimes those which we had printed, were taken away. One while, we were not suffered to preach in a church, September, 1685, and another while, we were punished for preaching on its ruins; and at length, we were forbidden to worship God in public at all. Now, October, 1685, we were banished; then, 1689, we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here, we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there, we beheld others, who had the courage to confess it, a haling to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here, we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified, on the one hand, with the fear of hell, if he should apostatize, and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith: yonder, they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls, than for that of their bodies or lives.”*

* Saurin, in Robinson's Memoirs. The father of Rev. JAMES SAURIN was an eminent Protestant lawyer at Nismes, who, after the Revocation of the

The exclamation of the same preacher, in another sermon on some public occasion, bewailing the miseries of his exiled countrymen, reminds us of the "Lamentations" of the prophet over Jerusalem and his captive brethren at Babylon. The apostrophe to Louis XIV is admirable. "Are our benedictions exhausted? Alas! on this joyful day can we forget our griefs? Ye happy inhabitants of these provinces, so often troubled with a recital of our afflictions, we rejoice in your prosperity; will you refuse to compassionate our misfortunes? And you, *fire-brands plucked out of the burning*, sad and venerable ruins of our unhappy churches, my dear brethren, whom the misfortunes of the times have cast on this shore, can we forget the miserable remnants of ourselves? O ye groaning captives, ye weeping priests, ye sighing virgins, ye festivals profaned, ye ways of Zion mourning, ye untrodden paths, ye sad complaints, move, O move all this assembly. *O Jerusalem, if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning. Not remember thee! Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy! O Jerusalem, peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say, peace be within thee!* May God be moved, if not with the ardor of our prayers, yet with the excess of our afflictions; if not with our misfortunes, yet with the desolation of his sanctuaries; if not with the bodies we carry all about the world, yet with the souls that are torn from us!

Edict of Nantes, retired to Geneva. His son, then at the age of ten years, went with his father into exile; and, having finished a liberal course of study, under very eminent instructors at Geneva, visited Holland and England. He staid in England nearly five years, and preached with great acceptance to his fellow exiles at London. In 1705, he returned to Holland, when a chaplainship to some of the nobility at the Hague was offered him, which he accepted. The French church at the Hague afterwards inviting him to become one of its pastors, he accepted the call, and continued in his office till his death, in 1730.

“ And thou, dreadful prince, whom I once honoured as my king, and whom I yet respect as a scourge in the hand of Almighty God, thou also shalt have a part in my good wishes. These provinces, which thou threatenest, but which the arm of the Lord protects ; this country, which thou fillest with refugees, but fugitives animated with love ; these walls, which contain a thousand martyrs of thy making, but whom religion renders victorious, all these yet resound benedictions in thy favour. God grant, the fatal bandage that hides the truth from thine eyes may fall off ! May God forget the rivers of blood, with which thou hast deluged the earth, and which thy reign hath caused to be shed ! May God blot out of his book the injuries, which thou hast done us, and, while he rewards the sufferers, may he pardon those who exposed us to suffer ! O may God, who hath made thee to us, and to the whole church, a minister of his judgments, make thee a dispenser of his favours, an administrator of his mercy ! ”*

M. Claude,† a distinguished defender of the Reformed church, referring to the “ dragoons,” who were sent to the Protestants to extort from them an abjuration, says : “ They cast some into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them, like criminals, on the rack, and poured wine

* Id. Sermons, v. 255—257.

† “ The famous Mr. Claude, pastor of the church at Charenton, near Paris, wrote a *Defence of the Reformation*, which all the clergy of France could not answer. The bishops, however, answered the Protestants all at once, by procuring an edict which forbade them to print.” Robinson. An English translation of Claude’s work was printed at London, in 4to. 1683.—Among the eminent divines and men of learning, who were ornaments to the French Reformed church in the seventeenth century, may be reckoned Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyrault, the two Cappels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Allix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausobre, Lenfant, Martin, De Vignoles, &c.

with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives; others they took by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn catholics.”

These tremendous cruelties compelled eight hundred thousand Protestants to quit the kingdom. The Protestants of other states and kingdoms opened their arms to receive them.* Abbadie, Ancillon, and others fled to Berlin; Basnage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many others, to Holland; Allix, with many of his brethren, to England; very many families, to Geneva; and no inconsiderable number, to America.

It was while the storm was bursting upon them, in the year preceding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that the Protestants of Rochelle looked towards America, for an asylum. At an earlier period, indeed, they had applied to the Massachusetts government for this purpose; and, although they did not then avail themselves of the liberty given them, they were *now* encouraged by the remembrance of it. So early as the year 1662, “John Touton, a French doctor and inhabitant of Rochel in France, made application to the court” of Massachusetts, “in behalf of himself and other protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty to inhabit there, which was readily granted to them.”† Their state, it would seem, was tolerable at that time, and they endured it; but, at the time of the revocation, it was evidently insupportable. As they drew nigh that crisis, there were harbingers of “the windy storm and tempest.” A declaration against the Protestants in 1681, was the forerunner of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.‡

*See NOTE IV.

†Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts, i. c. 2.

‡Hist. of Lewis XIV. b. 13.

In 1682, the Assembly of the clergy of France issued a "warning to the pretended Reformed," for so they styled the Huguenots, "to return to the bosom of the church."* This menace, with the portentous indications accompanying and following it, must have been sufficient to warn the Protestants of the impending danger, and to incite them to concert measures for escaping it. The asylum, which had been solicited and promised twenty years before, was again sought, and a renewed application made for it, in New England.

By a "Letter, written from Rochel, the 1st of October 1684," to some person in Massachusetts, it appears, that some Protestants in that city were robbed, their temple razed, their ministers banished, their goods confiscated, and a fine imposed; that they were not allowed to become "masters in any trade or skill;" that they were in daily expectation to have soldiers put in their houses, and their children taken from them. The writer observes, that this country, New England, was in such high estimation, that many Protestants were intending to come to it; inquires, what advantage they can have here, and particularly "the boors," who were accustomed to agriculture; and suggests, that the sending over of a ship to transport the French Protestants, would be a profitable adventure.†

* Du Pin, iv. 363. This paper is preserved in *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, v. 139—144. It is entitled, "AVERTISSEMENT PASTORAL de l' Eglise Gallicane assemblée à Paris par l' autorité du roi, à ceu de la R. P. R. pour les porter à se convertir, et à se reconcilier avec l' Eglise." Towards the close of this "warning," is this monitory sentence: "Qui si vous refusez parce que cette dernier erreur sera plus criminelle en vous que toutes les autres, vous devez vous attendre à des malheurs incomparablement plus épouvénables et plus funestes, que tous ceux que vous ont attiré jusqu' à present vôtres revolte et vôtres schisme."

† MS. An extract from this letter I discovered among the MSS. in the New England Library, collected by Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, and given by him to the Old South Church in Boston. It is now among the valuable MSS. deposited by that Church in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See APPENDIX, A.

Whether a vessel was sent, or not, we are unable to determine. The difficulty of escaping from the kingdom, by any means whatever, must have been extreme, and attended with the utmost peril. Every attempt must have been made in the very face of the edict, which prohibited a departure from the realm on the severest penalties. One of the articles of the edict of revocation was: "And we do most straitly again repeat our prohibitions unto all our subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, that neither they nor their wives nor children do depart our kingdom, countries, or lands of our dominion, nor transport their goods and effects, on pain, for men so offending, of their being sent to the gallies, and of confiscation of bodies and goods for the women."

It is certain, however, that a considerable number of Protestants by some means effected their escape from France, and came over to America; and authentic papers, in our possession, seem to imply, that their transportation and settlement were provided for by men of the first distinction in New England.

By the records of the town of Oxford, it appears, that, in the year 1682, the General Court of Massachusetts granted to Joseph Dudley, afterwards governor of the province, William Stoughton, afterwards lieutenant governor and commander in chief, major Robert Thompson, and their associates, a tract of land in the northwesterly part of the province, now known by the name of OXFORD, in the county of Worcester. This tract was "of eight miles square, and situated in the Nipmug country," so called from a tribe of Indians, of that name, in its vicinity. Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the proprietors "brought over thirty French Protestant families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said tract of land."*

* Oxford Town Records. These Records, reciting the grounds of forfeiture in 1713, say: "The said Joseph Dudley and their associates, in the year

In an original MS. "Delineation of the Town of Oxford," lying before me, it is laid out in lots in the names of the original proprietors. Between eleven and twelve thousand acres, at the east end, were "severed, granted, and sett apart for a village called Oxford, for the said Families."*

These imperfect notices are all that we have been able to discover, of the time and the manner of the transportation of the French Protestants to New England. How long they continued on their plantation, what were their occupations, and what their progress in improvements, we have not been able precisely to ascertain. It appears, however, that the united body of settlers continued ten years at least, on the plantation; that they erected fortifications upon it; that they set up a grist mill and a malt mill; that they planted vineyards and orchards—remains of which are still to be seen; and that they acquired the right of representation in the provincial legislature. Of this last fact, the public records preserve the evidence; for in the year 1693, an act was passed by the Massachusetts government, empowering Oxford to send a representative to the General Court.†

Every thing concerning this interesting colony of exiles has hitherto been learnt from tradition, with the illustrations derived from scanty records and original manuscripts. Many of these manuscripts, which are generally written in the French language, were in the possession of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, and the rest were principally procured by Mr. Sigourney for the compilation of this Memoir.‡

168, brought over 30 French Protestant families," leaving the year uncertain. The Rev. Mr. Whitney, in his History of the County of Worcester, says, it was "in the year 1686."

* See APPENDIX, B.

† Mr. Whitney, who takes a very slight notice of the French settlement in Oxford, mentions this act, as appearing "by the records in Secretary's office of the Commonwealth."

‡ Mr. ANDREW SIGOURNEY is a descendant from the first of that name, who was among the original French settlers of Oxford. To his kindness I

The oldest Manuscript that I have seen, is an original paper, containing "Articles of Agreement between Caleb Church of Watertown, mill-wright, and Gabriel Bernon of Boston, merchant," concluded in March, 1689, by which the said Church covenants and agrees to "erect a corn or grist-mill, in the village of Oxford." This instrument was sealed and delivered in presence of J. Bertrand Du [obscure.]

"THO. DUDLEY."

Church's acknowledgment of a receipt "in full following our bargain," is signed at "Boston, 4th Februarii, 168 $\frac{2}{10}$," the witnesses of which were Peter Basset and Gabriel Depont. The Paper is endorsed, "Contract de M^r. Church pour le Moulin de New Oxford."

We can clearly trace the French plantation down to the year 1696; at which time it was broken up by an incursion of the Indians. By original manuscripts, dated that year and at subsequent periods, it appears, that Gabriel Bernon, a merchant, of an ancient and respectable family in Rochelle, was undertaker for the Plantation, and expended large sums for its accommodation and improvement. An original paper in French, signed at Boston, in 1696, by the principal settlers, certifies this fact in behalf of Mr. Bernon; and subjoins a declaration, that the massacre of Mr. Johnson and of his three children by the Indians was the melancholy cause of his losses, and of the abandonment of the place.*

Upon the dispersion of the French settlers from Oxford, it appears, that many, if not most of them, came to Boston. From the distinction which many

am indebted for nearly all my materials for this part of the Memoir. After giving me every facility at Oxford, in aid of my inquiries and researches, he made a journey to Providence for the sole purpose of procuring for me the Bernon papers, which he brought to me at Cambridge. These papers were in the possession of PHILIP ALLEN, Esq. of Providence, who married into the Bernon family; and who has since indulged me with the MSS. to the extent of my wishes.

* See APPENDIX, C.

of the families attained in the metropolis, it may be fairly inferred, that they approved themselves to the citizens, whose hospitality they experienced, and to whose encouragement and patronage they must have been greatly indebted for their subsequent prosperity. They appear to have adhered to the principles, and, so far as they were able, to have maintained the institutions, of religion, according to the Reformed church in France. It was *for* their religion that they suffered in their native country ; and to enjoy its privileges, unmolested, they fled into the wilderness. While at Oxford, they enjoyed the ministrations of a French Protestant minister.* Of their religious affairs, however, we have no distinct account, until their settlement in Boston, after the Indian massacre in 1696.

It is well known that the French refugees had a church of their own in Boston, where they, for many years, attended divine service. The Rev. Peter Daillé was their first minister ; and he was highly esteemed. He was succeeded by the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, who is described as “ a worthy character.” He was the author of “ The Church History of Geneva, and a Political and Geographical Account of that Republic,” printed at Boston in 1732. By intermarriages and otherwise, it appears that, in process of time, the French families became so blended with the other inhabitants of the town, as to render a separate and distinct religious service either unnecessary, or impracticable ; for, in the life time of Mr. Le Mercier, their church was, for some years, unoccupied, and, at length, sold for the use of a new Congregational church.†

Whether the French exiles never dared to return to the plantation from which they fled in such terror and dismay, or whether they became so advantage-

* See APPENDIX, D.

† See APPENDIX, E.

ously settled in Boston as not to wish to return, or whatever were the cause, they never did, as a body, return to Oxford. Permanent inhabitation, it may be presumed, had been a condition of the grant; for the lands of that township reverted to the original proprietors. By the Records of the Town, under the date of 1713, it appears, that the French settlers had "many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said village;" that, upon public proclamation, they had refused to return; and that most of them had voluntarily surrendered their lands. The proprietors, having recited these facts, and farther stated, that "there were sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province, who offer themselves to go and resettle the said village, whereby they may be serviceable to the province, and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained," proceed to grant and convey these lands to several persons and others, their associates, "so as their number amount to thirty at least." The instrument of this conditional grant is dated the 8th of July, 1713. The requisite number of associates was obtained; and, about a year and a half after the above date, a distribution was made by lot among the thirty families.*

There are but few relics, or memorials, of the French settlement, now to be found in Oxford. Of these the most interesting are to be seen on a very high hill, which lies in the southwest part of the town, and commands a beautiful and extensive prospect. The village of Oxford beneath, and the rural scenery around, are delightful. The hill is about a mile south of that part of the village, at which is the junction of two great roads leading from Boston, one through Westborough and Sutton, and the other through Marlborough and Worcester; and, after

*See APPENDIX, F.

uniting in one at Oxford, passing through Dudley, Woodstock, Brooklyn, and other towns, to Norwich, in Connecticut. It is called Mayo's Hill, and sometimes Fort Hill, from a fort, built on its summit by the French Protestants. The farm, on which the remains of the fort are, is owned by Mr. John Mayo, whose grandfather, of Roxbury, was the original purchaser. The fort is a few rods from the dwelling house. It was evidently constructed in the regular form, with bastions, and had a well within its enclosure. Grape vines, in 1819, were growing luxuriantly along the line of the fort; and these, together with currant bushes, roses, and other shrubbery, nearly formed a hedge around it. There were some remains of an apple orchard. The currant and asparagus were still growing there. These, with the peach, were of spontaneous growth from the French plantation; but the last of the peach trees were destroyed by the memorable gale of 1815.*

Of the French refugees, who settled in the other American colonies, we have but imperfect accounts. It is well known, that many of them, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and afterwards, settled in New York, Virginia, and Carolina.†

New Rochelle, in the state of NEW YORK, was settled by French Protestant emigrants from Rochelle, in France. A French Protestant Episcopal church was founded in the city of New York by the French Huguenots, soon after the Revocation. Between these refugees and those who came to Massachusetts, it appears by the Bernon papers, there was some correspondence. The historian of New York, about the middle of the last century, says, "The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable handful. The building, which is of stone, nearly a

* See APPENDIX, G.

† See NOTE V.

square, plain both within and without. It is fenced from the street, has a steeple and a bell, the latter of which was the gift of sir Henry Ashurst of London.”* M. Pierre Antonie Albert was a rector of this church in our day. He died in 1806, in the forty-first year of his age.

In 1690, king William sent a large body of French Protestants to VIRGINIA; to whom were assigned lands on the banks of James river, which they soon improved into excellent estates.

Among the colonies in America, which reaped advantage from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, CAROLINA had a large share. Many of the French refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved to be some of its best and most industrious inhabitants. These purchasers made a settlement on Santee river; others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charlestown, and followed their different occupations. Carolina had begun to be settled but fifteen years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and these new settlers were a great acquisition to that colony.† It is worthy of remark, that, more than a century before, admiral COLIGNY had attempted a settlement of French Protestants in the territory now called Carolina, then Florida; and that, at length, under the auspices of the English, this same country became an asylum for them, as it had been originally intended by COLIGNY.

It should heighten our respect for the French emigrants, and our interest in their history, to be re-

* Smith's New York. On the front of the church is the following inscription:

ÆDES SACRA
GALLOR. PROT.
REFORM.
FVNDA. 1704.
PENITVS
REPAR. 1741.

† Smith Hist. New York. Allen's Biog. Dict. *Art.* ALBERT. Beverly's Hist. Virginia. Hewatt's S. Carolina, i. 94. Ramsay's Hist. S. Carolina, i. 10.

minded of the distinguished services which their descendants have rendered to our country, and to the cause of civil and religious liberty. Gabriel Manigault, of South Carolina, assisted this country, which had been the asylum of his parents, with a loan of \$220,000 for carrying on its revolutionary struggle for liberty and independence. "This was done at an early period of the contest, when no man was certain, whether it would terminate in a revolution or rebellion." Of the nine presidents of the old congress, which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, three were descendants of French Protestant refugees, who had emigrated to America in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These were, HENRY LAURENS, of South Carolina, JOHN JAY, of New York, and ELIAS BOUNDINOT, of New Jersey.

What became of the Protestants, who remained in France after the catastrophe of 1685, every lover of truth, every philanthropist, every friend to the Protestant church and to pure religion, must be desirous to know. To resume, then, the thread of their history :

By an edict of Louis XV, in 1724, all marriages, not celebrated by priests of the Church of Rome, are declared concubinage, and the children of such marriages, bastards. The laws of France also ordain, that before marriage the parties shall confess, and receive the Lord's supper. As Protestants could not do this without renouncing their religion, and as, since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they had been deprived of their churches ; their marriages were solemnized in the open fields, and hence called *Marriages of the Desert*.

So late as the middle of the last century, the Catholic clergy, attended by bailiffs, broke into houses in the night ; destroyed every thing ; tore children, who had reached four years of age, from the

bosoms of their parents, and placed them under the direction and government of monks; the parents being obliged to defray the charge of educating them in a religion which they detested. If children escaped, the father was forced to pay an enormous fine, or to pine away in a gloomy dungeon. From 1751 to 1753, there were many barbarous transactions in France. In 1751, the intendant of Languedoc enjoined, that all children, baptized by Protestants, should be rebaptized in the Roman church; and that the marriages of Protestants should be rendered legitimate only by the priests' subsequent blessing. Men present at religious assemblies were punished with the gallies; women, with perpetual imprisonment; preachers, with the halter. The severe laws, from which these evils arose, remained unrepealed; and the execution of them depended on the humour of bishops and intendants.

Great efforts were made to prevent emigration; yet such multitudes fled from France to avoid these persecutions, that at last the court found it necessary to restrain them; and, from about the year 1763 to the French revolution, the situation of the Protestants became more favourable. "Since that time," says Dr. Less, "the bloody laws which remain in force have not been executed. Protestants are suffered to attend their worship; and their marriages and children are acknowledged legitimate." Before the late Revolution, however, the French Protestants had no preachers, nor religious assemblies in the capital; "for as their freedom of worship rests on indulgence, in opposition to law, they venture not to violate the law, in the presence of the court." Their only public worship in Paris was in the chapel of the Dutch ambassador, where they had two preachers. "Many of the bishops," it was affirmed, "favour liberty of conscience. The present king [Louis XVI] loves his subjects, and hates persecution. The bigot-

ry of the archbishop of Paris, and of some ministers of state, is the chief hindrance of their obtaining a legal toleration ; which, by encouraging their marriages, and recalling refugees, would increase the commerce and manufactures of France, and unite the strength of the kingdom.”*

What will be the ultimate influence of the French revolution, and of the restoration of the Bourbon family to the throne of France, upon the cause of civil liberty and religious toleration, it is not for us to predict. The massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day in former time, and the massacre of the Catholics in France in our own day, present lessons to kings, alike instructive and monitory. The last I give in the first words of a Catholic historian : “ One hundred and thirty-eight bishops and archbishops, sixty-four thousand curates or vicars, driven from their sees, their parishes, for refusing to take an oath, by which they must have incurred the guilt of perjury and apostasy ; all the clergy, all the religious of both sexes robbed of the patrimony of the church, and forced from their retreats ; the temples of the Lord converted into capacious prisons for the reception of his ministers ; three hundred of his priests massacred in one day, in one city ; all the other pastors, who remained faithful to their God, either sacrificed or banished their country, seeking through a thousand dangers a refuge among foreign nations : such is the spectacle exhibited to the world by the French revolution.”†

A more easy and delightful lesson is furnished—if we may be permitted to say it—by our own country. While we reflect with gratitude on that portion of our history which shows, that it has in former time

* Lesse, State of the Protestants in France. Erskine's Sketches of Church History, ii. Nos. V. and VI.

† History of the CLERGY during the French Revolution. By the Abbé BARRUEL. “ An impious and wily philosophy had refreshed the remembrance of the history of that terrible night [St. Bartholomew] over which Religion weeps, and Humanity must shudder.” Barruel.

furnished an asylum for the persecuted Protestants, we cannot but highly estimate the constitutions and laws of our commonwealth and of the United States, which secure to all persons, of whatever nation or language, entire liberty of conscience. Nor, while we reflect on the important services which the descendants of the French refugees rendered to us, in the vindication of our liberties, can we forbear to express a wish for the recovery of theirs in the parent country. The disastrous revolution in France, which had nearly prostrated all religion with the throne and the altars, may, by an overruling Providence, be made promotive of the cause of religious liberty. We do hope in God, that the toleration, nominally afforded to Protestants in the present constitution of the French government, is the harbinger of their future freedom. Of our own free constitutions it does not become us to boast; but, while we are grateful for them, we may be allowed to express the hope, that their *tolerant* principles will be adopted by other nations, whatever may be the form of their government.*

The recent presence in our country of a native of France, who from earliest life has been a zealous and disinterested friend to rational liberty, may justly heighten our sympathies with our Protestant brethren of his nation, as well as our interest in the subject of this Memoir. M. de LA FAYETTE unites the Old world with the New—"nexus utriusque mundi." In both have his patriotic services been devoted to the cause of freedom; and in neither will the remembrance of them be ever obliterated. The half century celebration of the epoch of our liberties has been a commemoration of his virtues: and the monument, which

* "Il [France] avait sous les yeux l'exemple des Etats-Unis d' Amerique, le seul pays de la terre où fleurisse véritablement la liberté religieuse." Aignan. For a concise account of the state of the French Protestants from the XVIIth century to the year 1818, the reader is referred to a recent and valuable work, entitled, "De l' Etat des Protestans en France, depuis le XVI siècle jusqu' a nos jours, Avec des Notes Eclaircissemens Historiques; Par M. AIGNAN, de l' Académie Française. Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1818.

we are erecting in memory of our patriots and heroes, will be a memorial of him.

It is in reference to the cause of the Protestants, that the name of La Fayette is here introduced. On his return to France in 1784, after the successful termination of the American war, Congress resolved, that a letter be written to his most Christian majesty, expressive of the high sense which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the marquis de la Fayette, and recommending him to the favour and patronage of his majesty. During the year following his arrival in France, finding the minds of his countrymen greatly agitated on questions of political rights, he took part in some of their perilous discussions at once; on others, he delayed; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and on all he preserved the most entire consistency. He very soon united his efforts with those of Malesherbes to relieve the Protestants of France from disabilities, and place them on the same footing with other subjects; but the time for their freedom had not yet arrived, and his endeavours at this early period were unsuccessful. La Fayette was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against the slave trade; and he attempted to form a league against the Barbary pirates.*

While busily engaged in these interests of philanthropy, in February, 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Of this Assembly La Fayette

* The conduct of this young warrior, in returning from America with his military laurels, and espousing the cause of the oppressed in his own country, is strikingly represented by M. Aignan. The object of La Fayette and his associates, he says, was to obtain permission for the Protestants to be born, to marry, and to die. "Un jeune guerrier qui rapportait d'Amérique des lauriers avoués par la philosophie, un homme par qui toutes les nobles routes du patriotisme nous ont été frayées, M. de la Fayette, s'était concerté avec M. de Malesherbes et avec M. de Breteuil pour qu'il fût permis aux Protestans de naître, de se marier et de mourir.—Mais ces généreuses tentatives étaient prématurées. . . . Cependant l'assemblée des notables offrit bientôt à M. de la Fayette l'occasion de renouveler en faveur des Protestans ses patriotiques efforts."

was a member ; and the independent, yet temperate tone, which he held throughout its session, "gave a marked character to its deliberations." He proposed the suppression of the arbitrary and odious *lettres de cachet* : HE PROPOSED THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE PROTESTANTS.*

It was not until the reign of Louis XVI, under the ministry of Malesherbes, that the government discovered any disposition to alter the law which respected those who were called "Non-Catholics." In 1787, Rabaut de St. Etienne, a Protestant minister, was at Paris. Supposing that something might then be effected in the relaxation of the laws against the Protestants, he applied to the ministry, and received a favourable answer. He was soon after invited, and received in public, as a Protestant clergyman ; and obtained an edict favourable to the Protestants. Upon this acknowledgment of the Reformed church, an immense number ranged themselves under its banners. Nearly a million of people came forward to profess their faith, and to register before the local governments the baptisms and marriages, which had been secretly performed. At the meeting of the States General, in 1789, some Protestants were returned as representatives ; and a decree was passed, that no one should be interrupted in his religious opinions, if the manifestation of them did not break in upon the public peace ; and soon after, all Non-Catholics were permitted to hold civil and military employments in common with other citizens. In 1790, that portion of the confiscated property of Protestants, which had

* North American Review, 1825, Art. LAFAYETTE. Aignan. In 1784, La Fayette was at Nismes, where resided Paul Rabaut, a minister, considered as at the head of the Protestants, father of Rabaut de St. Etienne. How sublime the *Dimittis* of this venerable old man, embracing the friend of Washington and cheered with the hope of Protestant Liberty, when contrasted with that of the ferocious Tellier, on sealing the Edict for its extinction, a century before ! "Le vieillard touchait au terme d'une vie orageuse ; il embrassa comme un sauveur l'ami de Washington, et prononça dans ses bras un *Nunc dimittis* expiatoire de celui du féroce Le Tellier."

remained unsold after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the hands of the government, was restored to the heirs of the former possessors.

The government of the National Assembly, which assumed the authority in 1792, declared itself hostile alike to all ministers, who would not disavow the principles of their own profession, and assist in establishing an atheistical system, and partake in the acts of that age of terror.

It was not until 1802, that Christianity could be said to be publicly recognised by the government of France. It was in the consulate of Bonaparte, that the churches were repaired, and religion publicly re-established. Upon reports on this subject, presented by his direction to the different members of the state, was founded a religious establishment, which, while it gave to the Catholics a pre-eminence in the state, afforded to the Protestants a free worship and equal political rights. At that time the dominion of France extended far beyond the limits of the old, or of the present government. It included a vast population of Protestants, principally of the Confession of Augsburg, and also of the Reformed church, belonging to the city of Geneva, and the vallies of Piedmont. In the registry made of the ministers in the empire, it was found that there were 557 attached to the Reformed, and 481 to the Lutheran church, in all 1038 ministers of the two communions; to both of which the same privileges were secured. During the reign of Bonaparte, many of the old and dilapidated churches, which had belonged to Catholics before the Revolution, were given for the Reformed worship; and, as numbers were gathered into this communion, principally from the scattered remains of those which had survived the persecution to which the church had been subjected, new ministers were appointed and paid by the government. The number of these, both in France, and in other parts formerly dependent

upon it, but now separated from it, is stated to have very much increased since the year 1802. No other change of importance has occurred in the situation or circumstances of the Reformed church since the time of Bonaparte. The provisions that had been adopted for its support and security, were included in those fundamental laws, which formed what is called the *Charter*, and which were solemnly recognised when the Bourbons reascended the throne.

There are several circumstances in the present condition of the French Protestant church, which afford an encouraging prospect of its increase and improvement. These are: Its comparative toleration by law; the increasing distribution, within it, of the Word of God; the soundness of its institutions; the large number of its ministers; the extension of its adherents over the whole kingdom—amounting, it is supposed, to upwards of a million; and the influence of Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies.* If the reign of the present king of France shall be as distinguished by justice, as the reign of the king, whose name he has assumed, was by cruelty, to the Protestants; the memory of Charles Xth will be perpetuated with glory. Should the hopes of our French Protestant brethren be not fulfilled; if the fiery ordeal must again be passed; our prayer for them is, that they may have the “good will of HIM who dwelt in the-bush,” and that, with the faith of their forefathers, they may resume their seal, with its appropriate motto, I BURN, I AM NOT CONSUMED.

*“History, present Condition, and Prospects of the French Protestant Church,” in the Christian Observer, vol. xxv, for the year 1825.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

NOTE I. p. 13.

MASSACRE AT PARIS, 1572.

A RESPECTABLE German, who visited Rome about the middle of the last century, describing the paintings in one of the apartments of the Vatican, says: "Here is also Vasari's piece of the perfidious massacre of Paris; which has its name from St. Bartholomew's day, on which it was perpetrated. Formerly these words were inscribed under it: *Strages Hugonotorum*, 'The slaughter of the Hugonots;' and on the other side: *Necem Coligni Rex probat*, 'The king approves of killing Coligni.' But Rome itself seems to be ashamed of that execrable inhuman procedure; this inscription having some years ago been covered with a little gilded border. This, however, will remain in history as an indelible blot on Gregory the Thirteenth's character, namely, that he applauded those bloody nuptials of Henry of Navarre, by a medal he caused to be struck, which on one side had this legend: *Ugonottorum Strages*. Under a smaller picture (near that mentioned above) where the wounded admiral is carried along, these words are still legible: *Caspar Colignius Amiralus accepto vulnere domum defertur. Gregorio XIII. Pontif. Max. MDLXXII*. Over against this is a person half naked, which was without doubt intended for Henry IV. of France, in a submissive posture before the pope. Some of the inscription under this picture has likewise been erased; all that remains of it now is,

"*Gregor . . . Ecclesia . . . supplicem et penitentem absolvit.*"

Travels through Germany, Italy, &c. By J. G. Keyser, F. R. S. Lond. From the German, Lond. 1757, v. ii. *Art. ROME*.—Medals were struck, having on one side the king sitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with the motto, *Virtus in rebelles*; and on the reverse, the arms of France crowned between two columns, and *Pietas excitavit Justiciam 24 Augusti 1572*. There is a print of this medal in P. Daniel, tom. viii. 786.

NOTE II. p. 16.

ABSOLUTION OF KING HENRY IV.

Keyser observed, at Rome, a memorial of the absolution of Henry IV. During the ceremony, the staff in the hands of the

pope was used in a very uncourteous manner upon the shoulders of the king's representatives, and of the cardinals du Perron and d' Ossat, "who were kneeling at his feet." Though cardinal d' Ossat often repeated, "that nothing passed in the absolution in the least derogatory to the king's prerogative, few impartial readers will take his word for it. His delay in sending an account of this singular circumstance betrays some fears of the censures that might be passed on it; and that he would have been much better pleased, if it could have been entirely concealed from the *French*. It was, however, publicly known in France, with all its ignominious circumstances, before the papal court had published the narrative of this extraordinary absolution.

"In the area before the church of St. Anthony is a cross of oriental granite, with a crucifix of brass on it; and at its side the Virgin Mary, of the same metal, under a canopy supported by four granite pillars. This is a memorial of the mass celebrated in this church by Clement VIII, on the conversion of Henry IV, king of France, to the Romish religion. On the pedestal of this pillar there was formerly this inscription:

D. O. M.
Clemente VIII. Pont. Max.
Ad memoriam absolutionis
Henrici IV. Franc. et Navarr.
Regis Christianissimi.
Q. F. R. D. xv. Kal. Octobris.
MDXCV.

But about twelve years since it has been thought fit to erase this inscription." Keysler, *ut supra*.

An oration was pronounced at Rome before pope Gregory XIII, by Antony Muretus, in praise of Charles IX, in which he blesses that memorable night in which this accursed slaughter was committed; extols the king, the queen-mother, and the brethren of the king, for the share they had in this execrable work; and calls the pope himself *most blessed Father*, for his going in procession to return thanks to God and St. Lewis for the welcome news when brought to him.*

* "O noctem illam memorabilem, et in fastis eximie alicujus notae adjec-tione signandam! . . . Qua quidem nocte stellas equidem solito nitidius arbi-tror, et flumen Sequanam majores undas volvisse, quo illa impurorum homi-num cadavera evolveret et exoneraret in mare. O felicissimam mulierem Catharinam regis matrem, quæ cum tot annos admirabili prudentia parique sollicitudine regnum filio, filium regno conservasset, tum demum secura regnantem filium adspexit! O regis fratres, ipsos quoque beatos!—O diem denique illum plenum letitiæ et hilaritatis, quo tu, Beatissime Pater, hoc ad te nuncio allato, Deo immortalis, et Divo Hludovico regi, cujus hæc in ipso pervigilio evenerant, gratias acturus. . . . Quis autem optabilior ad te nuncius adferri poterat? aut nos ipsi quid felicius optare poteramus principium pon-tificatus tui?"

NOTE III. p. 20.

EDICT OF REVOCATION, 1685.

Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passees en France avant et apres sa publication à l'occasion de la diversité des Religions; et principalement les Contraventions, Inexecutions, Chicanes, Artifices, Violences, et autres Injustices, que les Reformez y ont souffertes jusques à l'EDIT DE REVOCATION, en Octobre 1685. Avec ce qui a suivi ce nouvel Edit jusques à present. 5 vols. 4to. Printed at Delft, 1695. In this History, a copy of the original is inserted, entitled, "Edit du Roi, qui revoque celui de Nantes, et tente ce qui s'est fait en consequence, et defend tout tous exercice public de la Rel. P. R. dans le Royame."—At the close of the Edict: "Donné à Fontainebleau au mois d'Octobre, l'an de grace 1685, et de nôtre regne le 43. Signe, LOUIS. Et a côté: Et sur le repli visa, LE TELLIER. Et a côté: Par le Roi, COLBERT. Et sealées du grand Seau, de cire verte, sur lacs de soye rouge et verte." The author of this "Histoire" demonstrates, that the Edict of Nantes was to be irrevocable, and ought to have been perpetual. Le Tellier, the high chancellor of France, expressed extreme joy when he put the seal to the Edict of its Revocation. But it was the last act of his life; "for no sooner did he return from Fontainebleau to his own house, but he fell sick, and died in a few days."—Quick's Synodicon. Voltaire recites the fact, and makes this just reflection; that he knew not he had sealed one of the greatest evils of France: "Le vieux chancelier le Tellier, en signant l'edit s'écria, plein de joie: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* Il ne savait pas qu'il signait un des grands malheurs de la France."—Siecle de Louis XIV, ch. 36. Dr. Maclaine observes, that some late hireling writers, employed by the Jesuits, have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the *Revocation* of the Edict of Nantes; but that, to the honour of the French nation, those impotent attempts to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood, have been treated almost universally at Paris with indignation and contempt. NOTE to his Translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. v. 354. But at what time he made this observation does not appear. The first edition of his Translation is dated "Hague, Dec. 4, 1764;" my copy is "London, 1803." Dr. Maclaine was pastor of the English church at the Hague, where he married the daughter of Mr. Chais, the minister of the French Protestant church. He continued at the Hague till the troubles of 1796, when he went over to England, and retired to Bath, where he died in 1804. For a true state of the losses which the French nation sustained by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we are referred to "État de la France,

extrait par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers des Memoires dressée par les Intendans du Royaume, par l'ordre du Roi Louis XIV, à la sollicitacion du duc de Bourgogne :” and, for an account of the conduct of the French court towards the Protestants at that dismal period, to the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, “Plaintes des Protestans de France.”

NOTE IV. p. 27.

FRENCH REFUGEES, 1685.

The number of exiles, or refugees, is variously stated by different historians. Hume says, “Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom.—Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England.” Hist. Eng. c. 70. One hundred and fifty of the exiled ministers went to London. Voltaire says, one of the suburbs of London was entirely peopled with French workers in silk. It is an observation of Robinson: “Had England derived no more advantage from its hospitality to the refugees than the silk manufacture, 1698, it would have amply repaid the nation.” To the honour of the English government and people, they have always been hospitable and generous to distressed Protestants. Even in the reign of king James the Second, large collections were made for the French refugees; and at the Revolution, William and Mary, who, while they were the prince and princess of Orange, had been bright examples for that charity, were distinguished for it after they became monarchs of Britain. At king William’s accession, the parliament voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling annually to be distributed among such of the French fugitives, as either were persons of quality, or were, through age or otherwise, unable to support themselves. To the French refugees, Anderson says, England owes the improvement of several of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, linen, paper, glass, and hats; the silks, called alamodes and lustrings, were entirely owing to them; also brocades, satins, and other silk fabrics, and black velvets; also watches, cutlery ware, clocks, surgeons’ instruments, &c.

An account of the truly Christian reception of the French refugees at Geneva, and in the electorate of Brandebourg, may be found in Le Mercier’s Church History of Geneva, and “Histoire de l’Etablissement des François Refugiez dans les Etats de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg;” Berlin, 1690. The prompt and liberal measures of the elector Frederick William, in behalf of the refugees, entitle him to the high commendations, bestowed

upon him in the last named work. He instantly provided not merely for the safety of their persons, but for the supply of their wants. By the XIth article of the edict passed by his electoral highness in the same month of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (29 Oct. 1685), it is declared, that they shall have the exercise of their religion, according to the customs and with the same ceremonies which had been practised among them in France: "Que les François feront l' exercice de leur Religion, selon les coûtumes et avec les mêmes cérémonies qui se sont pratiquées parmi eux en France." They were even invited into his electorate: "Il les apellez et a pourvú à leurs besoins." Anderson says, "The great elector William allowed them a yearly pension of forty thousand crowns." The author of "Histoire de la Republique des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas" says, England, the United Provinces, the elector of Brandebourg, and the landgrave of Hesse, signalized themselves among all the Protestants by their great efforts to receive an immense number of people [une infinité de gens] who had taken refuge among them in this extremity, iv. 381. The two first kings of Prussia caused collections to be made for them throughout their dominions; settled stipends on their clergy; built them churches; and granted them immunities from taxes and offices. These wise and liberal princes even placed their agents on the confines of France for conducting the refugees to Brandebourg, "bearing their expenses all the way." The States General of the United Provinces settled a fund for an incredible number of pensions to military officers, gentlemen, and ministers, and for supplies to virgins and ladies of quality. Great sums were also raised for supporting their poor, for whom liberal collections were made in all their towns and villages; and the prince and princess of Orange were eminently exemplary in this office of Christian charity. Hist de l' Edit de Nantes. Anderson Hist. Commerce. Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. The Jesuit historian Petavius extols the humanity of the foreign Protestants on this occasion. "Protestantes certatim diffugere incipiebant. Sed rex, solitudinem regni metuens, ne quis discederet, sub gravissima pœna prohibuit. Vel sic tamen multa hominum millia subdlexerunt, qui ab Protestantibus exteris summa cum humanitate excepti et adjuti sunt." Rat. Temporum, A. D. 1672—1688.

The "strict and cordial union" between the French and Dutch churches, in faith and discipline, must have had a kindly influence in favour of the refugees. These churches mutually signed their confessions and discipline at the National Synod at Vitré in Brittany, in 1583; and for some time sent their deputies reciprocally to their National Synods. In 1618, the French deputies, Chamier, Du Moulin, Chauve, and Rivet, were on their way to the Synod of Dort; but "they were frighted back again by a prohibition issued out against them by the king then reigning,

Louis XIII. These National Synods paid a very great deference to the church, pastors, and professors of Geneva, and embraced their councils." Quick's Synodicon, i *Introd.* and 143. Synod XII. Quick says, Calvin first drew up the confession of the French Protestant church.

The effect of the Revocation was felt, in its greatest severity, by the Protestant ministers. On the same day that the Edict was registered (Oct. 23), they began to throw down the temple of Charenton. The oldest minister of the Reformed church was commanded to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and immediately to depart the kingdom. "This was that excellent minister of God, M. Claude, who afterward died at the Hague. His colleagues met with a little better treatment; for they had forty-eight hours given them to quit Paris, and upon their parole for so doing, they were left to shift for themselves. Accordingly," says Quick, "Monsieur Maynard, Allix, and Bertau, came for England, and are here exercising their ministry [1692].—The rest of the ministers were allowed fifteen days for their departure; but it can hardly be believed to what cruelties and vexations they were exposed. . . . There was hardly any kind of deceit, and injustice, and troubles, in which these worthy ministers of Christ were not involved. And yet," adds the English historian, "through rich mercy, very few revolted; the far greatest number of them escaped, either into England, Holland, Germany, or Switzerland; yea, and some are now settled in New England." Synodicon, *Introd.* § 52.

NOTE V. p. 34.

FRENCH FAMILIES THAT CAME TO AMERICA.

BAUDOIN. The ancestors of the Bowdoins were Protestants, inhabitants of Rochelle, in France. They were of honourable descent, and possessed a fair inheritance there. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Pierre Baudouin, who is said to have been a physician at Rochelle, fled from France to Ireland, and soon after came thence to America. An original letter in French, of his writing, dated "at Casco," 2 Aug. 1687, is in the possession of James Bowdoin, Esq. of Boston, one of his descendants, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Pierre Baudouin came first to Casco bay, where this letter was dated. He writes, that his family with him consists of ten persons. He was the grandfather of governor Bowdoin, whose name is distinguished in the annals of New England. The ancestor, in the letter abovementioned, wrote his name Baudouin; but, like many other French names, it was afterwards changed. The father of the

late governor Bowdoin, who was an eminent merchant, was born in France, and probably accompanied his father Pierre to America. He removed from Falmouth (Casco bay), now Portland, to Boston, in 1690. "By his industry, economy, and integrity, he accumulated a very ample fortune; and possessed so much of the esteem and respect of his fellow citizens, that he was chosen a member of the council for several years before his death." His son James was educated at Harvard college, of which he was a bright ornament, and a liberal benefactor. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was formed under his influence. He was its first President; and "A Philosophical Discourse," delivered at his induction into office, is printed in the first volume of the memoirs of the Academy. To this institution he bequeathed one hundred pounds, and his valuable library. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the university of Edinburgh and was elected a member of the royal societies of London and Dublin. He was governor of Massachusetts in the years 1785, and 1786; and died in 1790, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His character is given in Dr. Thacher's funeral sermon, Judge Lowell's eulogy, inserted in the memoirs of the American Academy, and Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries.—Governor Bowdoin left one son, the late honourable James Bowdoin, and one daughter, the lady of sir John Temple, late consul general of Great Britain to the United States. The son, who was minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, and a distinguished benefactor to Bowdoin college in Maine, died 25 October, 1811. At his decease, an eulogy was delivered by Rev. William Jenks, then a professor of the oriental languages at Bowdoin college.

The name of *Baudouin* repeatedly occurs in French history. At the time of the synod of Castres, A. D. 1626, Sebastian Baudouin was a pastor of one of the Reformed churches in the Colloguy of St. John d' Angely. At the time of the Synod of Alanson, 1637, John Boudouins was a pastor of one of the Reformed churches in the Colloguy of Caux. Quick's Synodicon, ii 234, 383. François Baudouin, an eminent advocate, is mentioned by Fleury, as conducting with great integrity, in refusing to give counsel to the duke of Anjou, to justify the St. Bartholomew massacre. "Le duc d'Anjou, encore plus intéresse que le roi à justifier la saint Barthelemi, voulut employer le secours et la plume du célèbre jurisconsulte François Baudouin, qui étant passé en Allemagne, avoit enseigné le droit dans les plus célèbres universités; mais Baudouin, qui détestoit véritablement cette action, s'excusa . . . conduite digne d'un homme de bien." . . . Histoire Ecclésiastique, xxiii. 562. A. D. 1572. The first version of Davila into French was by I. Baudouin, a native of France, in 2 volumes folio, 1642; for which cardinal Richelieu, then prime minister of that kingdom, promised him a pension of 12,000 crowns, but died the December following, "before he had per-

formed it." Davila, i. p. v. In the "liste" of persecuted French Protestants, in 1685, 1686, &c. preserved in *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, is "Baudoin . . . tuez."

BERNON. Gabriel Bernon was undertaker for the plantation at Oxford. See APPENDIX, E. This name is mentioned by Baron La Hontan, as of Rochelle. "The merchant that has carried on the greatest trade in Canada, is the Sieur Samuel Bernon, of Rochel, who has great ware-houses at Quebec, from which the inhabitants of the other towns are supplied with such commodities as they want. It is true, there are some merchants at Quebec who are moderately rich, and fit out ships upon their own bottom, that ply to and again between France and Canada; and these merchants have their correspondents at Rochel, who send out and take in every year the cargoes of their ships."—La Hontan was at Quebec in 1683, and left Canada for France in 1692. In his *Account of the Government of Canada*, subjoined to his *Voyages*, he makes the following remarks upon the wretched policy of the late measures of his government. "I wonder, that instead of banishing the Protestants out of France, who, in removing to the countries of our enemies, have done so much damage to the kingdom, by carrying their money along with them, and setting up manufactories in those countries—I wonder, that the court did not think it more proper to transport them to Canada. I am convinced, that, if they had received positive assurances of enjoying a liberty of conscience, a great many of them would have made no scruple to go thither. . . . If the Council of State had followed my scheme, in the space of thirty or forty years, New France would have become a finer and more flourishing kingdom than several others in Europe." *New Voyages to America*, written in French by the baron La Hontan, lord lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia in Newfoundland. i. 255, 268, 269.

BOUDINOT. This name appears in the memoirs of Oxford. See APPENDIX. It appears, that a family of this name came to Boston; but it probably removed to New York, or one of the middle colonies. The late Elias Boudinot, LL. D. whose memory is precious to our churches and country, was born in Philadelphia. He was a descendant of one of the Protestants, who, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from France to America. In 1777, he was chosen a member of congress; of which, in 1782, he was chosen president. On quitting his station in congress, of which he continued a member six years after the adoption of the Federal constitution, he was appointed by president Washington director of the national mint. After remaining twelve or fourteen years in this office, always acting in it with ability and exemplary fidelity, he resigned it, and withdrew into private life, and spent the remainder of his days at Burlington, New Jersey. He was a distinguished benefactor to the college of New Jersey, of which he was a trustee; and to the Presbyterian church, of

which he was a member. He made a donation of lands to the general assembly of the Presbyterian church; and left a testamentary donation for the theological seminary at Princeton, and for missionary purposes. He extended his beneficence to foreign missions; to institutions for the relief of the deaf and dumb; to the society for colonizing and Christianizing the Jews; to several societies for educating youth for the ministry; and to many other pious and humane associations. He is considered as the father of the American Bible Society, to whose funds he made the most liberal donations. Of this important society he was chosen the first president, and he continued in that office until his death. He died at Burlington in 1821, in the 82d year of his age.

In Quick's Synodicon, "Monsieur Elias Boutonnet, a merchant of Marans near Rochell," is mentioned, among other Protestants, as "martyred by these bloody miscreants."

DAILLE. The Rev. Peter Daillé was a minister of the French Protestant church in Boston. Among the churches and ministers in New England in 1696, Dr. C. Mather mentions, as of Boston, "a French congregation of Protestant Refugees, under the pastoral care of Monsieur Daillé." His name, with the addition of "ministre," appears in the French paper (1696), inserted in the Appendix, C. In the Bernon [MSS. ib. E.] there is a letter from M. Daillé dated at Boston, 11 April, 1707. M. Daillé continued to be pastor of this church till his death, 1715. He was "a person of great piety, charity, affable and courteous behaviour, and of an exemplary life and conversation: much lamented, especially by his flock. By his will he required, that his body should be "decently interred" according to the discretion of his executor, Mr. James Bowdoin, with this restriction, that there be no wine at his funeral, and no mourning to his wife's relations, except gloves. All the ministers of the town, together with Mr. Walter, are presented with gloves and scarves. His books are given to form a library for the church; £100 for the benefit of the minister, and £10 to be put to interest, until the church should erect a meeting-house, when it was to be appropriated towards the expenses of the same. He remembers his brother 'Paul Daille Vaugelade in Amsfort in Holland,' and signs himself *Daille*, omitting his baptismal name of Peter.—History of Boston, 201. He died in 1715, and was interred in the Granary burying yard in Boston. His grave is nearly in the centre of the yard; and from its headstone I copied the following epitaph:

Here lies ye Body of ye
Reverend Mr. Peter Daille
Minister of the French Church in Boston,
Died ye 21st of May 1715
In the 67 year of his Age.

Near his own grave is that of his wife, with this inscription on her grave stone :

Seyre Daille
Wife to ye Reverend Mr. Peter Daille
Aged about 60.*

Around these graves are many others, apparently French : Basset, Mian, Garrett, Paliere, Sabin, Berrey, &c. The Franklins lie buried near them. Three paces distant from M. Daille's grave is that of Josiah Franklin, the father of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, inscribed,

J. F. born 1655. d. 1744.

A. F. b. 1667. d. 1752.

The name of Daillé appears in the history of the French Reformed church. In 1660, M. Daillé, then pastor of the church at Paris, was moderator of the synod at Loudun. He was a most learned and eloquent preacher, and a very respectable author. His "Right use of the Fathers" was translated into English, and highly valued.

FANEUIL. The family of Faneuil was among the French Huguenots that fled from France to America, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The house in Boston, now occupied by the honourable William Phillips (late lieutenant governor), was built by Andrew Faneuil; and the summer-house attached to it bears a grasshopper vane, similar to that on Faneuil hall. After Andrew's death, Peter Faneuil lived and died there. In 1740, Peter Faneuil, Esq. made an offer to build, at his own expense, a complete edifice on the town's land in Dock square, "to be improved for a market, for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the town, provided that the town would pass a vote authorizing it, and lay the same under such proper regulations as should be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use." A vote of thanks to Mr. Faneuil was immediately passed. The work was commenced in September of that year, and finished 10 September 1742, on which day the key of the house was delivered to the selectmen by his order. The thanks of the town were given him by a vote at a town meeting, 13 September, 1742. After a pertinent preamble, specifying the donation of Mr. Faneuil, and the great accommodations which it furnished for a market place, 'a spacious and most beautiful town hall, over it, and several other convenient rooms,' it was voted, "That the town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and noble benefaction;" and a committee was appointed to wait upon Peter Faneuil esq. and in the name of the town, to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers, that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing."

*By a letter of G. Bernon it appears, that she died in 1696.

It was also voted, that, in testimony of the town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil esq. that the hall over the market place be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter, be called and known by that name. And as a further testimony of respect, it was voted, that Mr. Faneuil's picture be drawn at full length, at the expense of the town, and placed in the hall. It was accordingly placed there, but did not escape the ravages of the revolution. This and the portraits of general Conway, and colonel Barre, it is supposed, were carried off by the British. Another portrait of Mr. Faneuil has been placed in the hall, and now remains there, surrounded by portraits of Hancock, Adams, and the most distinguished revolutionary patriots and heroes. Faneuil hall has been emphatically called "The Cradle of Liberty." The building is of brick, two stories high, and measuring 100 feet by 40. "It was esteemed one of the best pieces of workmanship, and an ornament to the town. The hall would contain 1000 persons; there were convenient apartments for the offices of the town, besides a room for a naval office, and a notary publick."

Mr. Faneuil died suddenly, 3 March, 1743; and at the next meeting of the inhabitants in the hall, 14 March, a funeral oration was delivered by Mr. John Lovell, master of the south grammar school. As the first specimen of eloquence uttered in the hall, and as a tribute due to the memory of Faneuil, this oration, "a precious relic," is inserted in the History of Boston.

HUGER. This was a French Protestant family. The name of Francis K. Huger, of Charleston, S. C. son of a patriot of the American revolution, is memorable for the daring and adventurous effort which he made while in Austria, in conjunction with Dr. Bollman, a Hanoverian, to liberate La Fayette from the dungeon of Olmütz. See a well written and very interesting Memoir of La Fayette in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January 1825.

JAY. The honourable John Jay, a descendant from the French Protestant refugees, was one of the commissioners for the treaties of peace with Great Britain, and other European powers at the close of the revolutionary war; and sole commissioner for the treaty with Great Britain in 1795. He has sustained the offices of governor of the state of New York, and of chief justice of the United States. Although he has lived many years in retirement, he has taken such an interest in the greatest work of Christian benevolence which distinguishes our age, that, on the death of the hon. Elias Boudinot, he was chosen president of the American Bible Society. "The memory of these illustrious men is embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen."* Mr. Jay still lives—"Familiaæ præsidium, et columen Reipublicæ."

* Address of Governor Clinton to the American Bible Society, in the absence of the President, 1825.

A person of this name, Guy Michel le Jay, was an advocate of the parliament of Paris. He printed, at his own expense, a beautiful Polyglott Bible, in 10 volumes folio, containing the Syriac and Arabic versions, which are not inserted in the Polyglott of Ximenes. He died in 1675.

LAURENS. The ancestors of Henry Laurens were French Protestant refugees. They first settled in New York; but afterwards removed to Charleston, South Carolina. This descendant was an ornament to his family, and to his adopted country. He was one of the first presidents of Congress. His eminent character, his services and sacrifices in the cause of freedom, are well known; as well as the valour and patriotism of his son, colonel John Laurens, who was killed in a skirmish just at the close of the revolutionary war. The characters of both are faithfully delineated by Dr. Ramsay, in his History of South Carolina. The same historian has given, in an interesting and instructive volume, "Memoirs of the Life of MARTHA LAURENS RAMSAY, the wife of the biographer; a work, which presents an example of intellectual improvement, of polite accomplishments, and of Christian virtues and graces, worthy of the imitation of her sex. Mrs. Ramsay was the daughter of Henry Laurens. "By the father's side, she was of French extraction. Her great grandparents were born in Rochelle, and suffered in the famous siege of that place." They were Huguenots, or Protestants. Compelled by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to leave their native country, they came to America in the latter part of the 17th century."

The name of Laurens appears in the History of the French Protestant Church. in 1620. The National Synod of Alez, that year, out of sums due to the Synod, ordered £300 to be paid "to Monsieur *Laurens*, pastor of la Bastide in Vivaretz." Quick's Synodicon, ii. 69.

MANIGAULT. Gabriel Manigault, of South Carolina, was born in 1784. Both his parents were French Protestant refugees, who came to America soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Their son was distinguished for his integrity and benevolence. "He generally had pensioners, who received his bounty at stated periods." In the course of a long and useful life he acquired a large fortune. At his death, he left to the South Carolina Society of Charleston a legacy of £5000 sterling; from the interest of which the society has been enabled to add very considerably to the number of children educated on its bounty. He was treasurer of the province; and for some time a representative of Charleston in the provincial house of commons. "Being descended from French parents, he was by birth a member of the Calvinistic church in Charleston, of which he was always a most zealous supporter; yet he was a steady communicant and regular attendant on divine service in St. Philip's church." It was this man, who, at the commencement of the

American war, made the generous loan to the state of South Carolina. Peter Manigault, the only child of Gabriel Manigault, was distinguished for his zeal and patriotism, his scholarship and eloquence. He died in 1773, the year when the tea was destroyed at Boston. A letter written in French by Judith Manigault, the wife of the first Peter Manigault, "the worthy founders of the family of that name," is preserved in an English translation in Ramsay's History of South Carolina; and it gives an affecting description of the sufferings of the refugees. This lady left France, and embarked for Carolina by the way of London, when she was about twenty years old, in the year 1685, and arrived at Carolina the following year. She died in 1711, seven years after the birth of her son Gabriel.

MARION. This is among the names of respectable families of French refugees in South Carolina. The first emigrants of this family settled on Cooper river, near Charleston, whence the father of general Marion removed to the vicinity of Georgetown, where he resided, "occupied in cultivating his plantation," during the remainder of his life. Francis Marion was a colonel in the regular service, in the revolutionary war; and a brigadier in the militia of South Carolina. He assisted at the battle of Sullivan's Island, in 1776. In 1780, he received the commission of brigadier general. After performing many gallant and successful enterprises, at the head of a small corps, he joined the main army under general Greene, a short time before the battle of Eutaw Springs, and received the thanks of Congress for his intrepid conduct in that action. After the British evacuated Charleston, he retired to his plantation, where he resided until his death. Of the partizan officers he was one of the ablest, and one of the most successful. He seldom failed of taking his enemy, and almost always effected his purpose by surprise. "His courage was the boldest, his movements were the most rapid, his discipline was severe, and his humanity, the most exemplary." He died in February, 1795, "leaving behind him an indisputable title to the first rank among the patriots and soldiers of our revolution."

PRIOLEAU. The Rev. Elias Prioleau, "the founder of the eminently respectable family of that name," came from France to America soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought with him a considerable part of his Protestant congregation. He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli, who was elected doge of Venice in the year 1618. Samuel Prioleau was among the citizens of Charleston, who, in 1780, were "shipped off for St. Augustine," for refusing to become subjects of Great Britain. Thomas G. Prioleau, M. D. is a professor in the medical college of South Carolina.

Benjamin Priolo, born of a noble family in Venice, was author of a good Latin history of France, from the death of Louis XIII, 1643 to 1664.

Dr. Ramsay records the following names of French Protestants, who, soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came to Carolina, and were heads of respectable families there :

Bonneau	Dutarque	Guerin	Neufville
Bounebeau	De la Consiliere	Gourdine	Prioleau
Bordeaux	De Leiseline	Horry	Peronneau
Benoist	Doux saint	Huger	Perdriau
Boiseau	Du Pont	Jeannerette	Porcher
Bocquet	Du Bourdieu	Legare	Postell
Bacot	D' Harriette	Laurens	Peyre
Chevalier	Faucheraud	La Roche	Poyas
Cordes	Foissin	Lenud	Ravenel
Couterier	Faysoux	Lansac	Royer
Chastaignier	Gaillard	Marion	Simons
Dupre	Gendron	Mazyck	Sarazin
Delysle	Gignilliat	Manigault*	St. Julien
Dubose	Guerard	Mellichamp	Serre
Dubois	Godin	Mouzon	Trezevant.
Deveaux	Girardeau	Michau	

We regret, that more justice cannot be here rendered to those, to whom it is due. An account of all the communities, and distinguished individuals, of the French Protestants, that have settled in our country, and contributed to its population and prosperity, is very desirable. Lawson, who came to America in the year 1700, and was in Carolina eight years, says, in reference to Charlestown: "There is likewise a *French* church in town, of the Reformed religion." Of the French who first settled at James river, he says: "Most of the French who lived at that town [Mannakin] on James river, are removed to Trent river in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in August, 1708."—That respectable individuals and families of French Protestants, in the United States, are not mentioned in this Memoir, is not doubted. It should be remembered, that no distinct history of them, within the writer's knowledge, has ever appeared; and that this article for the Historical Collections was originally intended solely for the French-settlers of OXFORD. We indulge the hope, that the very respectable writers in VIRGINIA and the CAROLINAS, and the assiduity of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, to which our literary Republic is already so much indebted, will, in due time, give us the history of the French Protestants in their respective States. I cannot close this Note without adding, from an obliging correspondent: "My useful and highly respectable friend John Pintard is a descendant from the Huguenots." It is a pleasure to me to subjoin, that JOHN PINTARD, Esq. is Recording Secretary of the New York Historical Society. *Etsi non prosunt singula, juncta juvent.*

☞ Page 49. The number of P. Baudouin's family, I find, was *six*: "Pierre Baudouin—et sa famille qui sont au nombre de six." The copyist, whom I followed, probably read it *dix*. The hand writing of P. Boudouin's letter, though perfectly French in its appearance, is remarkably good.

* Page 55. G. Manigault was born in 1704.

APPENDIX.

[Many words in this Appendix are incorrectly spelt. It will be remembered, that the articles containing them are taken from MSS. chiefly original, written by persons, all of whom were very imperfectly acquainted with our language, and some of whom, unless their language was provincial, appear to have forgotten their own. For deciphering some of the most obscure French words, I am indebted to the kind assistance of FRANCIS SALES, Esq. Instructor of the Spanish and French languages in our University; also, for M. Aignan's History of the Protestants.]

A.

[Page 28.]

An Abridgement of the Afflictions of the French Protestants, and also their Petition, extracted from a Letter written from Rochel, the 1st of October, 1684.

“God grant that I and my family were with you; we should not been exposed to the furie of our enemies, who rob us of the goods which God hath given us to the subsistence of our soule and body. I shall not assume to write all the miseries that we suffer, which cannot be comprehended in a letter, but in many books. I shall tell you briefly, that our temple is condemned, and rased, our ministers banished forever, all their goods confiscated, and moreover they are condemned to the fine of thousand crowns. All t' other temples are also rased, excepted the temple of Ré, and two or three others. By act of Parliament we are hindered to be masters in any trade or skill. We expect every daÿs the lord gouvernour of Guiene, who shall put souldiers in our houses, and take away our childeren to be offered to the Idol, as they have done in t' others countrys.

“The country where you live (that is to say New England) is in great estime; I and great many others Protestants intend to go there. Tell us, if you please, what advantage we can have there, and particularly the boors who are accustomed to plough the ground. If some body of your country would hazard to come here with a ship to fetch in our French Protestants, he would make great gain. All of us hope for God's help, to whose Providence we submit ourselves, etc.”

B.

[Page 30.]

The Paper containing the “Delineation of the Town of Oxford” is endorsed, “Papiers qui regarde New Oxford.” The chirography is evidently French. With the delineation there is an account of the village and town, in the following words: “Oxford

Village, or the general Plantation, containing 11,245 acres, whereof the proprietors common Way 265 acres, and Mauchaug in deficient, 172 . . . 437. Rest 10808 acres.—The Town of Oxford, including its village, called the General Plantation, contains 41245 acres, viz. the five grand lotts. On the W. side of the dividing line, each 3000 . . . 15000, and on the East side thereof . . each 3000 . . . 15000.

The Village Plantation . . 11245. The 41245 general.”

Nipmuck river (called by the English settlers of New England, *Blackstone*) takes its rise in Sutton, and receiving several tributary streams in its course, falls into Providence river just below Providence. It is there called Pawtucket. When the French settled Oxford, there was a town of praying Indians at Hassanamesitt [Grafton], about two miles to the eastward of Nipmuck river, “and near unto the old road way to Connecticut,” consisting of about twelve families, and about sixty souls. “Here,” says Gookin,* “they have a meeting house for the worship of God, after the English fashion of building, and two or three other houses after the same mode. In this town was the second Indian church (Natick being the first) gathered in 1671; and three years afterwards there were in full communion in this church, and living in the town, about sixteen men and women; and about thirty baptized persons, and several other members living in other places. This church had a pastor, Tackuppawillin, a ruling elder, and a deacon. In 1674 the Rev. John Eliot and general Gookin visited “the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The first of these,” says Gookin, “is Mauchage [Oxford], which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river about eight miles, and is from Hassanamesitt, west and by south, about ten miles; and it is from Boston about fifty miles. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixteen souls. For this place we appointed Waaberktamin, a hopeful young man for their minister. There is no land yet granted by the general court to this place, nor to any other of the praying towns. But the court intendeth shortly, upon the application and professed subjection of those Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have done for other praying Indians.” Gookin’s Hist. Collections of the Indians in New England, printed in Coll. Mass. Hist. Society, in 1792.

C.

[Page 31.]

Nous sousignes certiffions et atestons que Monsr. Gabriel Bernon a fait une despance [depense] considerable a new oxford

* A. D. 1674.

pour faire valoir la Ville et encourager et ayder les habitans. et quil [qu' il] a tenü sa maison en etat jusques a ce que en fin les Sauvages soient venus masacrer et tuer Iohn Johnson et ses trois enfens [enfants] et que netant [n' etant] pas soutenu Il a été obligé et force d' abandoner son Bien. en foy de quoy lui avons signe le present Billet, a Baston le 4^e Septembre 1696 :

Jermans	Baudouin	Benja faneuil
Jacques Montier		Nous attestons ce qui est desus et
† marque		[est] veritable.
× marque de paix cazaniau		
		Mousset Entien [Ancien]
∨ marque de abraham Sauuage		
* marque de la vefue de Jean Jeanson		Jean Rawlings Ancien
		P Chardon
	Charle Jeanson	Entien

Nous certiffions que ce sont les marques de personnes susdites.

	Daillé ministre	Baudouin
Jacques Montier		Barbut
Elie Dispeux		André Sigournaÿ
Jean Maillet		Jean Millet ant.

Nous declarons ce que dessus fort veritable et que John Johnson et ses trois enfans ont été tué le 25^e. Auost [Août] 1696 : en foy de quoy avons signé

Montel	Dispeux	I B marque de Jean baudoin
Jacques Depont		Philip English
Jermont		René Grignon

Je connois et Je le sais d' experiance que m^r. Gabriel bernon a fait ses efforts pour soutenir notre plantation, et y a depancé pour cet effet un bien considerable.

Bureau L'ainé [The elder or senior.]
Peter Canton.

We underwritten doe certifie and attest that m^r. Gabriel Bernon hath made considerable expences at Newoxford for to promote the place and encourage the Inhabitants and hath kept his house until the s^d. 25^e. August that the Indians came upon s^d. Plantation & most barbarously murdered John Evans John Johnson & his three childrens. Dated Baston 20th Septemb. 1696.

John Usher

John Butcher	W ^m . Stoughton
Laur. Hammond	Increase Mather
	Charles Morton
	Jer. Dummer
	Nehemiah Walter minr.

W^m. Fox.

D.

[Page 32.]

That the French settlers at Oxford had a minister of their own, appears from a letter, written by him to some person in authority [probably gov. Dudley], complaining of the sale of rum to the Indians, "without order and measure," and of its baneful effects. The date is lost, with a line or two at the beginning; but is endorsed, "Mr. Dan^l. Bondet's Representation referring to N. Oxford July 6th. 1691." He mentions it as upon "an occasion which fills my heart with sorow and my life of trouble, but my humble request will be at least before God, and before you a solemn protestation against the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell in our place. The rome [rum] is always sold to the Indians without order and measure, insomuch that according the complaint sent to me by master Dickestean with advice to present it to your honour. The 26 of the last month there was about twenti indians so furious by drunkness that they fought like bears and fell upon one called remes who is appointed for preaching the gospel amongst them he had been so much disfigured by his wonds that there is no hope of his recovery. If it was your pleasure to signifie to the instrumens of that evil the jalousie of your athoriti and of the publique tranquility, you would do great good maintaining the honour of God in a Christian habitation, comforting some honest souls wich being incompatible with such abominations feel every day the burden of afflixion of their honorable perigrination aggravated. Hear us pray and so God be with you and prosper all your just undertakins and applications tis the sincere wish of your most respectuous servant

D. BONDET

minister of the gopell in a
French Congregation at newoxford. "

The government probably interferred, and took measures to prevent the repetition of the evil complained of. The above paper was found in the Secretary's office, and shown to me by Mr. secretary Bradford, who, at my request, searched the government papers, in aid of my inquiries. The "representation of the *minister* may have induced the government to appoint him a missionary to the natives in the neighbourhood of Oxford; for, in another communication, Mr. Bradford informed me: "In 1695, Mr. Bondet, a French Protestant minister, preached to the Nipmug Indians . . . in the south of Worcester county."

E.

[Page 32.]

FRENCH CHURCH IN BOSTON.

The French who settled at Oxford were, probably, but a part of the emigrants who arrived, about this time, at Boston. Dr. Bentley, in his *History of Salem* [Coll. Hist. Society, vi. 265.] says, "In September, 1686, twenty-six pounds were contributed for the relief of the French Protestants, who came to New England. Whole families associated in Boston, but not any families in Salem. The greater part went to the southern states, particularly to South Carolina." From the time of this contribution, with another coincident fact, discovered in the diligent researches of Dr. Snow, this recent writer infers, "that those who arrived here probably came in the summer of 1686." He observes, that, beside the circumstance of the contribution at Salem, "we also find in Cotton Mather's MS. notes of sermons, under dates of Sept. 12, and Oct. 7, minutes of discourses of a Mr. Laurie, from the tenour of which it is apparent that he was of the number." *History of Boston, 1825.* Of Mr. Laurie I have met with no other notice. Whether he accompanied, or followed, the settlers of Oxford, and preceded Mr. Bondet in the ministry there, or whether he remained in Boston, and preceded Mr. Daillé in the ministry, I know not. The first notice we have of Mr. Daillé is in 1696; the year of the breaking up of the French settlement at Oxford, when there was, doubtless, a considerable accession to the little society in Boston. Dr. C. Mather [Magnalia, b. i. c. 7.], in his account of the "Christian congregations" in New England, "at this present year 1696," thus closes the list of "The County of Suffolk Ministers," in the town of Boston: "And a *French Congregation of Refugees* under the pastoral cares of Monsieur Daille." The historian of Boston, referring to this passage in Mather, says, "the first notice we discover of the [French] church in this place is in the Magnalia." The congregation assembled for worship in one of the large school houses of the town, for several years. By a communication from my worthy friend Rev. Isaac Smith of Boston, I find, that the land for the erection of the French church in Boston was purchased for that purpose in 1704 (eight years after the abandonment of Oxford). The minutes, "copied from the Register of Deeds office in Boston," by Mr. Smith, are as follow: "Original deed from Jas. Mears, hatter, to John Tartarien, Fra^s. Bredon, and John Dupuis, elders of the French Church, in consideration of the sum of £110 current silver money of N-E. all that tract or parcel of land, bounded northerly by School house land so called, where it measures in front 43½ feet, easterly &c. 36 feet, westerly 88½

feet, southerly $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to erect and build a church upon for the use of the French Congregation in Boston aforesaid, to meet therein for the worship and service of Almighty God, according to the way and manner of the Reformed churches in France."

"Given Jan. 4. 1704."

It appears by the History of Boston, that the above named elders of the French church "petitioned the select men for license to erect a wooden building for a meeting-house of 35 by 30 ft. on that piece of land. It was judged 'not convenient to grant the same, since they have the offer of the free liberty to meet in the new school-house, as they had for some years past done in the old, and that being sufficient for a far greater number of persons than doth belong to their congregation.'" About twelve years afterwards, a small brick church was built upon this land, in School street. "The descendants of the founders of this house," says Mr. Pemberton, the late respected antiquary of Boston, "as they formed new connexions, gradually dropped off. Those who remained were few in number, and the support of a minister was an expense they could not well continue. The Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, a worthy character, desisted from officiating as minister, and the house was for some years unoccupied. A large folio Bible in French, with a commentary, was presented to the French Protestant Church by Queen Anne. It was purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Byles's library, and we are told, is now in possession of a gentleman in this town, retained as a curiosity, and is the only remaining relick of the Protestant French Church."

In 1748, some persons who separated from other churches in the town, formed themselves into a distinct society, and occupied the Protestant French Church, one or more of them having purchased the building of its former proprietors. The following is an extract from the deed, copied by Mr. Smith at the Register's office. "Stephen Boutineau,* the only surviving elder of the said French Church, Andrew Le Mercier, Clerk, Minister of said Church, Zechariah Johonnot, John Arnault, John Brown, Andrew Johonnet, Ja^s. Packenett, W^m. Bowdoin and Andr^w. Sigourney, proprietors of s^d church, made over their right and interest in it to Tho^s. Fillebrown, James Davenport, W^m. Hickling, Nathi. Proctor, and Tho^s. Handyside Peck, trustees for the new Congregational Church, whereof Mr. Andrew Crosswell is pastor, for the sum of £3000, in good bills of public credit, of the old tenor, for the sole use of a Protestant Church, from henceforth and forevermore."

"Signed May 7, 1748."

* He married a daughter of Pierre Baudouin [Bowdoin], a sister of the late governor Bowdoin. Rev. Mr. JENKS' Eulogy on Hon. JAMES BOWDOIN.

The Rev. Andrew Crosswell was installed as their pastor in 1748. He died April 1785, aged 77. The house was next used as a Roman Catholic chapel. Mass was performed in it for the first time, November 2d, 1788, by a Romish priest. The Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston, having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and received orders at Rome, began his mission here in 1790. In 1792, the Rev. Dr. Francis A. Matignon arrived at Boston, and in 1796 was joined by Rev. John Cheverus, now bishop of Montauban, in France. Upon their united application to the Protestants, a generous contribution was made; a lot was purchased in Franklin Place, and a Roman Catholic church built, which was dedicated in 1803. Pemberton's Description of Boston, Coll. Hist. Society, iii. 264. Snow's History of Boston.—The French church in School street has been taken down, and a Universal church built near the place where it stood. "Tempora mutantur." What consecrated ground has sustained such changes, in one century! It is very remarkable, that the same church, which was originally built for French Protestants who had fled from the persecution of the Roman Catholics, was the first to receive the Roman Catholics who fled from the persecution of the Jacobins of France.

LETTERS AND PAPERS FROM THE BERNON MSS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF PHILIP ALLEN, ESQ. OF PROVIDENCE.

GABRIEL BERNON, in a letter to his father, dated "A Baston le 29^e Decemb. 1696," writes, he had mentioned in his last, that M. De la Tour had been taken going from Piscataqua, which had given them much trouble and loss. . . . "que mons^r. De la Tour avoit été arrêté sortant de Piscataqua, ce qui nous a donné beaucoup d' embarras et perte, ces gens icy nous ayans fait toutes les injustices que leur malice (et envie contra nous) a peu suggerer" &c.—In this letter he mentions the death of Mrs. Daillé: "La pauvre Mad^{le}. Daillé est morte depuis quinz jours ce qui a beaucoup affligé et embarrassé Mons. Daillé pour tous vous. Autres Amis se portent fort bien comme aussi tout le famille "

Among these MSS. is "Memoire, présenté a mylord Belamon Gouverneur de Boston et de la Nouvelle York," without date. Also, a letter endorsed, "Answer of the Gentlemen of French Church in York to G. Bernon." It is dated "York le 22^e May 1699," and appears to be a vindication of the French refugees at New York against the charge of disloyalty to the British government under the administration of lord Bellamont. "Cet

homme suppose comme vous aicéz veu dans la copie de la letre qu' il vous a remise que nous sommes ennemis du Roy traitres au Gouvernement et violateurs du respect qui est deu a monseigr. Le Compte de Bellamont" &c. The letter fills three folio pages, and is subscribed,

"Votre &c.

Peiret—ministre
Jean Barberie
Elie Boudinot
Paul Drouillet
Gabriel le Boyteulx."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LORD BELLOMONT TO G. BERNON.

De la Nouvelle York le 23^e Novembre 1698.

Monsieur,

Je suis fâché d' apprendre, que vous aves quitté la nouvelle Angleterre, pour venir habiter dans Rode Island. C' est une Nouvelle que Mr. Campbel me dit et qui m' afflige beaucoup, puis que J' avez [avois] de vous faire toute l' amitié possible lors que Je serais arive a Boston.

J' ay de la honte de ne vous avoir pas escrit plutost, mais je vous assure que cel n'a été faite d' estime, mais seulement pour avoir été continuellement occupe aux affaires de mon gouvernement. Si vous tronvez a propos de vous venir etablir icy dans cette ville, Je feray tout possible de vous donner de l' encouragement. Je n' oublira pas le recommandation de Monsieur le Comte de Gallway en votre faveur et sans compliment Je suis fort disposé d' y repondre pas toute sorte des bons offices. Je seray bien ayse de vous voir ici, a fin de discourir avec vous sur de certaines affaires, qui regarde [regardent] le service du Roy.

Je suis avec une veritable Estime et Amitié

Votre tres humble Serviteur

BELLOMONT.

For Monsieur Bernon
a French Marchand
In Rode Island.

In this Collection of MSS. there is a letter of introduction, dated "D' Orange; Octobre 1699," and signed "De la Velliere."

There is also a letter in French, from Elias Neau to G. Bernon, dated "Newyork the 25^e. of Juin 1701." The object of this letter is, to encourage Bernon in the sacrifices which he had made, and was still making, in the cause of the French refugees, especially in their religious concerns; and to recommend the distribution of religious books . . . "des livres pour faire distri-

buer gratis qui sont d' un grand secours aux pauvres, et aux ignorans" &c.

There is a letter from P. Chasseloup to " Mons. Bernon march. à Boston."

" A Londre 4e Avril 1699.

Monsieur & bon Amy

Je m' attendois d' avoir l' honneur de vous écrire par Monsieur Depont The letter is upon Bernon's concerns— mentions " my lord Carmarthen" as desirous to know the value of the lands in the late plantation . . . " de la vailleur des dittes terres et de leur utilité" . . . and mentions the cruel treatment of their poor brethren in France. " Nos pauvres freres sont cruellement maltraités au France, plus que jamais. Vous devez celebrer, moyennant Dieu, une jeune emain pour implorer le secours Divin pour ces pauvres amis affligées." Also, a letter " A Chapell . . . près de Dublin, le $\frac{20}{31}$ de Juillet, 1700," addressed to " Monsieur Gabriel Bernon, march^d. a Road Island, sur la côte de la Nouvelle Angleterre," signed " Bouheureau," and endorsed, " Passée à Londres, chez vôtres humble servitr. Jn^o. Barbot le 28 Juillet 1700." A letter from Elias Neau to G. Bernon, dated " New York ce 30 de September 1701." A letter to do. signed " Daille, James L— [Le Blom] Saml. Baker, Henry Guionneau," dated " Boston ce 3^e Mars, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$;" and another to do. from " Daillé," dated " A Boston, 11^e. April 1707." A letter from G. Bernon to governor Dudley, dated, " Providence 1 March 1710." In this letter M. Bernon complains of injuries and losses, and asks for redress or relief. . . " J' espere que Votre Excellence vous-trabien considerer que Mr. hoogborn a fait son possible pour ruiner mes Interes au dit Oxford. Il a fait abandonner Couper de Vieux Moulin et Thomas Atterton de mon autre maison &c. J' ay été traite apres avoir despence audis Oxford plus de 1500 pistolles le mevilleur de mons temps pendent une possessions de plus de vint annee."

Letter from Gov. Dudley to G. Bernon, dated,

" Roxbury April 6, 1715."

" Sir,

We are now in a way to thrive at Oxford, and I particularly thank you for what you have done towards a Grist Mill in the Village, by giving the mill stones and irons to Daniel Eliot, conditionally that the mill should be built to serve the town within such a prefixed time which is now past and nothing done. I desire you to write to him to go forward immediately so as to finish the mill presently to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants, or that you will order the said mill and irons to be given to such

other person as will go forward in the work, that they may not be starved the next winter.

I pray you to take effectual order in the matter.

I am your humble servant,

J. DUDLEY."

Superscribed

"To Mr. Gabriel Bernon
Narraganset."

The answer of Mr. Bernon is dated "Kingstown 30 April, 1715." He writes, that, according to the letter from his excellency, he had "ordered Mr. Daniel Eliot to finish the Crist Mill at Oxford, or to let the town have the two mill stown to set the mill in a convenient place. It will be a great blessing to strive [thrive] after so much disturbance: And if I can but have the freinship and charity of your Excellency in my old time, with a young wife and a second family in this New World, I may be happy and blessed." In a petition, afterwards, to Gov. Shute, he says, . . . "being now near 80 years of age, and having several children by my first wife, and so seeing children of my children. I have since married an English woman, by whom also I have several children," &c.

By a statement of G. Bernon, intended to prove his claim upon the plantation, it appears, that he considered "the Plantation of New Oxford" indebted to him for 2500 acres of land, beside the amount of expenses laid out by him upon the place. This claim appears to have been made about the year 1717, or 1720; for on his account there is a charge of interest "for above 30 years." The statement alleges, that 500 acres of the plantation were "granted by their Excellencys Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton to Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau and Gabriel Bernon in the year 1687," and that 250 acres were "granted since, making in all 750 aikers;" and that "their Excellencys Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton did grant to the said Mr. Bernon for his own use alone 1750 aikers more, which makes in all 2500 aikers, which Mr. Bernon justly claims, upon which he hath built a corn miln, a wash leathern miln, and a saw miln, and laid out some other considerable expences to improve the town of New Oxford, as he has made appear by the testimonys of several worthy gentlemen whose names he has hereto subjoined.

The four elders of
the French Church.

Mousset }
Railing } Daillie ministre
Chården } of the French
Babut } Church.

William Fox
Benj. Faneuil
P. Jermon
Jacques Montier
Paix Cazaneau
Abraham Sauvages
Jacque Depau
Jean Beaudoin
Rean Grignon
Phelippe Emgerland

Governor Usher
William Stoughton
Increase Mather m^{tre}.
Charles Morton m^{tre}.
Jer. Dummer
Nehemiah Walter min^r.
John Butcher
Laurence Hammond.

By the Inhabitanc of New Oxford.

Montel
 J. Dupen
 Capt. Jermon
 Peter Cante
 Bereau Cainé
 Elie Dupeu

Ober Jermon
 Jean Maillet
 Andre Segourne
 Jean Milleton
 Peter Canton
 &c.

The Weidou Leveufe Jean Johnson of which her husband and three children was kil and murder by the Ingen."

By a plan of Mr. Gabriel Bernon's land in Oxford, taken in 1717, it appears, that it measured 2672 acres, "exclusive of Mr. Daniel Bondet's of 200 acres, and out of said 2672 acres must come out 172 acres of meadow in one entire piece, which Mr. Dudley and Comp^a. give to the village." The tract of land "within this Plan" was estimated by the selectmen of Oxford "to be worth one thousand pound;" and this valuation was certified by them on the plan, 11 January 171¹/₄. *Signed*, Richard Moore, Benoni Twitchel, Isaac Larned. Another certificate was given on the same paper by the selectmen of Mendon, concerning the justness of the above valuation, adding, "that we know nothing but the said Bernon hath been in the quiet possession of said land for or nere thirty years." *Signed*, Thomas Sanford, Robert Evans, Jacob Aldrich.

By another paper in the MS. Collection, it appears, that Mr. Bernon petitioned the king in council for certain privileges, which indicate the objects to which the enterprize of this adventurer was directed. It is entitled, "The humble Petition of Gabriel Bernon of Boston in New England." It states: "That being informed of your Majesty's pleasure, particularly in encouraging the manufactory of Rosin, Pitch, Tarr, Turpentine &c. in New England, in which manufactory your Petitioner has spent seaven years time and labour and considerable sums of money and has attained to such knowledge and perfection, as that the said comodities made and sent over by him have beene here approved of and bought for your Majesty's stores; your Petitioner's zeale and affection to your Majesty encouraged him to leave his habitation and affairs (being a merchant) and also his family to make a voyage to England on purpose, humbly to propose to your majesty in how great a measure and cheap price the said Navall stores may be made and brought into any of your majesty's kingdomes to the great promotion and advantage of the Trade and Commerce of your majesty's subjects of New England, all which is most evident by the annexed paper." He prays his majesty to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him his royal patent or order for providing and furnishing his majesty's fleet with the said stores under the conditions his majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit, or otherwise to except him out of any patent to be granted for the said manufactory, that he "may have liberty to go'on and continue in the said manufactory in any part of New England."

This paper is endorsed: "Petition Gabriel Bernon."

"Papiers qui regarde deux voyages de Londre pour les affaires a fabriques des Resme. Examine le premier Octobre 1719."

In 1720, Gabriel Bernon, "of New Oxford in New England," presented a petition to his excellency governor Shute, and to his majesty's council, and house of representatives in General Court assembled. In this petition he states, that he was "one of the most ancient families in Rochel in France; that upon the breach of the Edict of Nantes, to shun the persecution of France he fled to London; that upon his arrival, — Tefereau Esq. treasurer of the Protestant churches of France presented him to the honourable society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England; that Mr. Thompson the governor [president] offered to "instal him in the said society," and offered him land in the government of the Massachusetts Bay; whereupon Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau desired him "to assist him to come over to New England to settle a plantation for their refuge," that he did advance him such sums, as, "with the exchange and interest from that time, would amount to above one thousand pounds; that Du Tuffeau, arriving at Boston with letters of credit from major Thompson and himself, "delivered them to his late excellency Joseph Dudley Esq. and the honourable William Stoughton Esq. deceased, who granted to the said Du Tuffeau 750 acres of land for the petitioner at New Oxford, where he laid out or spent the abovesaid money." Mr. Bernon farther stated in his petition, that Du Tuffeau allured him by letters to come to Boston; that the said Du Tuffeau, "being through poverty forced to abandon the said plantation, sold his cattle and other moveables for his own particular use, went to London, and there died in an hospital." Mr. Bernon closed his statement by observing, that, excited by letters of Du Tuffeau, he shipped himself, his family, and servants, with some other families, and paid passage for above forty persons; that, on their arrival at Boston, he presented letters from major Thompson to Dudley and Stoughton, Esquires, "who were pleased (besides the 750 acres that were granted to Bertrand Du Tuffeau and the petitioner) to grant him 1750 acres of land more; and," he adds, "for a more authentick security his late Excellency and Honour was pleased to accompany me to Oxford, to put me in possession of the said two thousand five hundred acres, which I have peaceably enjoyed for better than these thirty years last past, having spent above two thousand pounds to defend the same from the *Indians*, who at divers times have ruined the said Plantation, and have murdered men, women, and children."

At the close of the petition he represents, that the inhabitants of New Oxford now disputed his right and title, in order to hinder him from the sale of said plantation, which would put him to the utmost extremity, "being now near eighty years of age,"

and having several children, all which have dependence, under God, for a subsistence on him, after he had "spent more than ten thousand pounds towards the benefit of the country, in building ships, making nails, and promoting the making of stuffs, hats, rozin &c." The object of this petition was, to obtain such titles, as would confirm to him and his family the said lands, "without any misunderstanding, clear and free from any molestation either from the inhabitants of New Oxford, or any pretensions of Bertrand Du Tuffeau."

Neither the merits, nor the success, of this claim are known to the writer of this Memoir.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT PROVIDENCE.

The Rev. Mr. Honeyman, with whom Mr. Bernon corresponded on this subject, was a minister of the Episcopal church in Newport, Rhode Island. He was appointed, by the Society in London for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the first missionary there, in 1704, and continued there many years. In 1712, a missionary was sent by the Society to three towns in Rhode Island; Freetown, Tiverton, and Little Compton. In 1720, there was no Episcopal church in Providence. The people at Narraganset had built a church about the year 1707; and in 1717, the Society appointed Mr. Guy a missionary there. "He resided at Narraganset, otherwise called Kingtown," until 1717, when he removed to South Carolina, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. McSparran. Mr. Honeyman was "instrumental in gathering the congregations at Freetown, and Tiverton, and, last of all, at Providence." He had, as early as about the year 1712, very earnestly represented the want of a missionary at Providence; and about the year 1722, he visited the place, and preached there, "to the greatest number of people that he had ever had together, since he came to America." He wrote to the Society at London, "there is a great prospect of settling a church here;" solicited "a missionary to the people;" and added, "the people are now going to get subscriptions to build a church." By their own contributions, and aid from abroad, "they raised a timber building for a church," in 1722; and, the next year, the Society in London appointed the Rev. Mr. Pigot missionary there. In 1722, the Society sent Mr. Orem a missionary to Bristol.—Humphreys' Hist. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Such was the rise and progress of the Episcopal church in Rhode Island, and such the state of it at the time of the ensuing correspondence; which begins with a letter from G. Bernon to Mr. Honeyman, in 1721, and closes with a letter from dean Berkeley to Mr. Bernon, in 1729.

Mr. Bernon went to Providence about the year 1698. Whether he had become disaffected towards the old inhabitants of the country by his misfortunes at Oxford; or was less attached than his brethren to the strictness of the Reformed churches; or had changed his sentiments in favour of the rites and ceremonies of the English church; or had found it impracticable to form and sustain a church in Providence without foreign aid—we are not informed. There was scarcely a Congregational church, at this time, in Rhode Island. The first in Newport was gathered in 1720. The doctrinal articles of the French Reformed church, it is well known, agree with those of the Church of England; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had funds for the support of missionaries. Whatever were the cause, Mr. Bernon united himself to the English church, and applied to that Society for assistance. The papers on this subject, among the Bernon MSS. are thus marked on the envelope:

“Lettres et autres Papiers que justifie et regarde notre etablissement pour l' Eglise Episcopale de Providence.”

Some of the letters are in English. One from Mr. Bernon is, “Copy of a Letter to Mr. James Honeyman, minister of the Church of England at Newport in Roadisland, Septemb^r. 21, 1721.” In this he writes, “My last going to Roadisland was chiefly to be partaker of the communion and secondly to shew your honour how busy are the gentlemen of the government of Boston and Connecticut to establish the presbyterian church in our town of Providence. And also I was willing to shew your honour the letter that Mr. Joseph Morse minister of Dorchester has writ to me and my answer to him to the purpose, but your honour did not see cause to give me the opportunity to shew the said letters unto you &c. . . . Thirdly my intention was to propose unto you and Mr. Mac Sparran minister of Narraganset, some measure that your honours should not forsake our town of Providence to not let us destitutes and deprived absolutely from the Church of England, when the other hands party are so actives to establish the presbytery church in our said Providence town,” &c. . . .

The letter, of which this was a copy, was enclosed to Mr. McSparran in a letter addressed to *him*, dated “Sept^r. 27, 1721.” In this Mr. Bernon writes, “Inclosed is a copy of my letter to the gentleman your colleague, for to trying and to promoting the Church. I may say since twenty years I have past by divers and several different and hard difficulty and circumstance that I desire with great passion to forget, for a better behaviour amongst us, and for the honour of the Church in the Government of Roadisland where I look Mr. Honeyman, and your selfe to be the two chief gentlemen and the two only minister for establishing the Church in the said Government, &c. . .

“Gentlemen It seems to me this is the time that we should shew our zeals for the propagation and setting the Church in

Providence town the principal and first town establish in the said government where yours honours are most belongs; for we can't slight or neglected what concerns salvation and happiness of . . . people &c." "Sir you have already done right well by goodness, promoting the true church in Bristol town, so it is hopes with great expectation of your generosity, you will do the same for our town of Providence were you have most interest being the like government and the same Diocese as Naraganset where you have your residence.

"When your honour will go from Narraganset to Bristol or Swansay, if you but be pleass to let me know, I shall do my best to meet you at Warik, or elsewhere &c." . . .

Mr. McSparran, in a letter to Mr. G. Bernon, dated "Kingstown July 2^d, 1721," writes: "Pursuant to your request and my appointment with Collector . . . I've determined to be at y^r house Monday night the 10th of this month and to preach and to baptize your children on Tuesday, so that you may notifie as many as you please, particularly Mr. Nathaniel Brown of Kettlepoint your messenger to me &c." . . .

In another letter, Oct. 5, 1721. "Narraganset," Mr. McSparran writes, in answer to G. Bernon: "I rejoice you continue zealous and forward to promote a Church of England in your town." . . . and gives encouragement of assistance in the work. But he adds: "Mr. Honyman never mentioned any thing to me about it, nor is it practicable for me to begin such an affair, considering I'm become y^e mark of by the steps I have taken in y^e like affair at Bristol."

In the "Memoranda" of those, who might be consulted or written to, on ecclesiastical concerns, are: "Mr. Moore secretary for propagating the gospel in forreign parts &c. . . Mr. Dummer, at the Temple Exchange Coffee house . . . at the Temple," &c. This gentleman, I presume, was Mr. Jeremy Dummer, the Massachusetts agent, who was at London in 1721, the last year of his agency.

Nothing effectual appears to have been done for several years after the last mentioned date, towards the settling of the Episcopal church in Providence. Difficulties occurred; and, at length, Mr. Bernon addressed a letter to dean BERKELEY, for his interposition and advice. This eminent man, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, was at that time at Newport, in Rhode Island, which was the place of his residence while in America. His letter, in answer to Bernon's is dated "Newport Avril 9, 1729." He excuses himself from any interference in the ecclesiastical concerns of Providence, in consideration that he is simply a passenger in this country, without any authority over the churches of that colony; and that all his jurisdiction was for the diocese of Londonderry in Ireland; but he assures him, that he has no doubt, the bishop of London, and the honourable society for propagating the Gospel,

would take just and wise measures for remedying the evils complained of; and that he shall not cease to pray to God to succour and protect the church at Providence. He concludes his letter with an apology for writing in a language, in which he was not accustomed to write.

. "Je ne suis qu' un simple passager dans ce pais sans etre revetue d' aucune autorité in jurisdiction sur les Eglises de cette colonie et que toute ma petite jurisdiction (telle qu' elle soit) est . . . [illegible] . . . pour la Diocese de London-Derry en Ireland. . . . Je puis cependant vous assurer que je ne doute gueres que Monseigneur l' Evêque de Londres et l' honorable Societé prennent des mesures tres justes et sages pour y remedier. . . . Je ne laisse . . . pas pourtant de supplier le Bon Dieu de secourir et de proteger votre Eglise de Providence. Vous avois la bonté Monsieur de me pardonner ce que j' écris dans une langue que je n' ay pratiqué que tres rarement et de croire que je suis avec beaucoup de respect,

Monsieur

votre tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur GEOR. BERKELEY."

F.

[Page 33.]

SECOND SETTLEMENT OF OXFORD.

Copy of a Deed conveying the Lands in Oxford to the second Company of Settlers, 1713.

Extracted from the Records of the town of Oxford, at Mr. Campbell's, the Town Clerk, by A. H. 1817.

"To all people unto whom these presents shall come Joseph Dudley of Roxbury in the county of Suffolk and Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Esq. W^m. Taylor of Dorchester in the same county Esq. Peter Sergeant of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Mehetabell his wife, John Danforth of Dorchester aforesaid and Elizabeth his wife, John Nelson of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, as they the said W^m. Taylor, Peter Sargeant, John Nelson and John Danforth are the heirs and executors of the Hon. W^m. Stoughton late of Dorchester Esq. deceased, send greeting: Whereas the General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in the year One thousand six hundred and eighty two granted to the said Joseph Dudley, W^m. Stoughton, major Robert Tompson and their Associates a certain tract of land scituate in the Nipmug Country, of eight miles

square, for a Township &c. as may be seen more at large by the Records of said General Court, Pursuant whereunto and for the uses aforesaid the said Joseph Dudley W^m. Stoughton and their Associates in the year one thousand six hundred eighty and brought over thirty French Protestant Families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said Tract of land, and severed, granted, and sett apart 12000 acres for a village called Oxford for the said Families, and bounded it as by a Platt upon Record will manifestly appear: But forasmuch as the said French families have many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said Village, and the said lands as well by their deserting the same, and refusing to return upon publick Proclamations made for that end, as by the voluntary surrender of most of them are now reinvested in restored to and become the estate and at the disposition of the original proprietors their heirs and successors for the ends aforesaid And whereas there are sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province who offer themselves to go and resettle the said village whereby they may be serviceable to the province and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained: Now Know Ye, That the said Joseph Dudley, W^m. Taylor, Peter Sergeant and Mehetabell his wife, John Nelson and Elizabeth his wife, and John Danforth and Elizabeth his wife, for and in consideration and to the uses and intents abovementioned, Have fully, freely, and absolutely and by these presents do give grant and confirm unto Samuell Hagbour John Town Daniel Elliott, Abiel Lamb, Joseph Chamberlin, Benjⁿ. Nealand, Benoni Twitchell, Joseph Rockett, Benjⁿ. Chamberlin, Joshua Whitney, Thomas Hunkins, Joseph Chamberlin jun. Oliver Coller, Daniel Pearson, Abram Skinner, Ebenezer Chamberlin, James Cotter, Isaac Learned, Eben^r. Learned, Thomas Leason, Eben^r. Humphry, Jon^a. Tillotson, Edmund Taylor, Ephraim Town, Israel Town, W^m. Hudson, Daniel Elliott jun^r. Nathaniel Chamberlin, John Chandler jun^r. John Chandler and others their Associates, so as their number amount to thirty families at least, All that Part of the s^d. Tract of Land &c. &c. . . . PROVIDED ALWAYS, That if any of the persons grantees above named or any of their Associates shall and do neglect to settle upon and improve the said land with themselves and families by the space of two years next ensuing, or being settled thereon shall leave and desert the same and not return to their respective habitations in the said Town upon due notice given, That then and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for the rest of the Grantees and their Associates heirs or assigns respectively, or the major part of them to seise upon and take the said Estate or Estates of such person or persons so deserting &c. . . .

In witness whereof the party abovenamed to these presents have hereunto interchangably set their hands and seals the 8th.

day of July in the 12th. year of her Majesty's Reigne Annoq. Dom. 1713.

JOSEPH DUDLEY {SEAL.)
WM. TAYLOR {SEAL.)
&c.

“Boston July 15th. 1713 Rec^d. and Recorded with the Records of Deeds for the C^{ty}. of Suffolk, Lib. XXVII^{mo}. fol. 174 &c per Addington Davenport Register.” [Attested by John Town, *Town Clerk.*]

Division of Land.

From Oxford Town Records.

The draft of y^e first Division of Land voted to be drawn on January y^e 18th. 17¹⁴/₁₃ To each man of the 30 to his house lot—his choice according to the lot he draws each man's lot to be 60 acres.

Daniel Eliot jun.	1	John Coller	16
Eph ^m . Town	2	Joshua Whitney	17
Sam ^l . Hagbourn	3	Joseph Rocket	18
Benony Twichel	4	Ebenr. Larned	19
Isaac Larned	5	Joseph Chamberlin	20
Joshua Chandler	6	Thomas Hunkins	21
Ebenr. Humphry	7	Edmund Taylor	22
Daniel Pearson	8	Ebenr. Chamberlin	23
W ^m . Hudson	9	Nath ^l . Chamberlin	24
Benja. Nealand	10	Jonathan Tillotson	25
Jos ^h . Chamberlin jun.	11	Oliver Coller	26
Daniel Eliot	12	John Chandler jun.	27
Abiel Lamb*	13	Benja. Chamberlin	28
Thomas Gleason	14	Abram Skinner	29
John Town	15	Israel Town	30

G.

[Page 40.]

ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT AT OXFORD.

The lapse of a century since the resettlement of Oxford, by the ancestors of its present inhabitants, has nearly obliterated the remembrance of the fact of its original settlement by the FRENCH. A river, which runs through the town, does indeed bear up their name; but *why* it was so called, if known there, is scarcely known

*Died not many years ago, aged upwards of 90 years. He often “told about the Great Snow,” which occurred when he was a boy [1717-18].

in the vicinity. This river runs about three quarters of a mile west of the great road that leads over Oxford plain, and falls into the Quinebaug in the town of Thompson, in Connecticut.* The Quinebaug I had known from early life, as passing through Oxford, and Thompson; and joining the Shetucket at Norwich; but this smaller stream, the bridge over which is at a considerable distance below the village of Oxford, had not attracted my particular notice. In passing it, nine years ago, seeing a boy near the bridge, I asked him, What is the name of this river? "French river," he replied. Why, I asked, is it called *French* river? "I believe," said he, "there were some French people once here"—pointing up the stream. On my arrival at the village, I inquired of Mr. Campbell, the innkeeper, who gave me sufficient information on the subject to excite farther inquiry, and to render all the subsequent labour of investigation delightful. Mr. Campbell was of the family of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, formerly a respectable minister of Oxford. Having married a daughter of Mrs. Butler, who was a descendant of one of the French settlers, he referred me for information to his wife, who, after telling me all that she knew, referred me to her mother. I waited upon Mrs. Butler, who obligingly told me all that she could recollect concerning the French emigrants.

Mrs. BUTLER was the wife of Mr. James Butler, who lives near the first church in Oxford; and, when I saw her, was in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Her original name was Mary

* The writer of an original history of the county of Worcester, in a late *Historical Journal*, corrects former mistakes respecting *French river*, which name, he says, "two streams formerly bore." French river, properly so called, has its principal source in Spencer, and receives waters from Leicester, Paxton, and Charlton; and, passing through Oxford and Dudley, "it enters the state of Connecticut, where it unites with the Quineboag," which also runs through Worcester county. "It afterwards takes the name of Thames, and enters into Long Island Sound, near New London." This *Journal* will be welcomed by all the lovers of history and antiquity in our country. It is entitled, "The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal." It commenced in October last, and is publishing under the direction of an Historical Society, recently formed in the county of Worcester. The Corresponding Secretary, who obligingly sent me the numbers that had been published, writes: "It is intended to be the medium through which we shall present to the publick, our collections for a complete history of this county." The associates, who have pledged themselves to furnish this history, say: "To accomplish our objects in their full extent, all of these relics, within our reach, should be critically examined and carefully collated. Even our burying grounds, the sacred inclosures, where the venerable 'forefathers of our hamlets sleep,' should not pass unnoticed. The fading inscriptions of their monuments should be retraced with faithful diligence." That diligence may lead our fellow labourers to visit a place in their county, at the distance of twelve miles only from Worcester, and settled within one year of that now beautiful and flourishing town;—a place, where, if they shall find no monument, they may be induced to erect one. It is richly deserved; and whoever shall raise it, however simple its materials, may say with Horace,

EXEGI MONUMENTUM ÆRE PERENNIOUS.

Sigourney. She was a granddaughter of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who came over when young, with his father, from Rochelle. Her grandmother's mother died on the voyage, leaving an infant of only six months (who was the grandmother of Mrs. Butler), and another daughter, Mary Cazneau, who was then six years of age. The information which Mrs. Butler gave me, she received from her grandmother, who lived to about the age of eighty-three, and from her grandmother's sister, who lived to the age of ninety-five or ninety-six years.

Mrs. Butler's Reminiscences.

The refugees left France in 1684, or 1685,* with the utmost trepidation and precipitancy. The great grandfather of Mrs. Butler, Mr. Germaine, gave the family notice that they *must go*. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put upon the children, and left the pot boiling over the fire. When they arrived at Boston, they went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for; and there they continued until they went to Oxford. They built one fort on Mayo's hill, on the east side of French river; and, tradition says, another fort on the west side. Mrs. Butler believed, they had a minister with them.

Mrs. Johnson, the wife of Mr. Johnson who was killed by the Indians in 1696, was a sister of the first Andrew Sigourney. Her husband, returning home from Woodstock while the Indians were massacring his family, was shot down at his own door. Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of the guns, ran to the house, and seizing his sister, pulled her out at a back door, and took her over French river, which they waded through, and fled towards Woodstock, where there was a garrison. The Indians killed the children, dashing them against the jambs of the fire-place.

Mrs. Butler thinks, the French were at Oxford eighteen or nineteen years. Her grandmother, who was brought over an infant, was married, and had a child, while at Oxford. This fact would lead us to believe, that the SIGOURNEY family returned to Oxford after the fear of the Indians had subsided. It is believed in Oxford, that a few families *did* return. These families may have returned again to Boston in about nineteen years from the time of their first settlement in Oxford, agreeably to Mrs. Butler's opinion; in which case, the time coincides with that of the erection of the first French church in Boston, 1704-5. Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who furnished the written materials for this Memoir, still lives on or near the place that was occupied by his ancestors.

Mrs. Butler lived in Boston until the American revolution, and soon afterward removed to Oxford. Her residence in both places rendered her more familiar with the history of the emigrants

* Mrs. Butler's account was entirely verbal, according to her recollection. — Mrs. Butler died in 1823, *Ætat.* LXXXI.

than she would have been, had she resided exclusively in either. She says, they prospered in Boston, after they were broken up at Oxford. Of the memorials of the primitive plantation of her ancestors she had been very observant, and still cherished a reverence for them. Mrs. Shumway, of French extraction, living near the Johnson house, showed her the spot where the house stood, and some of its remains. Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury, about fifty-five years of age [1817], has seen the chimney and other remains of that house. His mother, aged about eighty-four years, told Mrs. Butler that there was a burying place, called "The French Burying Ground," not far from the fort at Mayo's Hill. She herself remembers to have seen many graves there.

French Families.

Mrs. Butler named, as of the first emigrants from France, the following families :

BOWDOIN and BOUDINOT came to Boston:—could not say, whether or not they came to Oxford.

BOWYER, who married a Sigourney.

GERMAINE:—removed to New York.

OLIVER:—did not know, whether this family came to Oxford, or not; but the ancestor, by the mother's side, was a Sigourney.

SIGOURNEY. Andrew Sigourney, son of the first emigrant of that name, was born in Oxford, and died in 1763, aged sixty years. He was the uncle of Mrs. Butler, my informant; of the late Martin Brimmer, Esq. of Boston, and Mr. Andrew Brimmer, still living; and of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, of Boston.

No branch of the Bowdoin family is known to have been settled south of New England. Governor Bowdoin left one daughter, the lady of Sir John Temple, some time consul general of Great Britain in the United States. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John and lady Temple, was married to the Hon. THOMAS L. WINTHROP, Esq. of Boston, a member of the senate of Massachusetts, and now (April 1826) candidate for lieutenant governor. Mrs. Winthrop died in 1825. In that truly honourable lady were combined dignity with ease, intellectual with polite accomplishments, benevolence of temper with beneficence in action, Christian principles with the Christian graces. One of the sons, Francis William Winthrop, a young man highly distinguished as a scholar, and of very fair promise, was graduated at Harvard college in 1817, but died soon after he had finished his education. Another son, James, who, since the death of his uncle James Bowdoin, has taken his name, is the only representative of the Bowdoins, of that name, now living in New England.

Some future antiquary may perhaps trace the original name to the famous Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who, according to French authority, spelt his name precisely as the first of this family in America, *Baudouin*. He died in 1118, and his remains

were deposited in a church on Mount Calvary. Fleury, in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Edit. 1779, gives an account of nineteen eminent persons, from the "compte de Flanders," A. D. 862, to Baudouin, "jurisconsulte," A. D. 1561, whose names are uniformly written *Baudouin*.

The Hon. Samuel Dexter, senior, father of the late Mr. Dexter, who married a Sigourney, was a member of the first provincial congress in Massachusetts, and founder of the Dexter professorship of Sacred Literature in the University in Cambridge. Soon after the commencement of the revolutionary war, he removed with his family to Woodstock, in Connecticut. He had a large library, which attracted much attention at the time of its removal; and he was greatly devoted to the use of it in his retirement, to the close of his life. He was a gentleman of a highly respectable character, possessed of a handsome estate, and enjoyed, far beyond most literary men in our country, *otium cum dignitate*. He spent a few of his last years at Mendon, in Massachusetts, where he died in 1810; but his remains were interred, according to the directions of his Will, at Woodstock. I have seen the lot in which he was buried, not far from the first church in my native town; but no sign of his grave can be traced. It was his own direction, that his body should be interred in the exact centre of the lot, and the grave levelled on the surface, and the whole lot cultivated alike, that no distinction might be perceived. There is a good portrait of Mr. Dexter at the Library of our University. Mrs. Dexter I well remember while at Woodstock. She was a respectable lady, of dark complexion, with characteristic French features, and pronunciation.

Very soon after my visit to Mrs. Butler, I received a letter from her husband, expressing her regret, that she had not mentioned to me Mrs. Wheeler, a widow lady, the mother of Mr. Joseph Coolidge, an eminent merchant in Boston. Her maiden name was Oliver. She was a branch of the Germaine family, and related to "old Mr. Andrew Sigourney," in whose family she was brought up, and at whose house she was married. Mrs. Butler supposed, she must be between eighty and ninety years of age, and that, being so much older than herself, she had heard more particulars from their ancestors; but, on inquiry for Mrs. Wheeler in Boston, I found that she died a short time before the reception of the letter.

How much do we lose by neglecting the advice of the Son of Sirach! "Μὴ ἀσπάζῃ διηγήματος γερονταν—Miss not the discourse of the elders; for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth."

Remains of the French Fort.

My first visit to Fort Hill in Oxford was 20 April, 1819. It is about a mile southerly of the inn, kept many years by the Campbell family, at the union of the two great roads from Boston and Worcester, about fifty miles from Boston. Mr. Mayo, who owns the farm on which the fort stands, believes, that his grandfather purchased it of one of the French families; and Mr. Sigourney, of Oxford, thinks it was bought of his ancestor, Andrew Sigourney. I measured the fort by paces, and found it 25 paces by 35. Within the fort, on the east side, I discovered signs of a well; and, on inquiry, was informed that a well had been recently filled up there.

On a second visit to the Fort, in September of the same year, I was accompanied, and aided in my researches, by the Rev. Mr. BRAZER, then a Professor in our University, who went over from Worcester, and met me, by agreement, in Oxford. We traced the lines of the bastions of the fort, and were regaled with the perfumes of the shrubbery, and the grapes then hanging in clusters on the vines, planted by the Huguenots above a century before. Every thing here, said Mr. Mayo, is left as I found it.

We next went in search of the Johnson place, memorable for the Indian massacre in 1696. Mr. Peter Shumway, a very aged man, of French descent, who lives about thirty rods distant from it, showed us the spot. It is at a considerable distance from the village, on the north side of the road to Dudley, and is now overgrown with trees. We carefully explored it, but found no relics.—The last year (1825) I called at Mr. Shumway's. He told me, that he was in his ninety-first year; that his great grandfather was from France; and that the plain, on which he lives, is called "Johnson's Plain."

While Mr. Brazer was prosecuting our inquiries concerning a second fort, and a church, that had been mentioned to me by Mrs. Butler, he received a letter (1819) from Mr. Andrew Sigourney, informing, that captain Humphrey, of Oxford, says, his parents told him, there was a fort on the land upon which he now lives, and also a French meeting house, and a burying ground, with a number of graves; that he had seen the stones that were laid on the top of them, as we lay turf, and that one of the graves was much larger than any of the others; that *they* were east and west, but *this*, north and south; and that the Frenchman who lived in this place, named Bourdine, had been dead but a few years.

In May, 1825, I visited captain Ebenezer Humphrey, and obtained from him satisfactory information concerning the place of this second fort, and the meeting house, and the burying ground. Captain Humphrey was in his eighty-fourth year. He told me, that his grandfather was from England, and that his father was from Woodstock, and came to Oxford to keep garrison. He

himself now lives where his father lived, about half a mile west from Oxford village. His house is near a mill, standing upon a small stream that runs on the left near the great road leading to Norwich. About fifty or sixty rods from his house, he showed me the spot where the fort stood, and, near it, the lot upon which were the meeting house and burying ground. No remains of either were visible. He pointed to an excavation of the earth, where, he said, was a well, which had been filled up. It was at the place of the fort, and had been, probably, within it. In the lot there were apple trees, which, he told me, he heard his father say, "the French set out." His father must have been a competent witness; for he was seventy years old when he told him this, and he himself was then twenty years of age. The field was under fine cultivation; but I could not forbear to express my regret, that the memorials of the dead had not been preserved. He said, an older brother of his had ploughed up the field, and it was in this state when it came into his possession. He told me, that one of his oldest sisters said, she remembered the old horseblock, that stood near the French meeting house. He said, he had seen the blood on the stones of the Johnson house; and that Mrs. Johnson, on the night of the massacre, went to Woodstock. Bourdillé* (so he pronounced it) lived near the brook, which runs by his house. The land of captain Humphrey, upon which were a French fort, and church, and burying ground, lie near the foot of Mayo's hill, on the summit of which stood the great Fort, whose remains are still to be seen.

Of this interesting place we feel reluctant to take leave, without some token of remembrance, beside the mere recital of facts, some of which are dry in the detail, while many others are but remotely associated with it. Were any monumental stone to be found here, other memorials were less necessary. Were the cypress, or the weeping willow, growing here, nothing might seem wanting, to perpetuate the memory of the dead. Any contributions of the living, even at this late period, towards supplying the defect, seem entitled to preservation. The inquiries and researches of visitants from abroad drew the attention of the villagers at home. In 1822, the writer of the Memoir received a MS. Poem on the French exiles, superscribed "Oxford;" anonymous, but apparently from a female pen. It was of considerable length, and not equally sustained throughout; but the tender and respectful regard shown by the writer to those excellent pilgrims, who left "not a stone to tell where they lie," and her just reflections upon the value of religious liberty, and the iniquity and horrors of tyranny, entitle her to high estimation. Many lines do honour to her genius, and all of them to her sensibility. If she is a descendant from the Huguenots, this is a tribute of filial piety; if not, it is an oblation of generous sympathy.

* Mr. Sigourney wrote it "Bourdine." The spelling and pronounciation of some French names, it is probable, are irrecoverably lost.

The same year, a letter was also received from a Lady, well known in our literary community, enclosing a poetical tribute to the memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, which is not less worthy of her pen, than of her connexion.* Her marriage with a worthy descendant of one of the first French families that settled in Oxford, fairly entitled her to the subject, which her pen will perpetuate, should the Memoir be forgotten. A leaf of the grape vine was enclosed in the letter, which has this conclusion: "We received great pleasure from our visit to Oxford, and as we traced the ruins of the first rude fortress erected by our ancestors, the present seemed almost to yield in reality to the past. I send you a leaf from the vine, which still flourishes in luxuriance, which, I am sorry to say, resembles our own natives of the woods a little too strongly, Something beside, I also send you, which savours as little of the Muse's inspiration, as the vine in question does of foreign extraction; but if poetical license can find affinities for the latter, I trust your goodness will extend its mantle over the infirmity of the former."

ON visiting a Vine among the ruins of the French fort at Oxford (Mass.)—supposed to have been planted by the Huguenots, who made settlements at that place, when they fled from their native country, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

SAY, did thy germ e'er drink the fostering dews
 Of beauteous Languedoc?—Didst thou unfold
 Thy latent fibre 'neath the genial skies
 Of smiling Rousillon?—or fragrant hang
 In purple cluster from some fruitful vine
 Of fair Rochelle?—Perchance thy infant leaves
 Have trembled at the bitter sigh of those
 Whom Tyranny oppress'd, or shuddering caught
 That silent tear which suffering Virtue sheds
 In loneliness,—that tear which witnesseth
 To the high Judge.—Not by rash, thoughtless hands
 Who sacrifice to Bacchus, pouring forth
 Libations at his altar, with wild songs
 Hailing his madden'd orgies, wert thou borne
 To foreign climes,—but with the suffering band
 Of pious Huguenots didst dare the wave,
 When they essay'd to plant Salvation's vine
 In the drear wilderness. Pensive they mark'd
 The everlasting forest's gloomy shade,
 The uncultur'd vale, the snow-invested heath
 Track'd by the vengeful native; yet to rear
 Their temple to the Eternal Sire, and pay
 Unfetter'd homage to his name were joy,

* MRS. L. HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY.

Though on their hymn of praise the desert howl'd.
 The savage arrow scath'd them, and dark clouds
 Involv'd their infant Zion, yet they bore
 Toil and affliction with unwavering eye
 Fix'd on the heavens, and firm in hope sublime
 Sank to their last repose.—Full many a son
 Among the noblest of our land, looks back
 Through Time's long vista, and exulting claims
 These as his Sires.—They sleep in mouldering dust,
 But thou, fair Vine, in beauteous verdure bloom'st
 O'er Man's decay. Wooing thy tendril green
 Springs the wild Rose, as if it fain would twine
 Wreaths for its native soil.—And well it may;
 For here dwell Liberty and laurell'd Peace
 Lending to life new lustre, and with dews
 Ethereal bathing Nature's charms. The child
 Of Poverty feels here no vassalage, nor shrinks
 From Persecution's scourge. The simplest hind,
 Whether he homeward guide his weary team,
 Beneath the evening star, or whistling lead
 To pastures fresh with morn his snowy sheep,
 Bears on his brow in deepen'd characters
 "Knowledge is Power."—He too, with filial eye
 Uncheck'd, undimm'd, marks blest Religion come,
 In simple mildness, binding on the heart
 Her law of love, gilding each gather'd cloud
 Of varied sentiment, that o'er the dust
 Of Earth's low confine hangs,—with beams serene
 From that bright Sun which shall hereafter blend
 All fleeting shades in one effulgent smile
 Of Immortality.

EPOCHS IN THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS.

From their first National Synod in 1559 to St. Bartholomew Massacre in	1572 . . . 13 years.
From St. Bartholomew Massacre to the Edict of Nantes in	1599 . . . 27
From the Edict of Nantes to its Revocation in	1685 . . . 86
From the Revocation of the Edict to the com- mencement of the French Revolution in	1789 . . 104
From the commencement of the French Re- volution to the present time	1826 . . . 37

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF COHASSET, IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK, MASS. DEC. 16, 1821. BY REV. JACOB FLINT, MINISTER OF THE TOWN.

HISTORY OF COHASSET.

THE town of Hingham, which, till 1770, included Cohasset, was settled by the Rev. Peter Hobart, with part of a church and congregation to which he had been pastor, in Hingham, County of Norfolk, in Great Britain. Debarred the free exercise of their civil and religious rights, they, like the pilgrims at Plymouth, fled to the wilderness in New England for the enjoyment of that freedom to which as rational beings they were entitled, and that religious liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. Their arrival was in the year 1635; and having obtained from the natives, deeds of land to form their town; on September 18, the same year, they held their first meeting for civil purposes, which they called a town meeting; and their town, from the name of that they had left, they called Hingham.*

Their pastor was respectable for his talents and Christian piety. His descendants have been many, a considerable number of whom have been graduated at Harvard University; and some of them eminent preachers of the Gospel. The Hingham company preserved, generally, a good standing with the natives. And, excepting a dispute on the subject of military election and liberty of conscience, which in 1645, interrupted the harmony of the town, and made some difficulty in the province,† and a violent contest in regard to the placing of a meeting-house, in which the interference of the general court was required; the social order of the inhabitants has been

* See Manuscript of D. Cushing, 2d T. Clerk, Hing.

† See Hubbard's History of New England, and papers in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.

good. The constant and liberal provision, which they made for the support of public worship and schools for the young, with their general attention to the ordinances of religion, for a hundred and seventy years, furnish good evidence that the first settlers were wise and good men, that they educated their children in such principles and habits as rendered them useful and happy citizens and rational Christians.

By the descendants of these men, with others of virtuous character, the town of Cohasset was first settled. The names of seven, viz. Cushing, Lincoln, Tower, Beal, James, and Sutton, found among the first Hingham company, with those of Bates, Pratt, Kent, Orcutt, Stoddard, and Nichols, from other places, were the names of those dauntless and worthy men, who first laboured to subdue the soil in this place, which was then called *Conohasset*, an Indian name, signifying a fishing promontory.

The parts of the town first improved, were those which have received the names, Rocky-nook, Jerusalem, Mill street, extending to the harbour, the Plain, and Beechwood street. They were, as well as I can learn, settled successively in the order above named. To these parts our progenitors came, the most of them with their families; and their perseverance and success evince that they possessed much Christian fortitude, patience of labour, and pious trust in the good providence of God. The greater part of the soil, though of a good quality, was so much interspersed with rocks, many from their size immoveable, as to render their prospect rather dreary and forbidding. But having Hingham on their west, and Scituate south, adjoining them, which were now flourishing plantations, with their shores abounding with fish of the best kinds, they were not discouraged. They took their stand; and wrought with industry and patience, devoutly looking to God for protection

and a blessing on their labours. He gave them his blessing. He gave them, by his providence and his word, health, supplies, and peace of mind, and enabled them to prepare a goodly heritage for their children, unto the third and fourth generation, as it is this day.

How early some few families settled within the limits of this town, I cannot now ascertain with certainty ; probably, in the year 1670 ; for about that time, Conohasset, from being all undivided common land of Hingham, was divided among its proprietors.* All, however, who became residents here, till 1714, (when they obtained liberty to build a house of worship,) considered themselves as belonging to the religious society of Hingham. With that town they acted in all civil and religious matters. Thither, bad and long as the roads were, they repaired to worship on the Lord's day, and there they buried their dead. But in the year last mentioned, their numbers and substance had increased to such a degree, that they felt themselves able to support a minister, and provide instruction for their children. Accordingly, in the year 1714, they petitioned the town of Hingham to remit to them their ministerial and school taxes. But their petition for this object, however just and reasonable, was twice rejected ; nor could they obtain the privileges of a parish, till the next year, when for this purpose they made a successful petition to the general court.

Having a house of worship, they probably had preaching in it before they invited the candidate whom they settled as their first pastor. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart came to preach to them on July 13, 1721 ; and as the custom was, before the forming of a church, he "preached a fast," and continued with them, till December 13, of the same year, when the

* See Town Records of Hingham.

church was organized, and the pastoral charge of it, by solemn ordination, was committed to him. On that occasion the services were as follows: Introductory prayer by Rev. Eben Gay of Hingham; Sermon by Rev. Daniel Lewis of Pembroke; Charge by Rev. Nathaniel Pitcher of Scituate; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Samuel Whitman of Hull.

As a new society, they were weak in numbers and wealth. According to their ability, their first house of worship was small and without expensive ornaments. It was, I have been told, about 35 feet long and 25 wide, with pulpit, pews, and seats of planed boards, of simple construction.

At the formation of his church, Mr. Hobart drew up a well written instrument, not as a creed, but a covenant, in which are recognised their obligations to God and Jesus Christ, and in which are made their solemn vows to live, by God's aid, in Christian obedience, brotherly love, and mutual assistance. After a preamble, expressive of their belief, that they were called of God to unite together in the bands of Gospel communion and fellowship, it proceeds in the following words. "We do, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the presence of God, and the holy angels, explicitly and expressly covenant and bind ourselves in manner and form following, viz. We do give up ourselves to God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To God the Father, as our chief and only good: and unto our Lord Jesus Christ, as our prophet, priest, and king, and only Mediator of the covenant of grace; and unto the Spirit of God, as our only sanctifier and comforter. And we do give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, covenanting and promising to walk together as a Church of Christ, in all ways of his own institution, according to the prescriptions of his holy word, promising that with all tenderness and brotherly love, we will with all faithfulness, watch

over each other's souls, and that we will freely yield up ourselves to the discipline and power of Christ in his church, and attend whatever ordinances Christ hath appointed and declared in his word; and wherein we fail, and come short of duty, to wait upon him for pardon and remission, beseeching him to make our spirits steadfast in his covenant, and to own us as his church and covenant people forever. Amen." This was subscribed by Nehemiah Hobart, John Orcutt, Stephen Stoddard, Thomas James, John Jacob, Ebenezer Kent, Joseph Bates, and Elijah Vinal jun. Soon after, followed the names of eighteen other persons, who were admitted to their communion.

In the call and settlement of Mr. Hobart, there seems to have been a perfect agreement of the whole society. There is no account, either from record or tradition, of opposition by any one. And this harmony appears to have continued during the nineteen years of his ministry. In him was found an excellent spirit. His character, which I early obtained from aged persons, who knew it, and from some of his writings which I possess, appears to have been that of a truly devout, enlightened, and liberal divine. He had talents as a preacher, and virtues as a Christian, which would have rendered him instructive and acceptable, in a learned and more numerous society. His worth was not much known abroad, but was justly and highly appreciated by his early instructor, neighbour, and constant friend, the excellent Gay. Whatever be a preacher's talents and worth, his reputation will depend much on the celebrity of the situation in which he is placed, and of the characters with whom he is connected. The celebrated Cotton, Mathers, and Mayhew, were, it is believed, great and good; but they were spurred by the hope of fame, as well as the love of God and their fellowmen. Placed in a populous and distinguished town, they were connected with men eminent in the literary

and political world, who assisted to spread their fame. Conohasset, far in the bay, had little connexion with societies, or men, who had made much advancement in letters and taste. It was seldom visited by strangers ; and its inhabitants, though respectable for their natural powers and Christian virtues, had neither leisure nor means to record and publish their preacher's worth.

The Rev. Nehemiah Hobart was born in the first parish of Hingham, and was the son of David Hobart Esq., and grandson of Rev. Peter Hobart of that town. He was graduated at Harvard College in the year 1714. He died in 1740, in the 43d year of his age. As he had lived beloved, he died much lamented by the people of his charge. He sleeps in the centre burying ground, and has a decent stone to tell where he lies. He was twice married, having seven children by his first wife, and none by his last. Three of his children he buried in their infancy, and left one son and three daughters. These all continued to a good old age, respectable for their understandings and Christian habits. The son moved to Connecticut, two of his daughters married in Cohasset, and one still survives, at the age of 87, and is wife of the venerable Deacon Kent, now in his 92d year. During Mr. Hobart's ministry, 77 persons were admitted to the church, 277 children and 27 adults were baptized, and 80 couples were united in marriage. The number of deaths was 116 : 70 of this number were children under 8 years of age, 30 of whom died of an inflammatory sore throat.

The first deacon was John Jacob, a man whose memory ought to be dear to the church and society. He was the society's agent in procuring their parochial privileges. The husband of one wife, a worthy woman ; without children ; with a benevolent mind and considerable property, he seemed to adopt the society as his particular charge. He possessed their

confidence, and used it in all respects, for their benefit. His care for his own spiritual improvement, and for the reputation of the church, was manifested by his constant attention to public worship and the sacred ordinances of religion, and by a handsome donation of plate, which he made to the table of communion. I received his character from the late Thomas Lothrop Esq., whom the deacon educated and made his principal heir; and into whose mind, naturally strong, he early instilled that love of religion, knowledge, and usefulness, which under God, qualified this nephew, to discharge acceptably, in mature years, the duties of every important office in the gift of the town, and respected as a legislator and magistrate of this Commonwealth.

The second deacon was Joseph Bates, a man of some distinction, from his piety and useful acquirements. He was the first treasurer and clerk of the society. The third deacon was Lazarus Beal, a devout man, and of good report among all who knew him. He commanded his children and household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord. The two deacons, who now officiate in the church, are his grandsons.

The early condition of the society here was, in some respects, preferable to that of the settlers in many other new places. They were generally well inured to the climate, having been born in Hingham, or some place in New England. Most of them, either from patrimony or industry, possessed a competent property, with which to begin their improvements, without the fear of immediate want. Looking above the log-house,* they framed their houses of hewn timber, and covered them decently, making them generally two stories in height. The house of their pastor, now in its hundredth year, built of the firmest

* A log-house was, I believe, never built in Conohasset.

oak, is a large and still a handsome, valuable house ; and with proper care, may remain so, it is thought, a century to come. The wild men and beasts of prey had generally retired from their promontory. The inhabitants early built vessels and convenient landing places, by which they availed themselves of the treasures of the sea, and profitably transported to market, in the metropolis, their redundancy of wood. Having roads barely passible, and leading through their own to no place but the bay, they were little connected with elder societies. This led them to draw more closely the bands of their own. Their marriages were generally among themselves ; so that a large portion of the members became connected by blood ; and continue so, in an uncommon degree, to the present day. Truly, neighbours to each other, they had innocent social enjoyment. Places of temptation to excess, were then unknown, as places of common resort. After the labours of the day, unceremonious visits were frequently made at each others houses, where they would talk of the good providence of God to New England, the ways of promoting the welfare of their church and society, and make common stock of useful or entertaining anecdotes, which any one had acquired. Having the bountiful cow, and the bees tamed from the forest, their dwellings flowed with milk and honey : and they could, with the ‘ broiled fish and a little honey-comb,’ with other materials which the house afforded, furnish a social repast, far more friendly to health, virtue, and cheerfulness, than can be found in the luxuries which load the fashionable boards of modern conviviality. Speaking of the early state of society here, it was remarked to me by an aged member—“ They had every thing that heart could wish.”

Feeling that public worship, with attention to Christian ordinances, was necessary, no less to their social prosperity, than their spiritual improvement and

comfort, the church and society lost no time, after the death of Mr. Hobart, before they took measures suitable to fill his place with another well educated and respectable pastor. They employed candidates of good character ; but they did not immediately find one in whom they could unite. They heard Mr. Adams, Hancock, Gay, and four others, before they gave their call to Mr. John Fowle, who became their second pastor. In regard to him, indeed, they were not of one mind. To hear many candidates is not well in any parish. It tends to division. They should learn well the character and qualifications of a preacher before they employ him, and then hear with a view to approve and ordain. The opposers of Mr. Fowle, however, after some time, appear to have consented to his ordination, which took place December 31, 1741. On that occasion, Rev. William Smith of Weymouth began with prayer ; Rev. Hull Abbot of Charlestown preached ; Rev. Nathaniel Eelles of Scituate gave the charge ; Rev. Ebenezer Gay of Hingham gave the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. Fowle felt a deep sense of responsibility in his office. He was allowed, by good judges, to be a man of considerable genius, and handsome acquirements ; and for two or three years was a popular preacher. But he was doomed to have a thorn in the flesh, a most irritable nervous temperament, which rendered him unequal in his performances, and at times, quite peevish and irregular. His infirmity increasing, increased the number of his opposers, till it caused the dissolution of his pastoral relation in the fifth year of his ministry. I do not learn that any immoralities were charged upon him ; but that he had too little self possession, to be useful in the pastoral office. His failure should be attributed rather to physical, than moral defect, rendering him not an object of reproach, but of commiseration.

While here, he married a wife, and had two children. He recorded the names of 12 persons whom he admitted to the church, of 60 children whom he baptized, and 22 couples whom he united in marriage. He was born in Charlestown, near Boston, and was graduated at Harvard College, in the year 1732. After his dismissal he returned with his family to the place of his nativity, where, it is expected, the disorder of his mind increased so much as to incapacitate him for usefulness to society. But the manner of his life towards the close, and the time of his death, I have not been able to learn.

At this period, the numbers and wealth of the church and society had increased so much, that they found their first house of worship too small for their accommodation, and felt themselves able to build another, more commodious as to its size, and more expensive and respectable as to its appearance. Accordingly, I find, by the parish records, they commenced the work near the time of Mr. Fowle's dismissal, and in the course of the ensuing year, erected the house* in which we are now assembled. This house covers an area of 60 feet, by 45. On the northerly end of the roof, was a belfry. Two flights of stairs, leading to the galleries, were placed on the inside of the house. The large front porch, into which the stairs have been removed, and the steeple in which the bell now hangs, have been since erected.

The disappointment of the church and society in Mr. Fowle, seems not to have lessened their attachment to the Christian religion, nor to the benefits, to be derived from Christian teachers. While engaged in building their new house, they employed candidates of good character with a view to unite in one, who might regularly feed them with knowledge, and break unto them the bread of life. Among them was

* The cost, according to the Society's Treas. was £1522, 19s. 9d.

Lawrence, Torrey, Mayhew, and Brown; to the last of whom they gave their united call* to become their pastor. He accepted their call, and on September 2, 1747, before their new house was quite completed, was ordained to the pastoral office. The services on that occasion were—Introductory prayer by Rev. William Smith of Weymouth; Sermon by Rev. Ward Cotton, text, “make full proof of thy ministry;” Charge by Rev. Nathaniel Eelles; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Josiah Cotton; concluding prayer by Rev. Shearjashub Bourn of Scituate.

The talents of the Rev. John Brown were considerably more than ordinary. In a stately person he possessed a mind whose perceptions were quick and clear, and his sentiments were generally the result of just reflection. His voice was loud and smooth. He thought for himself; and when he had formed his opinions, he uttered them with fearless freedom. The son of a respectable divine,† he was early well grounded in the rudiments of literature. Acquainted, from a child, with the Holy Scriptures, from them he formed his religious opinions. He believed the Son of God when he said—“The Father is greater than I;” and although he believed that mankind was sinful, yet he did not attribute their *sins* to his immediate act, who is the Author of all *good*. His sermons, a number of which I possess, are fraught with striking thoughts, suggested by his subjects; and presented in such a style, as would render them acceptable and impressive even to modern hearers. Till advanced in life, he was fond of social intercourse, and was able always to make so-

*It is said there was one opposer only, whom Mr. Brown reconciled by a stroke of good humour. Calling to see the opposer, he inquired the cause of opposition. I like your person and manners, said the opposer, but your preaching, sir, I disapprove. Then, said Mr. Brown, we are agreed. My preaching I do not like very well myself; but how great the folly for you and I to set up our *opinion* against that of the whole parish. The opposer felt, or thought he felt, the folly—and was no longer opposed.

† Rev. John Brown of Haverhill.

ciety innocently cheerful. He would sometimes, it is said, descend to that jesting, which an Apostle has told us, is not convenient. He was never prone to labour much with his hands; nor to intense application of mind, in abstruse subjects.

A warm friend to the interests of his country, he zealously advocated its civil and religious freedom. By appointment of government, he served one campaign as chaplain to a colonial regiment, at Nova Scotia, and for his acceptable service a tract of land, now Liverpool, in that province, was granted to him by the crown. Taking a lively interest in the American revolution, he encouraged, by example and preaching, his fellow citizens, at home and abroad, patiently to make those sacrifices which were demanded by the times; predicting, at the same time, with the foresight of a prophet, the present unrivalled prosperity of his country.* Although he zealously advocated the cause of freedom, he considered the appropriate duties of his sacred office paramount to all others. He was constant and careful, till prevented by the infirmities of age, in his preparations for the Lord's day, and regular and acceptable in the discharge of parochial duties. During his long ministry, the people of his charge were generally attentive to his instructions in the house of God, and profited by his administration of the ordinances. He inherited a firm constitution; and although within a few years of his death, he was much enfeebled, from want of exercise in the open air, he still continued to preach, with diminished effect, until the last sabbath of his life. He died in the 67th year of his age, and

* See his excellent sermon in manuscript, delivered to some companies of New England soldiers, under the wide spreading elm in Hingham. He published a Thanksgiving discourse, in the year of the massacre at Boston, in which that event is ably discussed. He published a discourse from Jeremiah xvii. 9, in which an ingenious comment is given upon the words—"The heart is deceitful above all things" &c. He published also a discourse, occasioned by the death of Dr. Mayhew.

45th of his ministry. He sleeps with the first pastor in the centre burial ground. To those who knew his worth, his memory is precious. While here, he buried two wives and two children, and left a widow and one son. The name of his first wife was Jane Doane, that of his second, Hepzibah Ames.

He recorded the names of 136 persons whom he admitted to the church, of 221 children and 25 adults whom he baptized, and of 225 couples whom he united in marriage. Of deaths I find no record.

The persons elected, during his ministry, to the honourable office of deacon, were Jonathan Beal, Isaac Lincoln 3d, Amos Joy, Abel Kent, Isaac Burr, and Job Cushing. All these, except one, have been released by death or age, from their official duties, and with the thanks of the church for their faithful services. Deacon Kent and his wife, still survive, full of days, and of good fruits, having long been of that class to whom the hoary head is a crown of glory.

Although the society, during Mr. Brown's ministry, made some accession to their numbers, they made little improvement in their modes of agriculture, building, or education. Living so near the sea, no small portion of them thought it easier to plough the deep for bread, than to plough their rugged soil. Many engaged in the fisheries and in foreign voyages. And both in the French war, and that of the Revolution, being more exposed to enemies on the seas, than in most other places, a greater proportion of their young men, here, than elsewhere, bore arms in defence of their country.

When the approaching difficulties, between the American colonies and Great Britain, caused frequent town meetings, and the society here found it burdensome to transact their civil concerns with Hingham; feeling at the same time adequate to perform their own business among themselves, they made applica-

tion to the government, to be separated from the jurisdiction of that town, and to be incorporated as a town, by the name of Cohasset. Accordingly, in 1770, they became a town, with all the powers and privileges appertaining to such corporations. Since that event, the affairs of the town have been managed with a good degree of harmony and regularity. The revolutionary war, however, greatly embarrassed them, as it did the whole country. But small improvements were made, until after the establishment of the federal government. Since then their improvements have been as great as those of most towns of their age and size.

After the death of Mr. Brown, the church and society immediately directed their attention to that provision for religious instruction, with the administration of the ordinances, without which no society will long experience social order and prosperity. They were supplied six sabbaths, by the pall bearers, at the funeral of their late pastor, and then employed Mr. Josiah C. Shaw, as their first candidate. With him the society were generally pleased, and soon united in giving him a call to settle with them in the ministry. He accepted their call, and was ordained October 3, 1792. On that occasion, Rev. Elijah Leonard of Marshfield, began with prayer; Rev. William Shaw of that town preached; Rev. Simeon Williams of Weymouth made the consecrating prayer; Rev. John Mellen of Hanover gave the Charge; Rev. Daniel Shute, D. D. of Hingham gave the Right Hand of Fellowship; Rev. Henry Ware of that town concluded with prayer.

The Rev. Josiah C. Shaw was a native of Marshfield. His ministry was commenced with fair prospects of tranquillity to himself, and usefulness to his flock; but was abruptly terminated June 3, 1796. The church and society, to their great honour, and notwithstanding the unhappy circumstances in which

they were placed, soon took the proper steps to supply themselves with another pastor. After hearing a number of candidates, well recommended, they gave a call, without opposition, to their present pastor. With a deliberation due to its solemnity, he accepted the call; and on Jan. 10th 1793, was ordained to the pastoral charge of the church and society in Cohasset.

The services on that solemnity were,—Introductory prayer by Rev. Caleb Prentiss of Reading; Sermon, by Rev. Eliab Stone of that town; Ordaining prayer by Rev. Daniel Shute, D. D. of Hingham; Charge by Rev. Gad Hitchcock, D. D. of Pembroke; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Henry Ware of Hingham; Concluding prayer by Rev. David Barns, D. D. of Scituate. The present pastor (author of this article) was born in Reading, north parish, in the county of Middlesex, and was graduated at the University in Cambridge on the Commencement of 1794.

Since his ordination 87 persons have been admitted to the church, 78 have owned the covenant, 425 children and 33 adults have been baptized, and 120 couples have been united in marriage. There have been 356 deaths.

The present deacons of the church are Abel Kent, Uriah Lincoln, Thomas Bourn, and David Beal. The two first, by reason of age, have been relieved from their official duties, with the unanimous thanks of the church for their able and faithful services. Dea. Dincoln has recently conferred a lasting memorial of his pious regard to the table of the Lord, by a donation of two large, well wrought, silver cups. It is due to the deacons still officiating, to say, they magnify their office by their discharge of its duties.

Within the century the town has educated at Cambridge University, seven of its sons. These are all still living, except one, namely Benjamin Pratt Esq. who died in 1763. He was son of the first Aaron

Pratt of this place ; and received the honours of College in 1737. His talents were of the first order. He studied the profession of the law ; and after highly distinguishing himself at the courts of justice in this Commonwealth, was promoted to the bench, as chief justice, in the state of New York. The others of this place, who have been graduated at our University, sustain characters which reflect honour on the place of their nativity, and on this eminently distinguished seminary. All except one, who is providentially deprived of a sound mind, are now filling, or preparing to fill, stations in which they may be useful to society and benefactors to their country. Eleazer James, in the county of Worcester, is highly respectable as a citizen and attorney at law ; Joshua Bates, S. T. D. is president of Middlebury College in the state of Vermont ; Isaac Lincoln is an eminent physician in the state of Maine, and member of the medical society ; T. Stephenson and J. B. Flint are now engaged in the study of their respective professions.

During the last 25 years, the improvements in this town, in education, building, navigation, roads, and bridges, have been laudable. More has been done in these particulars, it is believed, than was done in twice that number of years preceding. The present house of worship, built by your fathers, has received improvements, as to its appearance and accommodation. Since my connexion with the society, it has been painted, and there have been added to it a decent steeple, a number of pews, and the dress for the pulpit, furnished by the ladies.*

DESCRIPTION OF COHASSET.

COHASSET, a post town, in the county of Norfolk, is in extent, from north to south, about four and an

* Since the above was written, the house has received a stove, suitable sufficiently to warm it.

half miles ; and from east to west, about four. It is bounded on the west, by Hingham and Hull ; on the north and northeast, by Massachusetts Bay ; and on the southeast and south, by Scituate.

Surface and Soil.

The part next to the sea, a few rods above high water mark, and in some places bounding the water, is a chain of rocky hills and precipices, forming a rampart against the invading waves, almost from one end of the town to the other. This chain is in some places broken, leaving spaces for a few small streams to run into the sea ; and the sea, flowing at flood tide into their mouths, covers the low lands, forming a number of salt marshes.

The most northerly division, about a mile in width, including the part already described, abounds with rocks and hills. Little of it is suitable for tillage ; some parts are covered with wood, oak, walnut, and upland cedar. A considerable part of it, however, furnishes good pasturage.

A second division, about one mile in width, including the common, on which stands the meeting-house, furnishes an excellent soil ; and, except some places, rather too rocky, is well adapted to all the purposes of agriculture. It is a deep, black soil, sparingly intermingled with gravel. The common is a pleasant plain of about ten acres, dressed, in the season of vegetation, with a garment of deep verdure. In the southeasterly part, near the meeting-house, is a handsome little pond of fresh water, about eight rods in diameter, round as a basin, and never dry. Through this division, runs the principal road, leading from Hingham to Scituate.

On the southwest part of this division, is a fine swell of land and moderate hills, extending the whole length of the town. Its soil may be classed with that of the first quality ; producing grass, corn, grain,

and vegetables in great abundance. Although it has yielded its increase for a hundred years, its strength still remains. The hills are no where so steep, as to prevent the plough running to their summits. On the south side of this swell, is a fresh pond of ninety acres, abounding with pike and other fish, common to fresh water. A third division for a mile in width, is wood land, yielding walnut, beech, oak, maple, and pine, and is so loaded in many parts, with ponderous rocks, as forever to baffle the hand of culture. A fourth division, in width about a mile, extending to Scituate line, consists partly of soil similar to that of the second division, and partly of a light soil of easy tillage. Through this division runs the beech-wood street, and through a part of it, flows the principal stream in Cohasset, which is respectable enough to be called a river; but in Hutchinson's history of New England, is called Conohasset rivulet, forming, anciently, the boundary line between Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies.

Agriculture and Produce.

A considerable number of the inhabitants of this town, from their situation, depend more on navigation, for their support and wealth, than on agriculture. There are a considerable number, however, bred to husbandry; a number of persons also engaged in other business, have large and well cultivated farms, and almost every householder possesses a portion of land, which he cultivates. In the town, there are, deducting for roads and water, 5633 acres; 141 of which are tillage, producing on an average, 2822 bushels of corn, 457 bushels of rye, and 223 bushels of barley. Of upland mowing ground, there are 466 acres, producing 345 tons of English hay; of fresh meadow, there are 301 acres, producing 211 tons of fresh hay; of salt marsh, there are 62 acres, producing 32 tons of salt hay. The pasturage, 2562

acres, is peculiarly sweet and nourishing, enabling the farmers to raise and fatten some of the finest cattle and sheep, that are seen in the market.

Navigation and Fisheries.

There are 41 vessels of different tonnage, owned in Cohasset. Of these 1067 tons are employed in the mackerel fishery. They take, in a season, 2420 barrels; 200 tons are employed in the codfishery; taking 2590 quintals of codfish.* The fishing vessels employ 223 men and boys. Some of the largest vessels, are employed in foreign trade. After the season for taking fish, a number of the fishing vessels are employed in the coasting trade with various parts of the United States, and some in trade with the West Indies. Cohasset harbour, at the east part of the town, is formed by a small bay, nearly a mile inland, into which the sea and vessels pass, through a considerable channel. The channel was probably created, and is still kept open, and the harbour made deeper and wider, by the flowing into it, on the southeast, of Conohasset river, and that on the southwest, of another small stream, sometimes called James' river, from its crossing the street, near the dwelling house of the late Christopher James. The water of the harbour is not any time sufficiently deep for vessels of large burthen, when laden; but is very commodious and safe, for those from eighty to a hundred tons.

To conduct vessels with safety into the harbour, requires the skill of seamen well acquainted with the entrance. About the entrance, extending to the east and west, and some at two miles from the shore, are scattered those deadly enemies to mariners, long and far known by the name of Cohasset rocks. The

* The estimate of the fisheries, may not, perhaps, be correct for any one year, but may be considered as an average for a number of years.

spaces, now water, between these rocks, were probably, at some very ancient period, filled with earth, softer than that on the present shores, rendering the promontory commensurate with the outermost rock. The attrition of the waters, pouring into, and from the Bay, may have removed the softer earth, till they came to those solid ramparts with which nature has lined the present shores. These, nothing short of Almighty power can remove. They have always said, and will forever prevailingly say to the invading ocean, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.

A good knowledge of the Cohasset rocks, and the Graves off the shores of Nahant, is requisite to navigate with safety the waters of the Bay. If in the night, or bad weather, the commander or pilot be ignorant of his situation, or sleep at his post, like Palinurus of old, he will be in the utmost danger of shipwreck and death, from a Scylla on the one hand, and Charybdis on the other. The rocks have been so well surveyed and marked, that their situation is sufficiently known. There is one circumstance, however, which I fear has not been sufficiently observed by mariners sailing from the southern cape. The flood tide ordinarily sets in towards the rocks, with considerably greater force than that with which it ever sets out. Consequently, if there be not, in running, a correspondent allowance made for leeway, the ship will be in danger of falling on the entering rock, or some rocks above it.

The people of this town have had frequent calls for their compassionate exertions in behalf of suffering seamen. That they have been prompt to answer these calls, is manifest from the number of medals and other rewards of merit, which they have received, not only from the society whose name* designates its

* Humane.

heavenly purposes, but from gratitude expressed in distant countries. Among the many instances of distress by shipwreck, in which the kindest assistance and relief have been given, one only will be here noticed, the circumstances of which do equal credit to those who gave, and to those who received relief: On February 12, 1793, the ship *Gertrude-Maria*, of 400 tons, bound from Copenhagen to Boston, with a cargo, estimated at \$40,000, and commanded by Hans Peter Clien, was wrecked on a small island, among Cohasset rocks, called Brush Island. Having entered the Bay, the commander knew not the danger of his situation. Clouds obscured the light of the sun by day, of the moon and stars by night, and no small tempest with frost and snow lay upon them. In the awful war of elements, the ship was at the mercy of the fierce winds and mountainous billows.* These threw her first upon a small ledge, where she suffered but partial injury; then on the Island, just named, whose sides are covered with pointed ledges. On these the angry surges raised and depressed her with violence, till they broke her asunder. Death now staring every man in the face, trial was made by two men with a boat to reach the shore. The boat was dashed to pieces. One was drowned, the other left to recover the wreck. At length, by extending a spar from the stern of the wreck, the survivors all got upon the Island, where the waves could not reach them. Here they tarried in the tempest, chilled with wet and frost, without fire or house to shelter them, till discovered early the next morning by the inhabitants of the town. Means for granting relief were immediately adopted. A boat was quickly brought to the beach, a mile over land. She was manned without delay, and plunged into the agitated surf, at

* *Continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt,
Æquora : dispersi jactamur gurgite vasto.—VIRG.*

the imminent hazard of the lives of the adventurers. She reached the Island, and brought off three of the sufferers. Another attempt was immediately made, but the storm and the tumult of the sea increasing, it was frustrated by the destruction of the boat against the rocks. Two other boats were soon brought from a distance, and the dauntless exertions of the boatmen were renewed, till the sufferers, twenty-one in number, were all safely landed on the shore. Thence they were conveyed to the houses of Elisha Doane, Esq. and other gentlemen, where they were carefully warmed, clothed, and fed, as their frozen and perishing condition required. At these houses they remained, imbibing the wine and the oil, ministered by the hand of compassion, till their wounds were healed, and health restored. In the mean time, due attention was paid to their property, now the sport of the waters. An account of articles of the smallest, as well as of greater value, was given to the master of the ship; insomuch, that when all was collected, that could be saved, and sold at auction, its amount was 12,000 dollars. When the Captain and his men, (all it is said of the royal navy of his country,) were provided with another vessel, and ready to leave the town, their hearts were swollen with grateful emotions toward those, who, under God, had delivered and cherished them in their perils and distress. The Captain, a man of much respectability, unable to utter his feelings, told his benefactors they should hear from him again. He sailed from Boston, and touching at St. Croix, published there an affecting account of the compassion and hospitality he had experienced from the people of Cohasset. When arrived in Denmark, he gave to the king such a representation of the people here, as induced his majesty to order the College of Commerce to send, in his majesty's name, four large medals of gold, and ten of silver, with the likeness of himself impressed on one side, and with Danish words

on the other, importing, Reward of Merit—Noble Deeds.

With the medals of gold came directions; one for Rev. Josiah C. Shaw; one for Elisha Doane, Esq.; one for Capt. John Lewis; and one for Capt. Levi Tower. The silver medals were designed for other citizens, who had been most active in giving relief to the sufferers. Honourable notice was likewise taken by the Humane Society, of the commendable humanity, here manifested to strangers in distress, and a pecuniary donation was granted to the deserving agents. The Governor of the Island of St. Croix manifested, also, the high sense he entertained of the benevolence of the people here, by his extraordinary kindness, on that account, to a gentlemen from Boston. Mr. Daniel Hubbard, a respectable merchant of that town, was taken dangerously sick, on his passage home, from abroad, and put into the harbour of St. Croix, with a view to obtain medical aid and other assistance, which his perilous condition required. At first he was refused admission, prohibited by the laws of the place, lest he should communicate his sickness. But as soon as it was made known to the Governor, that he was from Boston, he was removed on shore, and the best medical aid, and every assistance and courtesy granted him, till he was recovered; for which, all compensation was refused, the Governor alleging, that he was warranted in his conduct, by the humanity and great kindness Capt. Clien and his crew had experienced, when shipwrecked at Cohasset, near Boston.

Village.

The Village stands partly on the common, and partly below it. The street through it runs in a southeasterly direction to the end of the common, and then bends to the eastward, till it comes to the harbour. There are 44 houses in the village. Of these, 26

have two stories; one has three. Near the center is the meeting-house. A few rods from it is a two-story building, erected for an academy. It has a large front porch, two large school-rooms on the first floor, with a spacious hall over them, extending the whole length of the building.

Climate and Diseases.

Cohasset is in Lat. $42^{\circ} 13'$ N. about 17 miles south by east from Boston. Its situation is healthful. It has a salubrious atmosphere, excepting at times in March and April, when the northeast winds, coming direct from the sea, are very chilling, and trying to lungs, unaccustomed to them. Consumption is the most prevalent disease. No epidemic, proving very mortal, has for many years been experienced.—For deaths, see second division.

Manufactures and Trade.

A quantity of woollen and cotton cloths are manufactured in almost every family; and with utensils, needful in their several callings, the inhabitants are mostly furnished by their own mechanics. Vessels of good construction are built at the harbour. There are in the town two grist-mills and one saw-mill. At the mouth of the river is a flour-manufactory, on a large scale, with complicated machinery, having four pair of imported stones; one pair, however, are used as a grist-mill. There are in the town a number of extensive salt works, at which about 5500 bushels of salt are annually made. The trade of Cohasset is considerable. Beside the trading vessels already mentioned, there are five retail stores invested with considerable capitals.

Curiosities.

Near the base of a large mass of solid rock, on Cooper's Island, so called, is a curious excavation,

which has the name of the Indian Pot. Its cavity is as round, smooth, and regular as a well-formed seething pot; and will hold about 12 pails full. On the same mass of rock, is another excavation, called the Indian Well. The inside of the well, from the bottom about four feet upward, is a circle, the rest of it, about six feet more, is semi-circular, opening to the east. The pot and well were nearly in their present state when the town was first settled. The former, it is conjectured, was made by the Indians for the twofold purpose of pounding their parched corn, and boiling their food. Heat was probably communicated to water in it, by heated stones, after the manner of the Islanders in the Pacific Ocean. The latter might serve as a reservoir of fresh water, received from the clouds; as there is no stream very near. In the ground near the well have been found axes and other tools, made and used by the natives, which prove the place to have been once the residence of many of that people.

Education.

In 1797 a number of gentlemen united and erected a handsome building for an Academy. It had a preceptor and was sufficiently supplied with scholars for a number of years; but having no permanent funds, it is not now in a flourishing state. There are in the town, four district schools, taught in the winter by male instructors, and in the summer, by well educated females. Beside these, there are, generally, private schools, in one or more of which are taught English grammar, composition, geography, and the languages. In the village is a social library, of about 200 volumes of valuable books.

Houses and Population.

Cohasset contains 160 dwelling-houses. Those in the village, generally, and many in other parts of the

town, have two stories. A considerable number are built after the best modern style, and are handsomely painted. Whittington's Hotel, now owned by Mr. John J. Lathrop, jun. is a large, roomy house, situated at Sandy Cove. Its situation commands some of the finest water prospects, and much of very pleasant rural scenery. It has been, in the hot seasons, a favourite resort for gentlemen and ladies from the metropolis. In the town are 1100 inhabitants.

Roads and Bridges.

The town was originally laid out, as near as might be, in squares, whose sides should be one mile. It was divided into four parts, called divisions, by lines running nearly east and west, the whole length of the town, each division being a mile in width. These divisions were separated into parts or squares, by lines one mile from each other, running at right-angles with the lines of divisions. It was intended by the proprietors of Conohasset, that roads, if possible, should run with the lines which marked the divisions and squares, and spaces of land for that purpose were accordingly left. But when the roads were really made, it was found necessary to vary much from the original design, owing to the immoveable rocks and other obstructions, falling in the way. The roads in every part of the town have, within a few years, been generally much improved. When the valuable new road, mostly made the last year, through the swamp and plain, shall be completed, the road will be good and pretty straight from Hingham to Cohasset harbour. To facilitate the communication with Scituate and the country below, two valuable bridges were, the last season, thrown over Conohasset river, one of stone at Lincoln's mill, and one of timber well constructed, near the flour-factory.

NEW-ENGLANDS SALAMANDER, DISCOVERED BY AN IRRELIGIOUS AND SCORNFULL PAMPHLET, CALLED NEW-ENGLANDS JONAS CAST UP AT LONDON, &c. OWNED BY MAJOR JOHN CHILDE, BUT NOT PROBABLE TO BE WRITTEN BY HIM.

Or a satisfactory Answer to many Aspersions cast upon New-England therein. Wherein our Government there is shewed to bee legall and not arbitrary, being as neere the Law of England as our Condition will permit.

Together with a briefe Reply to what is written in Answer to certaine Passages in a late Booke called Hypocrisie Unmasked.

BY EDW. WINSLOW.

LONDON, Printed by Ric. Cotes, for John Bellamy, and are to bee sold at his Shop at the Signe of the three Golden Lions in Cornehill neare the Royall Exchange, 1647.

To Major John Childe in Answer to his Preface.

SIR,

I AM sorry for your owne sake, being a Gentleman reported to bee peaceable in your conversation, that you should bee thus engaged in other mens quarrells; especially to father other mens falshoods and irreligious jeeres and scoffes, whose spirits if you were so well acquainted with as my selfe and some others that came lately from New-England, as well as thousands in the Countrey, you would bee more wary then to engage as you doe.

But first for answer to your Preface, and then I conceive I have answered every word of yours in your seeming Treatise: And yet I would not bee mistaken that any should thinke I judge you unable to write such a peece, for there is no solidity in it: but I am so well acquainted with this language and such proceedings before ever I saw your face, as no man is or ever was better acquainted with the phrase or writ-

ings of another, then I am with your chief animator to this undertaking, whom I call New-Englands Salamander, because of his constant and many yeeres exercise, and delight in opposition to whatsoever hath been judged most wholesome and safe for the weale-publick of the country (from whence hee last came) either in Politicks or Ecclesiasticks, being ever willing to enjoy the common benefits of peace by government (which maintaines every man in his proper right) but never willing to beare any part of the charge in supporting the same, as appeared by his constant cavilling thereat when ever any rates came upon the country though never so easie and just.

But to come to the occasion of your printing the following relation, which you say "are the sufferings that not onely my brother Robert Child Doctor of Physick, with some Gentlemen and others have suffered in their persons and estates by fines and imprisonment in New-England, and false reports and feigned miracles here," &c. For answer, that your brother was in prison, and for what I certified you at my first comming over; though to you grievous in regard of naturall affection, (which I honour where I finde in any :) Then also being occasioned thereunto I freely imparted to you the countries colorable grounds of suspecting his agency for the great incendiaries of Europe, besides the matter of fact for which hee was committed, 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 were more jealous of him then any; (though to mee he was a meere stranger) and therefore I marvell that Major Childe should give me occasion, and force mee to publish these things which I neither affect nor intended: but I shall forbear in that kind because I would not provoke.

As for "their estates being weakned by fines," that is yet to prove: for though they were fined, yet the fines were not levied, nay so gentle was the censure of the Court, that upon the publike acknowledgement of the offence the fine was to bee remitted to all or any one of them so doing. "And for false reports and feigned miracles fomented here to colour their unjust proceedings," as you terme it; I answer, your book is the first reporter, of many things I here meet with, especially as you lay them downe, as shall appeare more particularly.

In the next place you say, "they give out that my brother and others desire a toleration of all religions:" This is the first time that ever I heard it so reported of them.

Secondly, whereas you say "they are accused to bee against all government both in Church and Common weale:" This I know to bee false for I heard them demand in Court the Presbyterian government, and it was granted them. Besides, before this demand in Court, at a private conference with an eminent person (who well hoped to have satisfied them) hee demanded of the petitioners what Church government it was they would have? One of them answered, he desired that particular government which Mr. John Goodwin in Colemanstreet 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 any thing 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. Now the former three passages (and not without the latter) were all told mee by grave persons in New-England, such as I beleeve. And therefore if any so accuse them I must needs cleare them: but with all testifie I never met

with this accusation against them before I read it in your booke.

Thirdly, for their "petitioning the Parliament;" take notice wee hold that no subject ought to bee restrained this libertie, and therefore count it no offence nor ever did, and therefore they were not committed for that.

A fourth false report you terme, is, "Their Petition brought from thence to bee presented to the Parliament (which they had named Jonas) in a ship called the Supply; being in a storme neere Silly, out of horrou of conscience the petition was torne and throwne over board: and that then the storme immediately ceased, and they miraculously saved." To this I answer, I was not in the ship (I praise God) and therefore what I say in it must bee from others whom I judge truely godly, and of the most grave and solid persons amongst them; and, Sir, let mee tell you, and the world in answer to you, I have heard the passage from divers, but never as you print it; and doe thinke verily your informers belie themselves that they may have somewhat to cavill at. But though I had not thought to have entred upon a large answer to any particular: yet it being one of the heads of your Treatise, I shall bee larger in answering that then any other thing; partly to vindicate Mr. Cotton, who is much abused in your booke; and partly from their owne pen to shew the prophane carriage of their partie in the ship by their fearefull provoking the Almighty to follow them with his terrours throughout the voyage from New-England to Silley, where they had a great deliverance, and yet neverthesse to shew how they goe on still to abuse Gods mercy, patience, and long suffering by this prophane title and story colored by your selfe. And thus much for answer to your Preface. As for the foure heads of your book and the Postscript, I shall answer them as they arise.

An Answer to the imperfect Relation of the Hingam Case.

Were I not so well acquainted with our New-England-Salamanders wayes, and what a puther hee made in the Countrey about this businesse, I should stand amazed at the malice of men to see this brought against the government. To answer either this case or the next at length would ask so much paines, and bee so great a bulke, as their booke being but a two penny jeering Gigge, penned rather to please the fancy of common understandings, then to satisfie any solid judgements; would goe much further then ever the answer would bee like to follow, that so he might admire us with a witnesse. And if he can cause any reproach to lie upon us (whether just or unjust, that matters not) then hath hee hit the marke hee shoots at. And therefore to avoyd the many particulars would fall in a distinct answer by giving an account of the whole businesse, I shall desire the Reader to accept this generall.

The inhabitants of Hingam were knowne to bee a peaceable and industrious people, and so continued for many yeers; the Lord supporting them in the midst of many straights in their first beginnings, crowning their indeavours with his blessing, and raising them up to a comfortable and prosperous outward condition of life, and such is their state through Gods mercy and goodnesse this day, living very plentifully. But Satan envying their happinesse (the Lord permitting as it seems) on a suddaine cast a bone of division amongst them, which tooke mightily, to the great griefe and admiration of their neighbours on every side; which controversie indeed arose about the choyce of their Captaine as is related. But our Salamander living too neere them, and being too well acquainted with them, blew up this to such an height by his continuall counsell and advise which the major part of the Towne followed to their owne smart, and

the great griefe and trouble of Church and Commonweale, as they not onely filled their Court with complaints against each other, and wearied out the chiefe Magistrates in place, but complained openly against one of them, *viz.* the Deputie Governour, who upon hearing the Case thought good to bind some of them over to the Court; some submitted and gave bond, others refused, and were sent to prison, &c. This Gentleman, as on all other occasions so in this particular much honored himselfe, by leaving his place upon the Bench and going to the Bar, and would not bee perswaded to cover his head or take his place till the case was heard and ended, which continued many dayes, partly by reason of the great liberty the Court gave the Plaintiffes in regard it reflected upon one of themselves, (and I thinke the first case that ever befell in that kind;) but more especially because our Salamander was got to Boston, where though hee would not openly shew himselfe, yet kept close in a private roome where they had recourse unto him many dayes, yea many times a day for advice, and followed it to the utmost, to the great charge of the Countrey (which came to much more, as I have heard, then the hundred pounds fine which was laid upon them) in providing the diet of their Court.

But the Court finding for the Defendant after much trouble in many dayes agitation fined the Plaintiffes in an hundred pound, and laid it upon sundry of them in particular ameracements according to their severall demeanours in the action, and left the Deputie Governour to take his course with them, who onely rested in the vindication of his name; which the Countrey so farre cleared, as not long after, their election day falling by course, they chose him their Governour, a place not strange to him, in which wee left him, having more often borne it then all others in that government. And for the differences which befell them in their Church; whether the Court or the Churches I

know not, but the one entreated divers of the Elders to goe unto them, who through Gods mercy and blessing upon their endeavours prevented a division amongst them, though they could not at first settle things so well as they desired. And thus much for answer to the Hingam case which may bee sufficient to satisfie any judicious Reader: and for those whose hearts are fraught with malice, the Lord onely can convict such, to whom I leave them.

An Answer to the second head, namely the Petition of Doctor Robert Childe, &c.

This Remonstancce and Petition of theirs which hath made so great a sound in other places as well as here, notwithstanding their golden pretences of respect and reformation, was no sooner delivered, but before they could possibly expect an answer from the Court (notwithstanding the largeness of it) copies were dispersed into the hands of some knowne ill affected people in the severall governments adjoyning, as Plymouth, Conectacut, New Haven, &c. who gloried not a little in it; nay the petitioners spared no paines, for before our comming away wee heard from the Dutch Plantation, Virginia and Bermudas, that they had them here also, with such expressions in their letters as the present Governour of Bermudas was bold to affirme to a Gentleman from whom I had it, who was then bound for New-England to get passage for England, that hee was confident hee should finde New-England altogether by the eares as well as England; which hee well knew by a petition and remonstrance which hee had received from thence, &c. Now had a peaceable Reformation beene the marke they aymed at, they would not have gone about thus to make the government so much despised farre and neare, by casting such contempt upon them as they have endeavoured before ever they knew what acceptation their remon-

strance and petition would finde ; which was taken into consideration till the next generall Court, where they were answered at large, charged with manifold falsehoods and contempts and fined for the same, after a solemne hearing of the cause.

But however I shall forbear to give a particular answer in print to the said Remonstrance, not because I cannot, for I have the whole case, the Courts defence against it, &c. which would bee larger then both these bookes, being as I said before too large in regard of the price of the buyer ; and therefore shall give such a generall answer as may satisfie the indifferent and equall minded reader, and thereby deceive also our Salamanders expectation to draw out from mee the whole which befell since his comming away, that so he might finde more fewell to baske himselfe in, and satiate his contentious humors to the full.

But for answer, good reader, take notice as well of the quality of these Petitioners as of their demeanour before expressed, and then thou shalt finde divers of them to bee inconsiderable in regard of proprietie with us ; who might bee justly suspected to draw in the rest who are much bewailed by many of us : and in so doing it's possible thou mayest as well bee jealous of their good intents as those in the countrey : For three of them, namely Doctor Childe, John Smith and John Dand, they are persons that have no proprietie or knowne proper estate in the government where they are so busie to disturbe and distract : and for Mr. Thomas Fowle (who whether drawne in or no I know not) hee joyned with them in this Petition and Remonstrance at such a time when hee was resolved to leave the countrey, and since hath done, and sent for his wife and family, as I heare. 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, and 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. At his first comming 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 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; and if he might be thus suffered, why not others? and then wee must all give over; for if we have not the power of government, and cannot administer justice seasonably on all occasions, well we may come back againe and take some other course, but we cannot there subsist.

A second of these is Mr. John Smith, who formerly lived about two or three yeeres in Boston, but before this remonstrance, himselfe and wife were

removed to Road Iland, but never had any personall inheritance in the countrey, and was now at the Massachusets but as a stranger.

A third is one Mr. John Dand, who hath lived in Boston as a sojourner since these warres in another mans house at board-hire, whose businesse and occasions there are unknowne unto us; and whose carriage till this present was seemingly faire, but all on a suddaine though no further interested in the countrey he thus engageth himselfe against the authority of the place. Thus taking Mr. Fowle with them who was upon departure from the countrey as afore, you may see the persons to bee such as have no considerable interest amongst us, at least foure in seaven: And all this being true I have related, I suppose by this time the Reader may conceive, or at least suspect their faire pretences and great glisterings are not pure gold.

But besides all this take notice good reader, that our Salamander wintred many moneths amongst them, very gracious and frequent in their companies, and no doubt a great helpe in furthering their designe in their Remonstrance, which brake forth not long after his returne home the spring following: and indeed his company had beene enough alone to have produced such an effect; and therefore for my part so well knowing the man I cannot wonder at it as many doe, assuring my selfe hee better knowes how to ripen such fruit then all the Costermongers in London.

And now let mee goe to the title of the booke which hath its relation to the Petition aforesaid; and after their Gigge called "New-Englands Jonas cast up at London," they would make the world beleieve that "divers honest and godly persons are imprisoned in New-England for petitioning for government in the Common-weale, according to the lawes of England, and either for desiring admittance of themselves and children to the Sacraments in our Churches, or else for

leave to have Ministers and Church government according to the best reformation of England and Scotland." Now these charges are most notorious false, and so knowne, for I came not alone from New-England, but accompanied with an hundred persons at least, which I believe can testifie in the case. And therefore Major Childe take notice how you are abused by them to father such devilish and slanderous reports as these.

For the first, 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. And lest any should thinke (as I heare some doe) that the Court of the Massachusets hath dealt rigorously with them; and that the Petition is very faire and orderly, &c. let the reader know that such thoughts must either proceed from great weaknesse in not understanding or discerning the many grosse charges in it, or else from partialitie or evill affection to the government which they neither love nor know; for in their Remonstrance they not only defame the government, but controule the wisdom of the State of England in the frame of their charter which is under the broad seale of the kingdome by charging the government "to bee an ill compacted vessell." Secondly, they charge all the afflictions that have befallen the personall inhabitants either by sicknesses on the land, or losses at sea "upon the evill of the government." Thirdly, they goe about to perswade the people, that all the priviledges granted and confirmed under the broad seale to the Governour and Company of the Massachusets belong to all freeborne English men; which contrariwise belong onely to the said Governour and Company, and such as they shall thinke meet to receive. Fourthly, they closely insinuate into the mindes of the people (as the jealousies of others) that these now in authoritie doe intend to exercise unwarranted dominion, and

an arbitrary government abominable to Parliament, &c. foretelling them of intolerable bondage, which is enough alone to stirre up a people to commotion. Fifthly, how doe they goe about to weaken the authoritie of the lawes of the place, the peoples reverence of and obedience to them in this their Remonstrance, by perswading the people that partly through want of the body of the English lawes, and partly that through the insufficiency and ill frame of those they have, "they can expect no sure enjoyment of their lives and liberties under them:" when as the state well knew the English body of lawes was too heavy for us, and therefore as libertie is granted in our patents to make our owne lawes, so it is with this proviso, that they bee as neere the lawes of England as may bee, which wee understand as neere as our condition will permit, which I shall speake more of elsewhere. Sixthly, they falsly charge the government with denying libertie of votes where they allow them, as in choyce of military officers, which is common to the non-freemen with such as are free. Seventhly, their speeches in their Remonstrance are charged to tend to sedition by insinuating into the peoples minds, "That there are many thousands secretly discontented at the government," &c. whereby those that are so may bee emboldened to discover themselves, and know to whom to reparaire; and what greater meanes can bee used to unsettle a settled people, and to kindle a flame in a peaceable Common-weale, if the Lord prevent not, and authoritie should suffer such things to passe uncensured? Eighthly, they slander the discipline of the Churches in the countrey, and the civill government also, by inferring that the frame and dispensations thereof are such, as "godly, sober, peaceable men cannot there live like Christians;" which they seeme to conclude from hence, that "they desire libertie to remove from thence where they may live like Christians:" when as indeed our armes are open to receive such

both into Church and Common-weal, blessing God for their societie. Ninthly, they doe in effect charge the government with "tyranny in impressing their persons to the warres, committing them to prison, fining, rating them, &c. and all unjustly and illegally," whereas no warre is undertaken, nor any presse goes forth, but according to law established; but the thing they would have is that any English man may *volens volens*, take his habitation in any government, bee as free as the best, &c. thus breaking all order, charters, and peace of societies: for if he be English borne (by their principles) no government may refuse him be he never so pestilent, whether Jesuite or worse. Tenthly, they lay a false charge upon the Churches in affirming "that Christian vigilancy is no way exercised towards such as are not in Church fellowship:" whereas they cannot but know the contrary. For however wee have nothing to doe to bring them to the Church, and cannot cast out those that were never within, yet privately wee performe the dutie of Christians towards them, either in holding private communion with such as are godly, or reprovng and exhorting the rest also as occasion and opportunity offereth. Eleventhly, that this dirt might stick fast, and men might more easily receive these injurious charges against the government; in the conclusion they proclaime, "That our brethren in England (meaning the Independents) doe flee from us as from a pest." When as for my part I beleve that if our brethren were with us they would close with our practise, or at least wee should bee dealt more brotherly withall, and then wee should not only hearken to what counsel should be of God, from them or any other in Gods way but bee willing to reforme any thing that is amisse either in Church or Common-weale. Twelfthly, that it may appeare these injurious charges are their owne apprehensions, and pretenses rather then jealousies of any others, they have publiquesly declared their disaffection to the gov-

ernment, in that being called to the court to render account of their mis-apprehensions, and evill expressions in the premises, they refused to answer: but by appealing from the government they disclaimed the jurisdiction thereof, (what in them lay,) before they knew whether the court would give any sentence against them or not: when as indeed their charter injoyneth nor requireth any appeale, but have the power of absolute government by vertue thereof: but these seven petitioners, whereof three are meere strangers and have no proprietie within the government (and a fourth then to depart and now departed from it) will not beare it as the rest. And for my part if these foure that were inhabitants were not drawne in by the three strangers to make up the number of seven to trouble the Commonweale, I should wonder (well knowing their abilities otherwayes, especially of some of them) there being no want of fit persons if many thousands discontented as they say to put them upon such a straight; but I looke upon this speech of theirs as tending rather to incite discontented persons to repaire unto them, then having any realitie in it. And for the matter of appeale from New-England hither, which is three thousand miles distant, it will bee found to bee destructive to them that there live: for no countrey can subsist without government, or repaire so farre to it; nor will any wise man accept a place in government where hee shall bee exposed to goe so farre to give account of his actions, though they bee never so just: But the best is, the parliament is knowne (and it is their duty) to seeke the good of the subjects by all due meanes: and I doubt not (if ever tendred to them) but they will soon discover the mischief intended by our adversaries, or at least like to ensue (if they prevaile) by overthrowing those hopeful beginnings of New-England in straightning our priviledges at such a time, when Englands are restored; but wee hope to share with them rather

by enlargement, being wee went out in those evill times when the bishops were so potent being persecuted by them, and in that wee suffered since with the parliament in adhering to them to the losse of ships, and goods, &c. But I shall rest on God in what is said, hoping the reader will be satisfied in point of our innocency in regard of the evils charged on us ; and therefore to proceed.

In the next place whereas they complaine of imprisonment, one of them being to goe to sea just when things were to bee heard, was required to give bond to stand to the award of the court, leaving six partners behind him to pleade his cause ; also Mr. Smith being a dweller in another government and not there, being present at that same time was required to doe the like ; which order they withstood for an houre or thereabouts, and were that time under the marshalls custody, but nosooner advised they with our Salamander their Counsell, but hee advised them to give security, which they accordingly did, and so were dismissed ; now this I suppose was because hee was to goe to sea with them immediatly, which they accordingly did.

Secondly, take notice that before Doctor Childe, &c. were committed, the businesse of the Remonstrance was ended, and they censured by fine, every one according to his particular offence, and carriage in managing the whole, and it is not our manner to punish twice for one offence.

Thirdly, take notice that the government they charge was proved in open court to bee according to the law of England, and therefore not committed for petitioning for that they had.

Fourthly, 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, though it appeareth that our Salamander is not a little troubled at it, as I shall have occasion to

touch in my answer to the Postscript, which I verily beleieve hee penned every word.

Lastly, let the reader take notice that Doctor Robert Childe, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. John Dand, were committed for certaine papers upon close search of Dands closet, there found the night before the ship came away, which were far more factious and seditious then the former. Doctor Childe being committed because one of the coppies was under his knowne hand, another copy under Mr. Dands hand, and both in his custody; Mr. Smith in that hee not onely offered to rescue the papers from the officers that were sent to make search: but when hee saw that hee could not rescue them, brake out into high speeches against the government: and amongst other things said, hee hoped ere long to doe as much to the Governers closet, and doe as much to him as hee did for them, &c. or to the like purpose. And now Major Childe, let the world and you take notice together wherefore your brother and those honest and godly persons you pretend to speak of were committed. Nor doe I beleieve that any people under the heavens that know what belongs to government and have the power of it, would doe lesse then the magistrates there did. But what the event will bee God onely knowes; but this I know, they are in the hands of mercifull men, however they have been abused, or may by our Salamander (whose reports I often meet with) or by any other whatsoever.

And for answer to their relation of the effects this petition produced, much of it is false and answered before, the rest not worthy the answering; as concerning the elders, their long sermons to provoke the magistrates against them &c. no wise man will beleieve as they relate. And thus much for answer to the second part of their booke concerning the Petition and Remonstrance.

A briefe Answer to the third Head of their Booke, concerning the Capitall Lawes of the Massachusetts &c.

HERE I finde the capitall lawes of the Massachusetts reprinted, and the oath they administer to their freemen, which I suppose they are sorry they can finde no more fault with: And all these capitalls rehearsed to shew the danger Doctor Childe is under by vertue of the last, which followeth in these words.

“ If any man shall conspire or attempt any invasion, insurrection or publique rebellion against our Commonwealth, or shall indeavour to surprize any towne or townes, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfiduously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of policy or government fundamentally, hee shall be put to death, Numb. 16, 2 Sam. 3. and 18. and 20.”

Now if together with this they had manifested a liberty the court gives to any notwithstanding this law, fairely and freely to shew their grievance at any thing they conceive amisse, and needeth either alteration or repeale, then they had dealt fairly indeed: but because they leave it out, I take it my dutie to put it in. I know our Salamander is not without some exception at any thing wee can doe: but because I finde none more then as before, I shall passe to the next head of their booke.

An Answer to their Relation concerning the throwing the Petition overboard as a Jonas as they terme it.

I ACKNOWLEDGE that Mr. Cotton taught from that text they mention in 2 Cant. 15. “ Take us the foxes the little foxes which destroy the vines,” &c. and let the reader understand that this text fell in his ordinary course of lecture in going through that book, and not taken on purpose on that particular occasion. The

points hee delivered from hence as I remember were these two. The first was, "When God had delivered his Church from the danger of the beare, and the lyon, then the foxes the little foxes sought by craft and policy to undermine the same." The second was this, "That all those that goe about by fox-like craft and policy to undermine the state of the churches of Jesus Christ, they shall all be taken every one of them." The text as I take it hee shewed belonged to that time of the Church when they returned from Babylon, and were building the temple; and proved the first point of doctrine from that of Tobias and Sanballat that would have built with the Jewes; the second was amplified by the history of Haman in the booke of Hester: and so brought many other examples, and amongst others the story of the bishops in the dayes of Hen. the eighth, Edward the sixt, Queen Elizabeth, and to the beginning of these warres, who under a colour of building and being master builders in the Lords house laid heavie burthens upon the saints, corrupted the worship of God and lorded it over his heritage, and when they were come to the top of their pride the Lord Jesus could endure them no longer, but they were taken even every one of them in the same snare they had set for others. But I forbear the amplifying of it, and hasten to the application so farre as it concerneth this scornefull story by them penned of their feigned miracle, as they call it.

His use of exhortation was twofold. First, to such as lived in the countrey, to take heed how they went about any indirect way or course which might tend to the prejudice of the Churches of Jesus Christ in the same, or the governments of the land, which through Gods mercy was not onely in the hands of such as truely feared the Lord, but according to his revealed will so far as we can judge. And therefore if any (though never so secretly or subtilly) should goe about any such thing, the watchman of Israel that

slumbereth not nor sleepeth will not take it well at their hands: For He that hath brought his people hither, and preserved them from the rage of persecution, made it a hiding place for them whilst hee was chastising our owne nation amongst other the nations round about it, manifested his gracious presence, so apparently walking amongst his Churches, and preserving and prospering our civill state from forraigne plots of the late archbishop and his confederates, and the domestick of the heathen where wee live; there was no question to bee made but Hee would preserve it from the underminings of false brethren, and such as joyned with them: And therefore, saith hee, let such know in the foregoing respects it is the land of Emmanuel, a land that is pretious in the eyes of the Lord, they shall not prosper that rise against it, but shall bee taken every one of them in the snares they lay for it. And this, said hee, I speake as a poore prophet of the Lord according to the word of his grace in my text, which however in the proper sense of the Holy Ghost, belonged to that age of the Church mentioned in the booke of Nehemiah, yet it is written for our example and instruction: for God is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever; no lesse carefull, no lesse able, and no lesse willing to save and deliver his people by engaging himself in their case; and who can stand before him?

In the second place, saith he, whereas divers our brethren are to goe for England, and many others to follow after in another vessell, let mee direct a word of exhortation to them also; I desire the gracious presence of our God may goe with them, and his good Angels guard them not onely from the dangers of the seas this winter season, but keepe them from the errors of the times when they shall arrive, and prosper them in their lawfull designes, &c. But if there bee any amongst you my brethren, as 'tis reported there are, that have a petition to prefer to the

high Court of Parliament (which the Lord in mercy goe on blessing to blesse as hee hath begun) 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, who are as tender unto him as the apple of his eye. But if there be any such amongst you that are to goe, I doe exhort and would advise such in the feare of God 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) I would have them then to consider these things: for the time of adversitie is a time for Gods people to consider their wayes. I will not give the counsell was taken concerning Jonah, to take such a person and cast him into the sea; God forbid: but 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. But it may be hardnesse of heart and stoutnesse of spirit may cause such a person or persons with stiffe necks to persist, and yet in mercy with respect to some pretious ones amongst you, (as I perswade my selfe there are many such goe in each vessell) the Lord may deliver the vessell from many apparent troubles and dangers for their sakes; but let such know, the Lord hath land judgments in store for such, for they are not now free (hee being the God of the land as well as of the sea:) and if you turne to Numb. xiv. 36, 37, you shall there see how hee threatened to destroy such as brought a false report upon his land with the plague: and truly God hath still plagues in store for such as bring a false report upon his Church and people; nay said hee, I heare the Lord hath a

destroying angell with the sword of pestilence in that kingdome, striking here and there, as seemeth good unto him, (though not vehemently, blessed bee his name) and who knowes what the Lord will doe? and therefore I advise such in the feare of God, and I speak it as an unworthy Prophet of his according to that portion of his word I now speake from, to lay these things to heart, for it is the Lord Jesus hath said, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, &c." or "let them bee taken." And beleeve it for a truth, all those that goe about by foxlike craft and subiltie to undermine the Churches of Christ Jesus, they shall all bee taken, even in the very snare and ginne they set for others.

And thus much for what Mr. Cotton delivered on this Thursdayes lecture in Boston, Novemb. 5, 1646, which I have shewed to many eminent persons now in England who were present at this lecture, and judge it not onely to bee the summe of his exhortation but his very expressions, and are ready to testifie it on all occasions against all opposers, as Mr. Thomas Peters and Mr. William Golding ministers; Harbert Pelham Esquire, Captaine William Sayles, Captaine Leveret, Captaine Harding, Mr. Richard Sadler, &c. And take notice withall good reader, that I never heard the good man deliver any thing with more earnestnesse and strength of affection then these things thus sleighted by our adversaries as thou seest.

And for the second part of their story, *viz.* their passage, and the passages of Gods providence befell them in it; take notice good reader, that however our Salamander turned things into a jest as soone as they were delivered, asking whether hee were a great fox or a little one; yet many others that were ingaged to goe but in the ship, their hearts trembled that they were to goe in such company. And Mr. Thomas Peters a minister that was driven out of Cornewall by Sir Ralph Hopton in these late warres, and fled to

New-England for shelter, being called back by his people, and now in London, upon sight of what I have written gave mee leave before many, to adde this; that upon Mr. Cottons exhortation, having shipped his goods and bedding to have gone in the ship with them, amongst other arguments this was the maine, that hee feared to goe in their company that had such designes, and therefore tooke passage to goe rather by way of Spaine, &c. And to speake the truth, as the ship rode out many feareful stresses in the harbour after they were ready, before they could goe to saile, the wind being faire but overblowing: so after they came to sea had 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 sayling or thereabouts. And when they were all wearied out and tired in their spirits, certaine well-disposed Christians called to mind the things delivered by Mr. Cotton before mentioned, and seeing the tempest still to continue, thought meet to acquaint such as were conceived to be meant by Mr. Cotton, and that had a purpose to persist in such courses, that they thought God called them now to consider of the things delivered by him; and hereupon a godly and discreet woman after midnight went to the great cabbin and addressed her speech in sobrietie and much modesty to them, whereupon one of the two answered in these words, or to this purpose; Sister I shall bee loath to grieve you or any other of Gods people with any thing I shall doe, and immediately went to his chest or trunke, and tooke out a paper and gave it her, and referred it to the discretion of others to doe withall as they should see good: which the woman not in a distracted passion (as they reported) shewed to Mr. Richard Sadler and others, who although they knew it was not the right Petition but that they were deluded, yet 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. The storme for the present continued that night, say some, others say, some abatement of winde befell presently after, but all conclude it abated the next day; but that they had divers stormes afterward being then 200 leagues short of the lands end, is most certaine: And in one of these hideous stormes, having no saile abroad, the ship lying adrift with the helme bound up, the master conceiving hee was to the southward of Silley layed the ship to the norward the night being very darke. In the last watch of the night one of the quarter masters going to the pompe discerned rocks ahead within a cables length, and made such an outcry as the whole ship was awakened, and nothing but death presented them: there was much hast made to let loose the helme, and to come to saile; but before it could bee done the ship was engaged amongst the rocks of Silley, and nothing could bee discerned under water, but by the breaking of the waves, which was their best direction to cunne the ship: In this labyrinth the ship travelled for a quarter of an hower or more, in which time it was generally observed the ship readily obeyed her helme, (or rather the great Pilate of the seas) upon the word given, which at other times shee was slow in. At length the ship drove in and came a ground between two Ilands, and could not be got off being ebbing water; and it was the speciall providence of God to place her there in much mercy and compassion on his poore afflicted ones, the vessell being full of passengers; for on both sides and on head were desperate rocks, which were not discovered till the morning light, the ship all this while lying fast upon a bed of sand or owse; when it was day the dangers which they had escaped in the night to their admiration presented themselves, nor durst the master worke the ship till hee had gotten a pilate from the shore, who undertook to bring her to an anchor neere Crowes Sound.

The deliverance was so strange as the inhabitants of Silly were amased at it, some saying it was a miracle, another that God was a good man that should thus deliver them; indeed all the Iland wondred, and the passengers themselves most of all when they saw the breaches at low water so farre off at sea neere which they passed before they knew the danger, and the rocks they sailed by after they found themselves involved as it were between Scylla and Carybdis. Much more might bee added to account the mercy, but this may suffice to let the world see 'tis no such trifle as is pretended in their prophane relation, who had then other thoughts, being passengers also in the ship, and seemed willing to joyne with the godly party in the ship in testimony of their thankfulness, to celebrate a speciall day of thanksgiving unto the Lord for so great salvation, where Mr. Golding preached, being a passenger with them, and teacher to a Church of Christ in Bermudas.

And now good reader what wilt thou judge of such as can turne such deliverances into a scoffe, witness their prophane title, "New-Englands Jonas cast up at London;" the naked truth whereof thou hast heard related; in all which Jonas was but once accidentally named, and that by way of direct opposition to any such counsell. The master of the ship never spoke to, no speech between the woman and Mr Vassall that I can learne, but betweene Mr. Fowle and her, shee under no dis-temper of passion, but modest discreet and sober in her carriage thorow out the whole. In briefe, all that I can meet with that were in the ship, especially the most eminent persons, affirme this relation of theirs to bee false, yea Mr. Fowle himselfe acknowledged it before Captaine Sailes late Governour of Bermudas, Captaine Leveret, and Captaine Harding all passengers in the ship, who all concurred in the falsehood of the same, and the three Captaines not a little offended thereat, and Mr. Richard Sadler and divers others are ready to testify the same.

But put the case they had deluded a poore weake passionate woman by a shadow instead of a substance : Mee thinks if any feare of God had been before their eyes, they might have trembled at so many and so great threatnings of the Almighty, who followed them from one land to another over the vast ocean with his terrours, and have shewed greater thankfulness for such a deliverance as before recited, then to carry themselves as they doe ; labouring to delude the reader as well as themselves, and to ascribe all to the winter season, as if all our passages were ordinarily such (as appeareth by their note in the margent, page 12.) when as that is false also, wisse some that came with them, who affirme they have bin in winter passages, but never in the like ; (the master and his company all concurring therein) being confident also they fared the worse for their company. And thus much I can affirme, and at least an hundred more that came with me, who came away about the middest of December (five weeks deeper in winter then they) and yet through Gods undeserved favour had a comfortable passage and landfall, which I thought good to adde to the rest that persons may not bee discouraged from the passage, though I must confesse the spring and fall are the best seasons. But let them go on, if nothing will reclaime them ; and I will waite and attend the word of the Lord in the mouth of his servant, and observe the dispensation of his providence towards his Churches, and the enemies of the same. And thus much for answer to the fourth head of their book published by Major Childe.

An Answer to the Postscript.

IN this postscript which containeth more matter then the whole booke, I can trace our Salamander line by line, and phrase after phrase, in his accustomed manner to delude many simple ones, and weaken

their respect to the government of New-England; where hee did a great deale more hurt by his pesonall presence, than hee can doe here by such slanderous invectives as he either pinneth upon others (witness this silly peece called *New-Englands Jonas*) or any hee shall publish hereafter. To answer every particular at length, would bee too tedious. But because hee pretendeth an answer to some passages in a booke written lately by my selfe, called "Hypocrisie Unmasked," concerning the independent Churches holding communion with the reformed Churches; at the request of many I came to a resolution as to answer the former passages, so to reply to his malicious cavils in this; who indeed hath not answered any one thing, but rather raised some scruples that may cloud what I did, and cause such as are ignorant to doubt where things are most cleare: but however I am prevailed with in this case not only by some of the Independent, but Presbyterian brethren, to answer; yet withall am come to a resolution not to write any more in this kinde; partly because the world is wearied with too many controversies of this nature: but more especially because our Salamander so much delighteth in them, as appeareth by many yeares sad experience, being restlesse and endless therein. But for Answer.

Hee beginneth with the discovery "of a subtile plot against the lawes of England, and the liberties of the English subject," &c. And then secondly, hee would render mee odious to the world, as being "a principall opposer of the lawes of England in New-England." Thirdly, hee would make our government of New-England to bee arbitrary. And fourthly, his malicious cavils and bitter indignation at any thing may tend to union betweene brethren, I meane the Presbyterians and Independents, but of these in order.

And first, for the "subtile plot," &c. which is contrived, saith hee, "by writing against Gorton, a man whom they know is notorious for heresie, that so

behinde him they may get a shot at a bigger game," &c. Answ. It is well knowne, and our Salamander is not ignorant, that however Gorton notoriously abused himself and every government of New-England where hee lived; yet when that country was grown too hot for him, hee came over here and complained against us, to that honourable Committee of Parliament; to whose care the well ordering the affaires of forraigne plantations is referred. The Right Honourable the Earle of Warwick, being Governour in chiefe, and Chairman of the same; who, upon Gorton and his companions complaints, sent over to the government of the Massachusetts, whom it most of all concerned to give answer to the same, &c. Whereupon they to shew their respect to the Parliament, sent mee to render a reason thereof, which I still attend till their more weighty occasions will permit them to heare. But when I came over, I found that Gorton had enlarged his complaints by publishing a booke called "Simplicities defence against Seven-headed Policy," &c. which being full of manifold slaunders, and abominable falsehoods; I tooke my selfe bound in duty to answer it, as I did by that treatise he mentioneth, called "Hypocrisie Unmasked," which was but an answer to Gorton as this is to him, being necessitated thereunto in vindication of the country, whose agent I am, though unworthy. And yet our Salamander would blinde the ignorant, and make them beleewe wee tooke occasion to write such a thing to make the Parliament have a good opinion of us, as if none of all this had preceded.

Next that hee might still turne our innocent simplicity into policy, hee takes advantage where none is, and layes hold on a request of mine, which I must still prosecute (maugre his malice) and I trust in God the Parliament will be sensible of it, *viz.* That the Committee "would take into consideration how destructive it will bee to the wel-being of our plantations

and proceedings there (which are growing up into a Nation) here to answer the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there bee censured by authority, it being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undoe any to come hither for justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause," &c. Now if hee had set downe this request as it is, I would never have answered word to it, nor need at present to any, but such as are ready to burst with malice, and the more satisfaction I shall give, the worse they will bee. And for "the danger of the state of England is in by this plot," he could not more clearly have expressed the unevennesse of his spirit to any indifferent reader, then by such expressions, and therefore need no farther answer thereunto.

Secondly, whereas hee chargeth mee to be "a principall opposer of the lawes of England in New England," &c. Hee dealeth with mee here in this particular just as he did there. For our Salamander having labored two years together to draw me to his party, and finding hee could no way prevaile, he then casts off all his pretended love, and made it a part of his worke to make mee of all men most odious, that so whatever I did or said might bee the lesse effectuall. As for the law of England I honour it and ever did, and yet know well that it was never intended for New-England, neither by the Parliament, nor yet in the letters patents, we have for the exercise of government under the protection of this state: but all that is required of us in the making of our lawes and ordinances, offices and officers, is to goe as neare the lawes of England as may bee: which wee punctually follow so neare as wee can. For our letters patents, being granted to such, and their associates: these Associates are the freemen, whereof there are many in every town: Now take notice good reader that as every Corporation here send their Burgesses to the Parliament upon summons: So divers times a yeere the

Governour sending out his warrants, the towns choose their Deputies, *viz.* two of a towne out of these free-men, which meeting together with the Governour and his Assistants, compose and make or repeale such lawes and ordinances as they conceive our necessities require: And however wee follow the custome and practise of England so neere as our condition will give way: yet as the garments of a growne man would rather oppresse and stifle a childe if put upon him, then any way comfort or refresh him, being too heavy for him: so have I often said the lawes of England, to take the body of them, are too unweldy for our weake condition: Besides, there were some things supported by them which wee came from thence to avoid, as the hierarchy, the crosse in baptisme, the holy dayes, the booke of Common Prayer, &c. All which I doubt not but this renowned Parliament will utterly abolish as they have done in part to Gods glory and their everlasting fame, (I meane whilst time shall bee.) But I have been so farre from sleighting the law of England as I have brought my owne booke of the statutes of England into our court, that so when wee have wanted a law or ordinance wee might see what the statutes provided in that kind, and found a great readinesse in our generall court to take all helpe and benefit thereby. And never did I otherwise oppose the law of England: nor ever stand against the liberties of the subject, but am ready to sacrifice my life for the same, when ever I shall bee called thereunto. Indeed this I have said in answer to his cavils, that if the Parliaments of England should impose lawes upon us having no Burgesses in their house of Commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance of the ocean being three thousand miles from London, then wee should lose the libertie and freedom I conceived of English indeed, where every shire and corporation by their Knights and Burgesses make and consent to their laws, and so oppose

whatsoever they conceive may bee hurtfull to them : But this liberty wee are not capable of by reason of distance, and therefore &c. And thus much for answer to that point, which will satisfie any equall minded man, but is nothing to him.

Thirdly, he chargeth "our government to bee arbitrary." Answ. I shewed before after what manner wee made our lawes ; and for the choyce of our officers once every yeere they are either chosen or renewed by election, and this is done by the Freemen who are the associates to the Governour, to whom all the power is granted. And these are to governe according to their lawes made and established, and not according to their wills. And however there are many that are not free amongst us, yet if understanding men and able to bee helpfull, it's more their owne faults then otherwise oft-times, who will not take up their freedome lest they should bee sent on these services (as our Salamander and most of his disciples who are too many I must confesse) and yet it is the same with many thousands in this kingdome who have not libertie to choose : nor yet may the freeholders and freemen choose, any that are not freeholders, freemen, and gentlemen of such a rank or quality that are chosen. So that for my own part I see not but that as we go by the expresse of our letters patents, so we goe according to the practise of England ; the law made binding the maker as wel as any other, having one rule for all.

As for our trialls between man and man, hee knowes wee goe by jury there as well as here : And in criminalls and capitalls wee goe by grand jury and petty jury. And where the death of any is suddaine, violent, or uncertaine, the crowner sits upon it by a quest, and returneth a verdict, &c. and all according to the commendable custome of England, whom wee desire to follow. But their maine objection is, that wee have not penall lawes exactly set downe in all

cases? 'Tis true I confesse, neither can they finde any Commonwealth under heaven, or ever was, but some things were reserved to the discretion of the judges, and so it is with us and no otherwise, our Generall Courts meeting together twice a yeere at least hitherto for that very end, and so continuing so long as their occasions and the season will permit : and in case any misdemeaneer befall where no penaltie is set down, it is by solemne order left to the discretion of the bench, who next to the word of God take the law of England for their president before all other whatsoever. And as I said before, if I would enter into particulars I could here set downe in a line parallel as as I received it in answer to the Petition of Doctor Robert Childe, &c. mentioned in their booke, "the fundamentalls of the Massachusets concurring with the priviledges of Magna Charta and the common law of England at large." But as I said before, it would bee too tedious for answer to this worthlesse and malicious charge. And yet I dare affirme that Virginia, Barbadoes, Christophers, Mevis, and Antiego have not all of them so many lawes as New-England, nor so many expresse penalties annexed. As for the uniting of the foure Colonies, I briefly shewed the reason of it in my former treatise, being necessitated thereunto by a secret combination of the Indians to cut us all off, as our Salamander well knowes and approved ; and if in America we should forbear to unite for offence and defence against a common enemy (keeping our governments still distinct as wee doe) till wee have leave from England, our throats might bee all cut before the messenger would bee halfe seas thorough ; but hee that will carpe at this, what will hee not doe ? And for not making of our warrants in the kings name which is another thing hee complaineth of : Hee well knowes the practise of the countrey is various in that respect, some constantly observing it, others omitting to expresse it, but all deriving our authority

from hence. But if any wonder why I say so much in answer to it as I doe, it is because I never purpose for reply to any thing he or any other shall write in this kinde to him, for 'tis to no end to write many bookes, especially when wee have to deale with such an one as delights in contention and nothing else.

In the last place take notice good reader how hee cavills, and is vexed at, rather then answers any thing I say tending to preserve peace and unities betweene the Presbyterian and Independent brethren. And whereas hee saith "there is a fallacy in what I have written," how can that bee? when I shew the very particular instances and persons that did and still do hold communion with us, and our Salamander knoweth most of these persons, and I beleieve the very things also, and hath nothing to say against any one of the instances brought, onely hee asketh whether any of us the many thousands (a great word) that came from New England, doe communicate here with the Presbyterians. To which I answer by way of question to any rationall and indifferent man, whether a Church or Churches of ours, allowing and admitting any of the Presbyterians or their members into full communion with them, doth not more fully answer the question or his cavill, and prove communion of Churches on our part, then for a particular member of ours to joyne in communion with some of the Presbyterian Churches which it may bee that Independent Church whereof hee is may never heare of? And sure enough if I should draw an argument from his proposition to prove it; hee would bee sure to say your Churches allow it not, &c. and therefore it proves no communion of Churches at all. Secondly, were I where I could not communicate with an Independent congregation, and might with a Presbyterian, and they walked orderly, I know nothing but I might comfortably partake in that ordinance of the Lords Supper with them: but I should not forsake that communion I

more affected for that I lesse affected where I might enjoy either, nor I beleeve will any understanding Presbyterian brother on the other side. And so much for answer to that cavill, and the many branches of it.

In the second place, hee cavills at this, that I say in page 96. of my book called, "Hypocrisie Unmasked," That the French and Dutch Churches "are a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion:" And then hee addeth, ("hee should have said covenant which is his sense) and that the sixth person is not of the Church," meaning, "amongst them." And this, saith hee, wee have but his word for, and makes it a falsehood in me: but I returne it upon himselfe, whose bold spirit dare affirme any thing against the apparent light of the sunne; for however the Dutch baptize the children of all nations that are presented to them, as well as their owne, as I shewed in my former treatise; yet this their practise stands not upon the Presbyterian bottome, nor doe I know, I confesse, what they take for their warrant in it; yet I affirme, and that of my owne knowledge, having lived divers yeares amongst them, that their Church is a select people, gathered together into an holy communion, which holinesse hee scoffes at, and which they call the *Chement*; and that many thousands of those whose children they baptize, never are admitted to the Lords Supper, which they account "Church communion;" nor are ever brought before their Classis, and there examined, admitted, occasionally admonished, yea, excommunicated if they submit not to the rule: and that all those that are admitted are such as tender themselves, and thereupon are examined, &c. in the Classis; as before. And for an instance of the truth of it, a godly English Minister that had sometimes lived in Rotterdam, told me (upon this very occasion) that the deacons of the Dutch Church at Rotterdam, told him, that although there were almost 7000. houses in their city, and in many of them di-

vers families, yet they had but 2000 persons in Church-fellowship.

And for the French Churches, who knows not that the nation, I meane, the body of them are still Papists, and yet (as blinde as Bayard) our malicious Salamander, whose tongue is known to be no slander from whence he came, doth charge me with falshood herein. 'Tis true, through Gods mercy there are many thousand protestants amongst them, and I wonder that any man should bee so audacious, as to affirm these are not a distinct people from the rest that have undergone so many massacres and persecutions for the testimony of their faith, and wnesse they have borne against the abominations of Rome, and the Papacy, still so much admired in that nation by the body of it. And as I said of Holland, the sixth person is hardly of the Church; so in France, the tenth man for ought I heare, is not a protestant. And how then they should be a national protestant Church I know not.

As for his jeere about the Covenant, let him goe on in his way of scorn and contempt of the "Covenant between God and his people;" and yet hee shall finde the Church in the Old Testament established by a covenant; and after their greatest desertions and declinings, upon solemne dayes of humiliation, their Covenants againe renewed throughout the same. And the Churches under the New Testament are still the same, though the ceremonies and ordinances bee altered by the Lord thereof; yea, the Scottish Churches, (which hee saith are nationall, and so would make a breach in that respect between them and us) are solemne and serious in their Covenant; and the English in the late Reformation no lesse serious, to Gods glory bee it spoken; when as there are many hundred thousands in both nations that will not take these their covenants, but remain in popish superstition, and wilfull ignorance.

And for our tenders to the Scots to live amongst us,

and enjoy their liberty in the exercise of the Presbyterian government formerly, and the late tender of the court of the Massachusets to their petitioners for the enjoyment of it at present, themselves providing for it, 'tis not so strange as true: But whereas they say, they hear not of the latter (being since they came away:) 'Tis false; I have told them, and they may heare it by many others: but they have not the spirit of peace in them, nor will they take notice of any thing that tends thereunto; but seeke, as appeareth by this Postscript, to blow up the coales of contention and division, so much as possible may bee, hindering peace and good agreement between brethren, by all the meanes and courses they can use.

And for what he saith concerning Mr. Hubbards censure; daring mee to say, "whether Mr. Hubbard were not punished directly or indirectly for baptizing some children whose parents were not members of the Churches in New-England."

For answer, I doe and dare affirme in my conscience, that I am firmly perswaded hee was not; And however I doe not desire to meddle in the case, nor to engage in other mens controversies, but rather seeke to heale them by all due meanes, yet I thought good to answer his challenge in this particular, that so that cloud of jealousie might also be dispelled, so far as concerneth my own thoughts in the case; and had hee but so much charitie in himselfe as becomes a Christian man, I am confident hee would bee of the same mind with mee. And so much for answer to that particular, and the whole book, wherein the reader may see more malice in our accusers, then policy in us, whose simplicity is branded with subtilty, fallacy, and what not? but blessed bee God, it is by such whose tongues are their owne, and will not bee controuled by any, and from whom I expect all that malice can invent; but am come to a resolution, that whatever our Salamander shal vent either in his own

name, or by others (as at this time) I will leave him to God, and referre our vindication to the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth committed to him, in whose eyes, I trust, we are precious, who undoubtedly will clear up our innocency, when these our proud enemies shall bee scattered before him. And to whom with the Father and the Spirit, God over all, blessed for ever, be glory and praise to all eternity. Amen.

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1871
1872
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BY JOSIAH COTTON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Vocabulary of the Indian Language, in the Natick or Massachusetts dialect, is faithfully copied from a manuscript compiled by the Hon. Josiah Cotton, a respectable inhabitant of Plymouth, who died in 1756, aged 77. He was the second son of the Rev. John Cotton, pastor of the first church in that ancient town twenty-eight years, from 1669 to 1697. Josiah Cotton was graduated at Harvard College in 1698. His early years, after his leaving College, were spent in Marblehead, where he was employed as a schoolmaster; his studies in the mean time were principally in theology. He was never settled, however, in the ministry; but, returning to his native town early in the last century, after some years of occupation in that place as a schoolmaster, he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits and to the discharge of several civil offices which he sustained. The offices which he held successively or in conjunction, were those of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the same Court, Register of Probate, and Register of Deeds. In the latter office he was succeeded by his son, John Cotton, who was succeeded by his son, Rossiter Cotton, the present worthy occupant of that office, to whose kindness this Society and the friends of ancient lore are indebted for a communication of this manuscript, and of other documents eminently useful and acceptable for the elucidation of our early history. This respectable family derives its origin from the celebrated John Cotton of Boston. Josiah Cotton as well as his father, in addition to their other employments, performed the duties of missionaries to the Indians at Plymouth and other places in that vicinity. The father was eminently skilled in the Indian language, of which there are many testimonials; the most conspicu-

ous is Eliot's Indian Bible. In the accomplishment of that laborious work Mr. Eliot acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Cotton, especially in the preparation of the second edition. Josiah Cotton, besides the advantages of much personal intercourse with the Indians, had the benefit of his father's information; and his long continuance as a religious instructor to the natives, with the ready use of their language, of which he left numerous specimens in writing, may reasonably induce a reliance on the correctness of the present Vocabulary which he compiled. A copy of some of his other specimens will be found subjoined to the Vocabulary. J. D.

Notice of the Manuscript; with Remarks on the Author's Orthography and the Pronunciation of the Language.

1. Of the Manuscript.

The MS is of the small quarto size, and consists of sixty leaves composing the body of the work, with two other leaves containing a portion of an imperfect Index of English words, which occur in it. The volume is principally in the handwriting of the author himself; but there are numerous additions and corrections in the handwriting of his father. It bears the date of 1707 and 1708, in two or three different places.

In the present edition the paging of the MS is preserved in the margin; by which means, if at any time it should be wished, recourse may be readily had to the original.

2. Of the Orthography and Pronunciation.

The orthography adopted by the author is, doubtless, the same with that used by the venerable Eliot in his Indian Bible and Grammar. The editor has therefore thought, that it might be useful to collect, in this place, all the observations of Eliot upon that subject. They are extracted from his Indian Grammar, and are as follows:

“I therefore use the same *Characters* which are of most common use in our English Books; *viz.* the *Roman* and *Italick* Letters.

“Also our *Alpha-bet* is the same with the *English*, saving in these few things following:

“ 1. The *difficulty of the Rule* about the Letter *c*, by reason of the *change of its sound* in the five sounds, *ca ce ci co cu*, being sufficiently helped by the Letters *k* and *s*, we therefore lay by the Letter *c*, saving in *ch*; of which there is [p. 2.] frequent use in the Language. Yet I do not put it out of the *Alpha-bet*, for the use of it in other Languages, but the Character *ch* next to it, and call it *chee*.

“ 2. I put *i* Consonant into our *Alpha-bet*, and give it this Character *j*, and call it *ji* or *gi*, as this Syllable soundeth in the English word *giant*; and I place it next after *i* vocal. And I have done thus, because it is a *regular sound* in the *third person singular* in the *Imperative Mode* of Verbs, which cannot well be distinguished without it: though I have sometimes used *gh* instead of it, but it is harder and more inconvenient. The proper sound of it is, as the English word *age* soundeth. See it used *Genes. i. 3, 6, 9, 11.*

“ 3. We give *v* Consonant a *distinct name* by putting together *uf* or *uph*, and we never use it, save when it soundeth as it doth in the word *save, have*, and place it next after *u* vocal. Both these Letters (*u* Vocal, and *v* Consonant) are together in their proper sounds in the Latine word *uva*, a Vine.

“ 4. We call *w, wee*, because our name giveth no hint of the *power* of its sound.

“ These Consonants *l, n, r*, have such a *natural coincidence*, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects.

“ We *Massachusetts* pronounce the *n*. The *Nipmuk Indians* pronounce *l*. And the *Northern Indians* pronounce *r*. As instance :

We say	<i>Anum</i> (<i>um</i> produced)	} A Dog. So in most words.
Nipmuk,	<i>Alum</i>	
Northern,	<i>Arum</i>	

“ Our *Vocals* are five, *a e i o u*. *Diphthongs*, or *double sounds*, are many, and of much use.

ai au ei ee eu eau oi oo oo.

“ Especially we have more frequent use of *o* and *oo* than other Languages have: and our *oo* doth always sound as it doth in these English words, *moody, book*.

“ We use onely *two Accents*, and but *sometime*. The [p. 3.] *Acute* (') to shew which Syllable is first *produced* in pronouncing of the word; which if it be not attended, no Nation can understand their own Language: as appeareth by the *witty Conceit* of the *Tityre tu's*.

“*Ó* produced with the accent, is a *regular distinction* betwixt the *first* and *second persons plural* of the *Suppositive Mode*; as

{ Naumog, *If we see*: (as in *Log.*)
 { Naumóg, *If ye see*: (as in *Vogue.*)

“The other *Accent* is ([^]), which I call *Nasal*; and it is used onely upon *ó* when it is sounded in the *Nose*, as oft it is; or upon *á* for the like cause.

“This is a *general Rule*, When two (o o) come together, ordinarily the *first is produced*; and so when two (oo) are together.

“All the *Articulate sounds* and *Syllables* that ever I heard (with observation) in their *Language*, are sufficiently comprehended and ordered by our *Alpha-bet*, and the *Rules* here set down.

Character.	Name.	Character.	Name.
a		n	en
b	bee	o	
c	see	p	pee
ch	chee	q	keúh
d	dee	r	ar
e		s	es
f	ef	t	tee
g	gee as in geese	u	
h		v	vf
i		w	wee
j	ji as in giant	x	ex
k	ka	y	wy
l	el	z	zad.”
m	em		

Remark. The venerable author above quoted observes, that “all the articulate sounds and syllables,” that he ever heard “(with observation) in their language, are sufficiently comprehended and ordered” by our Alphabet and the Rules here set down.” Every one who studies the several dialects of the family or stock to which the Massachusetts language belongs, that is, the Delaware or *Lenápe* Stock, will be surprised, that Eliot says nothing of any guttural or strongly aspirated sound in the language of his day. A question then arises, whether the Massachusetts language had the guttural, or aspirate, which is found in the modern dialects of that family. In the Delaware language, for example, the word *nooch*, my father (as written by the German missionaries), is a guttural or strong aspirate; and so in the *Mohegan*, in which Dr. Edwards writes it, according to the English, or rather Scottish orthography, *nogh*. In Eliot’s and Roger Williams’s *Vocabularies*, we find the corresponding word written

nôsh or *noosh*. Now from the difficulty which the English always find in expressing foreign gutturals or aspirates, and from their common practice of corrupting this sound into that of *sh*, it is probable, that the words of this class in Eliot and the other old writers were in fact gutturals. If so, we shall, by attending to this circumstance, be able to trace out affinities between the ancient and the existing dialects, which would otherwise elude observation.

J. P.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

[The paging here referred to is that of the margin of the work.]

Of Arts.	Page 3	Colloquial Phrases.	86
Of Beasts.	4	Participles, alphabetically ar-	
Of Birds.	4	ranged.	87
Of Rational Creatures.	5	The Creed.	99
Of the Human Faculties.	7	A Talk between two.	100
Of Fish.	9	Adverbs, alphabetically ar-	
Of Garments or Clothing.	9	ranged.	103
Of Herbs and Flowers.	10	(See also p. 109.)	
Of Husbandry.	10	Pronouns (repeated in part.)	107 <i>b</i> .
Of an House.	10	Colloquial Phrases.	107 <i>c</i> .
Of Household stuff.	11	A letter in English and In-	
Of Meat.	12	dian.	108
Of Metals.	13	Adverbs, additional list.	109
Of a School.	13	(See also p. 103.)	
Of the Senses.	14	Conjunctions.	110
Of Ships.	14	Interjections.	110
Of Time.	15	Prepositions.	111
Of Trees and Shrubs.	16	Sentences.	113
Of Virtues and Vices.	16	A Dialogue, between an In-	
Adjectives, alphabetically ar-		dian and the Author of the	
ranged.	20	Vocabulary.	118
Numbers.	32	A second Dialogue ; on learn-	
Pronouns.	33	ing the language.	122
Verbs, alphabetically arrang-			
ed.	35		



VOCABULARY.

[The two first pages of the MS are wanting.—The asterisks denote a deficiency in the MS, and the Roman letters between brackets are supplied by conjecture.]

Of Arts.

[p. 3.]

An art, arts,	Nehtohtōonk, -ash.
Divinity,	Manittcœ kuk ** himwehteaonk: or Wuttinsue manittcœonk
A comedy, or witty thing,	Waantamunneunkquat.
A tragedy, or sad thing,	Kittumunkeneunkquat.
An act,	Pogkodcheteonk, pohkonchumooñk.
A history,	Pahke, Woshwunumcœonk.
Astronomy, or skill about the stars,	Nehtuhtoonk papaume annōgsqs.
Heaven, heavens,	Kesuk, kesukquosh.
The highest heaven,	Anue quanōnkquohk kesuk.
The starry heaven,	Annōgsŭe kesuk.
Heavenly,	Kesukque.
Hell,	Chepiohkōmuk.
The misery of hell,	Awâkompanaonk chepiohkomuk.
A number,	Nutteasscoonk, (my company.)
Melody,	Wunontoowâonk.
A trumpet, or music,	Puhpeeg.
A secretary,	Wusscœhquōhhamwænin.
A smith,	Mcœoshoguehtænin.
Predestination,	Negōnne kuhquuttumooonk.
Inspiration,	Wunnashanittassuonk.
A divine ordinance,	Manittoœ kuhkcœwâonk.
Glory,	Sohsumcœonk.
Heathenish gods,	Pencœwe, or Pencœwohteaog manittcœog.
An idol,	Ninnukōntonk.
An idolater, idolaters,	Ninnukontonkoh, waussumont.
The state of innocency,	Pahketeahæ wuttinniyœu.
Felicity,	Wunniuonk.
Psalmist,	Psalmehchaenin.
Homage,	Ompeh * * * aonk, an old Indian word, that signifies obedience by giving any * * * *
Author of life,	Pomantam * * *.

Of Beasts.

[p. 4.]

Living creatures,	Pomantamöe, oowaasineg.
A labouring beast, beasts,	Anakausüc puppiñshum, -wog.
Cattle, (how many do you kill,)	Netassuog (tohtohsoog kunnish.)
A hide, a horn,	Oskón, weween.
A tail,	Wussükquin.
A hoof, hoofs,	Moohkos, -sog.
A bear, honey,	Moshq, honne.
A sting, a worm,	Chohkühho, oohke.
Bees, worms,	Ohkeommcosog, oohkquāog.
Flesh, a fox,	Weyaus, wonküssis.
A beaver, beavers,	Tümúnk, -quaog.
A cat, cats,	Poopohs, poohpoohsuog.
A deer, a dog, dogs,	Attúk, annúm, -wog.
A flea, fleas,	Poppek, poppequog.
A frog, frogs,	Tinnogkôhquase, -suog.
A grasshopper (jumps,)	Chânsops, (quōshau.)
A bull, cow,	Nompashim netas, ushquashimwe netas.
A horse,	Nahnaiyeumöoadt, <i>or</i> a creature that carries.
Wool; a snake, snakes,	Weshakinash; askook, -og.
A squirrel, squirrels,	Mishânnék, -wog.
A toad, toads,	Tinnogkohtéas, -suog.
Wolves, a wolf (kills,)	Nattoohquassüog, mukquïsshum; nusshau.

Of Birds.

A bird, birds,	Psukses, Pissuksemēsog (Psuk-süog.)
A goose, geese,	Wompöhtuk, -quaog.
A duck,	Sesep, <i>or</i> qunüsseps.
A hen, a cock,	Mônish, nâmpash.
A wing, wings,	Wunnüppoh, -whunash.
A feather, feathers,	Meegk, meekquïnog.
* * * * eagle,	Wewes, wompsukook.
A brant,	Menuks, -sog. [p. 5.]
A crow,	Kongkont.
An egg, eggs,	Wou, wowânash.
A shell,	Wohhogke, (a body,) <i>or</i> Anna.
A quill, quills,	Pohquēmek, -qunog.
A nest, nests,	Woddish, woddîshash.
A fowler, fowlers,	Adchâênin, -nuog.

Of Rational Creatures.

A man, a woman,	Wosketomp, mittamwössis, <i>or</i> eshqua.
A boy,	Nônkup asuh, nonkumpaes.

A girl,	Wusskennin, wisskisqua, nonk- kishq.
A young man,	Wüskenin, nunkomp.
A child, children,	Wunnechanyog, mukkoies, muk- koiēsog.
An old man,	Kehchius, nukkonne wosk.
An old woman,	Pâpequanne mohtunt.
Childhood, manhood,	Mukkoiesūonk, wosketompō.
A body, a soul,	Mōhhóg, ketēahogkau.
Thy body, my body,	Kohhog, nohhog.
Our bodies,	Nohhoganónog.
The seed, (issue,) of the woman,	Mittanwossisse, coskânneem.
A testator,	Aynskottum.
A witness,	Wâwaēnin.
A natiou,	Wuttohtimoin.
People,	Missinnin, <i>or</i> Missinninnuog.
A great skin,	Muttónnonquat, wahíhquep.
Corrupted flesh, or rotten,	Passoqua weyaus.
Corruption of the flesh,	Weyausue aninnōonk.
Incarnation,	Oweyausue, nemunumōon[k].
A broken bone,	(Wishkon) pooksha weshkeēn.
The marrow of divinity,	Ween wutch manittooo[nk].
The hair, the eye,	Mesonk, muskēsuk.
The ear is nigh the forehead,	Mehtouog passocheāhta misk***
A nose, a cheek,	Mutchôn, wonnūnou. [p. 6.]
A most handsome face,	An wunnissue muskesuk.
A lip, a tongue,	Missüstoon, ménan.
A language,	Unnontōwâonk.
A tooth, a mouth,	Meepit, muttoon.
Neck,	Missitteíppeg.
A shoulder, an arm,	Mittik, méhpít.
A finger, fingers,	Muppuhkukquanitch, -eash.
Head, belly,	Muppuhkuk, misshat, (misshât.)
Skull,	Muskonontip.
Elbow, hand,	Meesk, menutcheg.
The right } hand,	Unninuhkōe }
The left } hand,	Menâche }
Wrists,	Missippuskunnícheg.
The breast, and bosom,	Mohpâūneg, <i>and</i> uppōochēnou.
The back,	Muppuskq.
A big belly,	Misshititchâonk.
A crooked knee,	Wonke, kittuk.
A knee,	Mukküttuk.
A leg, a shin,	Muhkont, mississíkkoshk.
A foot, a toe,	Mísseet, muppuhkukquaset.
The great toe,	Kechchukquâset.
A rib, bowels,	Mēhpeteak, munnogs.
A hip, a thigh,	Oâpwas, mehquau.
A heel, a chin,	Mogquón, mishoon.

A throat,	Munnāonk, nashāonk.
Brains,	Metùppēash.
A wise brain,	Wâântam wuttup.
A stomach,	Muppcōchīnau.
A weak stomach,	Nōochim-winneauwāonk.
A womb,	Wuttontômükqut.
* * * * *	Miskodtükqut.
North, south,	Nannumīyeu, sowanīyeu. [p. 7.]
Pleasant	Wunnohquat.
Warm	Wekeneankquat.
Fair	Weekōhquat.
Calm	Auweppōhqut.
Cold weather,	Tohkoī.
A southerly storm,	Sowanīsshin.
A tempest, or northerly storm,	Uhquōhquat, nashquittin.
Cold,	Sonkqueu.
Wind, winds,	Wāpan, mishetāshin.
East wind,	Wutchepwoshe wittin.
A shower,	Neepānon.
A shower of rain,	Nogkosse, sookēnon.
Rough,	Koshhesu.
Slippery ice,	Toonukquesūe, kuppāt.
Dew, snow, hail,	Nehchīppag, koon, missegkon.
Thunder,	Nimbau, padtōhquōhhan.
Lightning, or thunderbolt,	Ukkitshāmūn.
Earth, earthquake,	Ohkee, quequan.
A mountain, pl.	Wadchū, -ash.
A valley, valleys,	Oonouwohkōai, -yeuash.
Dirt in the street,	Pissugk ut toumāyog.
Dust, rocks,	Puppīssi, qussuk, -anash.
A bank, a way,	Wussāppinuk, may.

Of the Human Faculties.

Of the understanding,	{ Wutchwātāmōonk, wohwo-	
Will, and affections,		etāmōonk, unatāmōonk,
		Unnitteahāonk.
The soul,	Keteahog̃kau.	
Reason,	Unnōmmai, ennomaiyeuon[k.]	
A reason, (of a thing)	Wunnomwahiteoonk, wutcheai-	
	yeuash.	
Appetite, or desire,	Kodtehteamōonk, kodtantāmō-	
	onk.	
Faith, wisdom,	Wunnampāmōonk, waantam-	
	[ōonk.]	
Judgment, a mistake,	Wussittumōonk, puhtantant***	
Loathing,	Jishontāmōonk. [p. 8.]	
Love, hatred,	Womonittūonk, sekeneadtūonk.	
Joy, their joy,	Wekontāmōonk, owekonta-	
	mōonganno.	

Joy, or gladness,	Miskouantamōonk.
Sorrow,	Unkquanumōonk.
Sadness, mourning.	Kittūmongkeneunkqüssūonk, mōonk.
Fear, our fear,	Wabēsūonk, ncowabēsūonkänun.
Boldness,	Kenompân, unkqüssūonk.
Trust,	Papahtantamōonk.
Hope.	Annoōssūonk.
Anger,	Mosquantamōonk.
Despair,	Mat-anncoosuonk, wuttamanta- mōonk.
Pleasure,	Tapeneamōonk.
My pleasure,	Nuttâpeneamōonk.
Thy pleasure,	Kuttappeneamōonk.
His pleasure,	Wuttappeneamōonk.
Our pleasure,	Nuttappeneamōonkänun.
Your pleasure,	Kuttappeneamōonkanco.
Their pleasure,	Wuttappeneamōonganco.
My pleasures,	Nuttappeneamōongash.
Thy pleasures,	Kuttappeneamōongash.
His pleasures,	Wuttappeneamōongash.
Our pleasures,	Nuttâpeneamōonganunônash.
Your pleasures,	Kuttâpeneamōonganunnônash.
Their pleasures,	Wuttâpeneamōongancoôash.
Our own pleasures,	Nehenwonche, nuttâpeneamco- onganunnônash.
Thy own pleasures,	Nehenwonche, kuttâpeneamco- ongash ;
Shame,	<i>et sic deinceps.</i>
Envy,	Ogkodchuonk.
Mercy,	Sekeneâdtūonk.
	Ummouanitteâonk.

Of Fish.

Fish, fishes,	Nâmâs, namasscoog. [p. 9.]
A fisherman, -men,	Nattcohqinnuaēnin, -nuog.
A net, nets,	Âshâp, âshâppog.
A line,	Peminneah, ome.
A hook, hooks,	Uhquôn, -quânash.
Codfish, an eel,	Anishâmog, queques, nequttika [t]
An oyster,	Chūnkco, apwonnah.
A whale, whales,	Pootab, pootabaog.
A sturgeon,	Kôpposh, kaskôhat.
A bass, an herring,	Qunnammag, ômmis, -sūog.
A haddock, a trout,	Pâkonnôtam, mishqūshkou.
Clams,	Sūkkissūog.

Of a Garden.

A garden, gardens,	Tannohketeaonk, -ash.
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A bank,	Wussappīnuk, -quash.
A wall,	Quissukquannūtonk.
A hedge, a fence,	Chippinnūtunk, wêkōncos.
An orchard,	Ahtëuk, metukque.

Of Garments or Cloathing.

A dress,	Wâwāmek.
A garment,	Aukcoonk.
Linen cloth,	Mōnak, ashuppāūneg.
The thread of life,	Tūppun pomantamcoonk.
An hat, stockins,	Onkqueekhō, muttāssh.
An iron chain,	Mowāshak sausakkintumūk.
An English shirt,	Choquog wittishatāneck.
A thin pair of breeches,	Wussâppineesuog petappiyaēo***
A coat, a neckcloth,	Petushquishāūonk, kehkishin***
Shoes, a shoe-string,	Mohkissonash, mattokquōnnape.

Of Herbs and Flowers.

[p. 10.]

An herb,	Ahketeamuk, moskeit.	
A flower,	Uppēshou.	
Watermelon,	} or a raw thing, {	
Cucumbers,		Ohhosketāmuk.
Muskmelon,		Moosketāmuk.
A rose or lily,		Quinosketāmuk.
	Kossepēshou.	

Of Husbandry.

Employments,	Uppissaiyeuonganooash.
Work, (or office,)	Anakausuonk.
Recreations,	Uppompoongunooash.
A laborious husbandman,	Anakausē ohkehteaēnin.
Ground, soil,	Ohké, ahteuk.
A field, fields,	Ahtëuk, ahteukkōnash.
Dung, a meadow,	Annōhke, wōssōskeh.
Grass, hay,	Oskosk, mosketūash.
Seed, harvest,	Wuskannemīnash, kepenumcoonk.
Stubble, rubbish,	Sequssōnkash, anosketūash.
A whip, a barn, barns,	Sauwāpponk, mechimukkōmuk, -wash.
Straw, chaff,	Seekpoghonkash, wasadteaminash.
Bread, corn,	Petukquineg, eachimmineash.
An Indian bean,	Kehtohteae mōnasquisseet.

Of an House.

A spacious house,	Wunnenōnkquat wetu.
A little house,	Peukkomukquem.

A meeting house,	Maeyeakomuk.
A stone, a wall,	Hossún, nutonk, mat sampwi.
A door, doors,	Usquont, -tānash.
Out of doors,	En poquatchit.
A chamber,	Chippikōmmuk.
A cedar post,	Utchikūppemis appas. [p. 11.]
A window, windows,	Kunnatequanick, kenag'kīnneḡ, -ash.
A glass window,	Kenagkīnneḡ.
A tower, towers,	Qunnuhquekōmuk, -qash.
An high tower,	Quinuhquikōmuk.
A board, a tavern,	Passōnog, wuttattamwakōmuk.
A shop of goods,	Momachiukōmuk.
A shop, and goods,	Momachiukkōmuk, <i>and</i> moma- chiash.

Of Household Stuff. Wetoaomwe, Auwohteaongash.

A chair, <i>or</i> stool,	Appūonk, quenappūonk.
A seat at the table,	Ahpappūonk ut taspcoonganit.
A chest, a hand basket,	Puppoohkshog, sogkissānute.
A vessel,	Weaskq.
A smoaky chimney,	Quosoht wannachkēmuk.
Soot, an oven,	Penoht, aughtanneeshnīmuk.
A kettle, knives,	Ohkuke, eteaussonkash.
A ladle, <i>or</i> spoon,	Kuhpohhonk, quonnam, kunnām, koppodheeg.
A broom, an ax,	Checonnachatōonk, togkong.
A bed, a mat,	Appin, matasquas.
A key (my),	Nuppohquashadtikquontok.
A bottle, powder,	Quāncōwask, sabuck.
A blanket,	Pinaquet, qunnānonk.
A light, <i>or</i> candle,	Wasāquonānētick.
A candlestick,	Wequānānetekonnāuhtuk.
My cup, cups,	Nootattamwaetch, -uash.
A dish, <i>or</i> tray,	Wunnonk, mconaeech.
A needle, <i>or</i> pin,	Ohhomaquesuuk.
A sharp knife,	Keeneehquog.
A rasour,	Chequādweēhquog.
Publishment,	Tohquinnītue, wetanatue wus- suhqhonk.

Of Kindred. Papaume Ourwtūonk. [p. 12]

A marriage,	Wetouatūonk.
A good condition'd husband,	Woniāsūe ouwasēkkien.
A family, a wife,	Chashiyeūonk, mittumwūssis.
Your family,	Kutteashinnūnnēonk.
A virgin,	Penomp.
Our virgins,	Nuppenompomunnōnog.
A woer,	Kodtouseentamwaēnim.

A great portion,
A widower, a widow,
A kind heavenly father,

Thy father, fathers,
Her mother,
A mother, a son,
My daughter,
A daughter, a brother,
Your son, thy sons,
A sister,
A grandfather,
A grandmother,
An uncle, a cousin,
Ancestors, forefathers,

First parents,
Posterity,
A bastard,

Onkquättonk, missi chippohtoank.
Mohkodtaēnin, sekāuishq.
Womôsiē kesukque wuttoshī-
mau.
Koosh, kooshshoog.
Wúchēhwau.
Wuttookāsin, wunnaumonien.
Nuttōnees.
Wuttonnin, oowemättin.
Kenōmon, kenaumōnog.
Wetompasin, asuh netat.
Wuttōtchikkinneasin.
Wuttokummīssin.
Ooshesin, wodtonkqsin.
Kehche, negonne wutchettuon-
gānog.
Nōchettuonganunnōnog.
Wunnechanoouh, pometiionk.
Nanwetūe.

Of Meat.

Comfortable food,
Fastings,
An high table, a trencher, &c.
Bread, crust,
Milk, flesh,
Pipes and tobacco,

The elements in the sacrament,
Subsistence.

Oyl, a dinner,
Breakfast, supper,

The Lord's supper,

Winne metscoonk.
Mat metsuongash.
Quinuhquí aubottashpūmuk.
Petukquineg, koshkittake.
Sogkōdonk, weyaus.
ūhpucōnkash and ūhpō-
onk. [p. 13.]

Woskechéyeūe.

Wutteagueyenooonk.

Pumme, } Pohshequāe metsu-
Samme, } onk.

Nompoāe metsuonk, wunnonküp-
pōonk.

Soutimoe mishadtuppōonk.

Of Metals.

Metal, metals,
A digger of gold and silver,

Mines,

Unnehtchooōkkod, -ash.

Natoohtheadash, or nahnatoohthead-
āhhog.

Misséhchōog.

Of a School. Auhtonnetontomuck.

A schoolmaster,
A scholar,
Learning, teaching,

A little book,
A pen, a letter or word,
The word of institution,

Kuhkōotumwehteaēnin.

Kodnehtuhto.

Kodnehtōhtoōnk, kuhkōotumweh-
teaonk.

Peawussukhonk.

Meek, kuttoonk:

Kuhquittomoe wuttinnōwaonk.

God's word,	Wuttinnōwaonk God.
A sentence, proposition,	Pogkodtittummoonk.
A command,	Annōteamōonk.
An hard lesson,	Siokke kodnehtantcoonk.
Rule, rules,	Kuhkehheg, kuhkehhegash.
An exercise, <i>pl.</i>	Kuhkōotumwehteāonk, -ash.
Proverb, proverbs,	Nupwōwaonk, -ash.
A story, stories,	Unnehtongquat, -ash.
Sense or meaning,	Nauwuttamōonk.
A prophet,	Quoshodtumwaen.
Degrees,	Chippaiyeut, chippénukkenoon- -ash.

Of the Senses.

[p. 14.]

The sight of the eyes,	Naumōonk muskesūkquash.
A quick hearing,	Tiātche nōtamūonk.
Smell, taste,	Munnauntamōonk, qutchehta- moonk.
A fine taste,	Weskūppehteamōonk.
The touch,	Missinumōonk.
A colour, a stink,	Unnissūonk, machūmonquat:
A sweet smell,	Wechimōquat, <i>or</i> wetimunkqt.
A sound,	Wuttichunkquontoowāonk.
A loud sound,	Mushontūwou.
A pleasant laughter,	Winne tahansha, <i>or</i> ahanshāonk.
A weeping, a sigh,	Mōonk, mishannaumōonk.
A strong fancy,	Menuhki tunnantom, <i>or</i> unnanta- nōonk.
A good memory,	Wunnegen mehquontamūonk.
Much sleep,	Mōochēke kauēonk:
Long watching,	Seepee askōwheteāonk.
A dream,	Unnukquamōonk.

Of Ships.

A vessel, <i>or</i> ship,	Kehtōonog, -wash, <i>pl.</i>
A boat <i>or</i> canoe,	Peontāem, musshōan.
A sail, a mast,	Sepakhunk, quonnohtake.
An anchor, a cable,	Kussuppanunkquank, peāmen- yaht.
Head, stern,	Negōnut, wutchitūt.
A pilot, <i>or</i> master,	Monchahiteāēnin.
A passenger, passengers,	Nōttohtamwaēnin, -nuog.
A ship carpenter,	Kehtōonogquehteāēnin.
Mariners,	Pūmmuhshottoēninuog:
Prosperity,	Wenawetuonk.

Of Time.

[p. 15]

Time, times,	Ahquompi, -yeuash.
Opportunity,	Wunnupkomiyāonk.

A quarter of an hour,	Yauwe chippag hour.
A day, days,	Kesūkod, -ash.
Daytime,	Kesūkkâttæ ahquompi.
Next day, <i>or</i> two days hence,	} Nesqunnoh, nesūkquinōgkod.
(<i>or</i> ago),	
Three days hence,	Nishikqunnohquod.
Four days hence,	Yauukqunnohquod.
Tomorrow,	Saup. (Vide page 102.)
Seven days hence,	Nesasuk tashikqunnohquod, &c.
Break of day,	Pootouwāshâ.
Market day,	Oattehchæ ukkesukodum.
Our days,	Nukkesukodtumunnōnash.
All the day long,	Mamusse quinne kesūkod.
Sun rising,	Upposhpishaonk nepaz.
Sun setting,	Oowayaonk nepaz.
Morning, noon,	Nompoæ, pohshequæ.
Night, nights,	Nukkon, -ash.
Afternoon,	Quâtuhquōhquâ.
A week, <i>or</i> one part of a month,	Nequt chippi pasuk keessoocht.
Lord's day,	Sontimœ kesukod.
Sunday, Monday,	Assannitta, nesikquiūshunk.
Tuesday, Wednesday,	Nishikquinishonk, yauquinishonk.
Thursday,	Napannatashikquinishonk.
Friday,	Nequttatashikquinishonk.
Saturday,	Nesasuk tahsheke sūkod.
A year, years,	Pasukkodtummō, -ash.
Ages, spring,	Ahontseongash, séquan.
Fall, summer,	'Ninnauwæet, nepinnæ.
Winter, childhood,	Poponæ, mukkiesūoonk.
Old age, an age,	Kehchêhi, mohtontamōonk.
A month,	Nepaz.

Of Trees and Shrubs.

[p. 16.]

A good plant,	Neahketeāmuk.
A tree, trees,	Mehtuk, mehtukwash.
Wood, woods, a log,	Touohkōmuk, -gut, quttōw.
A bough, boughs,	Pohchâtuk, -quinash.
A leaf, leaves,	Wunnēpog, -wosh.
The bark of a tree,	Mehtūkque wunnadteask.
The root,	Wutchâppehk <i>or</i> wottapp.
The fruit,	Mehtukque mechummūoonk.
A nut, nuts,	Annahchim, -inash,
Walnuts,	Wussoohquattōmīnash.
A strawberry,	Wuttahminneoh.
A blackberry, <i>pl.</i>	Wuttohkoḥkōminneōnash.
Wood,	Wuttoohqūnash, <i>or</i> mishash.
Oakwood,	Wesokkūnk.
White oak, red oak,	Pohkuhtimis, wesattimis.
A walnut tree,	Wussoohquattomis.
Cedar, pine tree,	Utchukkūppemis, kowās.

Of Virtues and Vices.

Virtue, virtues,	Podgodchewunnëgen, -ash.
Religion,	Peantamõonk.
Grace,	Kittummateanutteakonk.
Vice,	Ompuwussüeonknunkquat.
Wickedness, sin,	Matchetõonk, matcheseonk.
Transgression,	Matcheneheáonk.
Iniquity,	Panneusseonk.
Sobriety, civility,	Maninniyeõonk, umukquompõonk.
Valour, chastity,	Kenompãonk, kohkonantamõonk.
Temptations,	Qutchuhüwaôngash.
Justice (done by a private person),	Wussampweusseonk. [p. 17.]
—— (—— by a magistrate,)	Sampwewussittamõonk.
A justice, justices,	Nanauunnuaënin, -nuog.
Modesty, or shamefacedness,	Unninanumõe, maniinissüonk.
Humility, truth,	Hohpooonk, wunnomwaonk.
Liberality, or bounty,	Nanãuwe, animumoadtũonk.
Industry, or diligence,	Menehkenittee, wowuttcoüssüonk.
Duty, or obedience,	Ncoswetamcoonk.
Patience, constancy,	Mani:nissüonk, nagwutteaeýeõonk.
A friend, friendship,	Netomp, oowetompooonk.
Communion,	Wetommmuãonk.
An enemy,	Matwau.
Peace, pity,	Wunnohteakonk, nohteonteanittũonk.
Mercy,	Monanëteakonk.
Mercifulness,	Kittumonteanittũonk.
Thankfulness,	Tãbãttoiantamoõonk.
Godliness, un-	Manittõonk, mat-*
Honesty,	Papohtanumukquassüonk.
Charity,	Mishe womosüonk.
Folly,	Tohnoocheyeõonk.
Craft, or guile,	Aiontogkoie, ompuwussüonk.
A knave, knaves,	Aiontogkomp, -aog.
From a knave,	Wutchiyewõ, aiontogkomput.
Pleasure,	Tapeneamõonk, (Vide, p. 8.)
Gluttony,	Wussomuppoõonk.
Drunkenness,	Wussomsippamõonk.
Adultery,	Mãmosue, nanwunncoodsquãwãonk.
Fornication,	Nanwunncoodsquãwãonk.
A whore, whores,	Nanwunncootsquãwãënin, -nuog.

*Mat is equivalent to the negative un, in the English column. *Edit.*

A lie, lies,	Panncowāonk, -ash. [p. 18.]
A liar, liars,	Panncowaēnin, -nuog.
Sauciness,	Eiiske, <i>or</i> wussaūme kogkehtii- mau.
A busybody,	Weogkehteūnkik onkatoh unni- yeūonk.
Thriftyness,	Wenauwetūe, unuhkommiāonk.
Prodigality,	Mogke, mogkcoe pomantamō- onk.
Covetousness,	Aiahchōāntamōonk.
Rashness,	Tiadche ussēonk.
Madness,	Kogkeaonk.
Cowardice,	Sohquompoonk.
A coward,	Sohquompoōo.
Slothfulness,	Sāsekeneamōonk.
Inconstancy,	Mat-nagwutteanumōonk.
Stubbornness,	Menuhke cheketamōonk.
Souldiers,	Aiyeueteaog.
War, wars,	Aiyeuṭiionk, -ash.
A drunkard, pl.	Kogkesippamwaēnin, -nuog.
A thief, thieves,	Kummōotowaēnin, -nuog.

In God's behalf,	God ne papaume.
Ordinary generation,	Wosketompae wunnaumoniyeu- onk.
Image,	Wuttinnussūonk.
A mystery,	Siōgkok, -kish.
A lawgiver,	Naumatuonganehtaēnin.
In the power,	Ut menehkesuonganit.
Protection,	Nanauunnittuonk.
Institution,	Kuhquttumooonk.
Tradition,	Menaonchummoonk.
Judaism,	Jewse-asēchek.
A notable man,	Papane anwohchaonk.
Circumstanstials of our life,	Pomantamooonkane, nuttisseon- kanunnonash.
Every minute,	Nishnoh chohki.
Controversy,	Pussōmatiionk.
A sabbath-breaker,	Poohquunnussabbath dae- nin. [p. 19.]
Adversaries,	Aiyeuukonukqhetticheh.
Conversation,	Wosketompae pomūshaōnk.
A covenant of works,	Anakausuongane wunnōowaonk.
Conversation, <i>or</i> behaviour,	Wuttunniyeuonk.
Event,	Ushpunnaonk.
Example,	Us-huwāonk, usseonk.
On the cross,	Pummetunkapunnegkānit.
The distance,	Pehteohkoadtūonk.

A right end, <i>or</i> purpose,	Sampwi natwontamōonk.
Our interest,	Nutchippiyeumun.
Mankind,	Wosketompae unnissuonk.
A mediator,	Wunnohteahawaēnin.
Nature,	Wuttinnepomantamōonk.
Power of the sword,	Menuhkesūonk togkod tegāne.
Provision, supply, means, help,	Animumoadtūonk.
Snares,	Ahpehheonoash.
A sign, or seal, or character,	Kuhkinneasunok.
Workmanship,	Ukkezteauoh.
My servant, my servants,	Nuttinninnuum, -og.
Thy servant, servants,	Kuttinninnume, -og.
His servant, pl.	Wuttinninnūmoh, -mog.
Our servant,	Nuttinninnūmun.
Our servants, pl.	Nuttinninnumunnōnog.
Your servant, pl.	Kuttinninum, -og.
Their servant,	Wuttinninnumō.
Their servants,	Wuttinninnumōog.
A servant,	Wuttinninūmin.
A trick,	Nehhittūonk.
An head, <i>or</i> point (in a sermon,)	Muppūhkuhk, <i>or</i> chippi.
One, <i>or</i> a person,	Howannooonk.
Sports,	Kussouosoōe puhpoōonkash.
Several violations,	Monatash poohqunnumooonkash.
Covenant of grace,	Monanteae wunnōwaonk.

Adjectives.

[p. 20.]

Almighty,	Wame manehkesit.
Absolute (natural,)	Wuttinne pomantamōongane.
Actual, all,	Usseae, wame.
Let me alone,	Ahqhhe.
Alone,	Webe.
All alone,	Nomsiyeuē, wukse.
I was alone,	Nunnānsiup.
Another man, <i>or</i> house,	Onkatog wosketomp, asuhwetii.
Any body,	Nanwe, howan, auwon.
Any man, any wood,	Nanwe wosketomp, nanwe mi- shash.
Antient times,	Negonne-quompiyeuash.
Approved,	Winne.
Approved of God,	God cōwowenōmuh.
Too apt, apt,	Wekonche.
Squint eyed,	Pānikquā.
Awry, <i>or</i> crooked,	Wonhkēsō.
A bad, <i>or</i> evil sign,	Matchit kuhkinneasunok.
A bad man,	Matche wosketomp.
A bald head,	Musantip.
Baldness,	Mosanupaonk.

Bald,	Mcosi.
Barren, base,	Mehcheyēne, matche. wenushaonk, <i>subs.</i>
A begging fellow,	Weenshāē pukkiskättees,
Below, beyond,	Ohkeiēu, onkkōue.
Big with young, big,	Wompēquo, mishee.
Bitter (moan)	Wesōgke mcoonk.
Bitter water	Wesattippog.
Black wolf,	Mcoi <i>or</i> mōwesco mukquish- shum.
Black face,	Moannequau.
Blind wretch,	Paukinnumōē kittūmonkiese.
Blue,	Peshai.
Blue colour,	Peshānnōquat.
Boiled meat,	Kēstāe weyaus.
Both,	Naneeswe.
Both parts,	Neescoog chippissioog,
Bowed or bent,	Wonkkiinnosūonk, sauappinnōsu.
Bountiful friend,	Womāsue netomp.
Bright shining sun,	Pahke, wossumōē nepāz.
Broad,	Wahwame, kishki. [p. 21.]
In brief,	Tiohque nissim.
Brute, beast,	Mat watāmoe, puppinanashim.
A calm season,	Auwepūe ahquompi.
A certain,	Aiānoe.
Careful persons,	Nanauantamōē missinnūog.
Chaste spouse, (chast,)	Pogkodche womonneg.
Peaceable,	Oggoosoadtii.
Cheap, cheerful,	Wunnoādtūe, wekontamoe.
Chief, churlish,	Negōnne, chenuōsūe.
Civil, clean,	Pissaumatue, pohkoiyēue.
Clear,	Pahtipnippōgāde, <i>or</i> pakkeyeūe.
Common people,	Nanwe missinninnūog.
Convenient,	Wunnohteashae.
Covetous lord,	Aiahchuontamōē sontim.
Crafty or cunning counsels,	Waantam, wunnupwowae ken- _oscowāonk.
Crooked, cross,	Wonkoi, chenuosūe.
Cruel tyrant,	Onkque neunkque ayeuteaēnin.
Curled locks,	Wutchipattūkque, mēsunk
Courteous dame,	Wunnenehhūāe, sonksq.
Dainty victuals,	Wekōne metsuonk.
Dark,	Pohkuni.
Dark night,	Pohkintippōhkod.
Deaf ear,	Kogkopsāe, mehtōuog.
Dear, loving,	Wohquonumukqussiūe.
Dear price,	Mishoadtue.
Deep well,	Quinonōgkod wuttohhōmong.
Delightful place,	Wunnegin aiyeuonk.

Different tempers,
A diligent workman,
Distinct,
Diverse sorts,
Doubtfull matters,
Dreadfull, drunken,

Dry, dumb,
Dirty sluts,
Dutiful,
Each part,
Each others, each other,
Early ripe,
Earnest in business,
Easy disposition,
An easy lesson,
Ecclesiastical persons,

Elect, election,
Eloquent, eloquence,
Empty,
Empty handed,
Endued with wit,

English,

Envious fools,

Equal sides,
Especial occasion,
Everlasting, eternity,
Every one, *or* man,
Every thing,
Evil (substantially,)
Exact, right,
Faint,
Faint hearted,
A fair girl,
Faithfull, false,

Famous for goodness,
Far, fatherly,

Fat cattle,
Fat ground,
Few such,
Filthy communication,
Firm trust,
Fit for any thing,

Chagchape nitteahhaongash.
Menehteantamöe anakausuaēnin.
Chadchaubenumcoe.
Moochéke chippe niyeūash.
Chânântamöe teagwassinish.
Oukqueneunkquat, wussomsip-
pamöe.

Nunnâpi, mat kakittoe.
Nishkeâê nattuppooaenuog.
Ncoswetamöe.
Naneeswe, chippag. [p. 22.]
Nishnoh pâsuk, äausüe.
Kenuppe kesannōta.
Chekeantam ut anakausuonganit.
Wunne maninissüonk.
Nikkumme nuhtuhtoonk.
Moeuwehkomungane nânânuwa-
cheg.

Pepenauitcheg, kesantamcoonk.
Tappeneunkqussüe, -onk.
Mohchiyēüe.
Mohchiyeye menitcheg.
Mechimuhkonittii, nashpe nehto-
antomōonk.

Chokquog, chogqussuog, *pl.*; wa-
tâhkōonog, *such as wear coats.*
Ishkauaussue, nisquetüe mât-
tammägwgog.

Tatuppéyeu aetöuwe.
Pâpâne wutcheaj.
Michemohtae, michemeyeuoonk.
Nishnoh pasuk, *or* wosketomp.
Nishnoh teag.

Machuk.
Piuhsukke.
Sohqutteahhaonk.
Sohqut teahhaue.
Wunnetüe nonksqua.
Papohtanumukqussue, assooke-
kodteamōe.

Wunnissu wutch wunnetōonk.
Nauwut, noadt, wuttcoshimmau-
we.

Wunnogque netassüog.
Wenouohkomuk.
Ogkossōog netatüppe.
Matche keketōokāonk.
Menuhke annunohquēonk.
ūnauwōhkon, nanweteag,

Flat nosed,	Nenēque mutchan.	[p. 23.]
Fond,	Sohqutteāhae.	
Foolish whelp,	Asscotūe wuskōsshum.	
Forcible, <i>or</i> violent,	Chekewe.	
Former chapter,	Negouneyeue cap.	
Former doings,	Chenohkomūe usseongash.	
Foreign news,	(Nussitongquot) nowadtit wut-	
	tissittōngquot.	
Foul, <i>or</i> dirty,	Nishkeneunkquat, <i>or</i> ukkohkeai.	
Free, liberty,	Nanauwe, nanauweyeuonk.	
Free born,	Chippinninnūe netu, -onk.	
Frequent, fresh,	Nagwutteae unninuhpūkquan	
	(<i>namas.</i>)	
A fruitfull summer,	Mussegkitteōe kissittoō.	
Full,	Numwae, pahshanne.	
A full barn,	Numwametchmu mechimukkō-	
	muk.	
A man full of envy,	Wosketomp numwae ishkaau-	
	sūonk.	
A house full of goods,	Wetu numwohta momatchiash.	
Fullness,	Wunnumwohtoonk.	
Gentle or tame,	Nonnausuōonk.	
A gentleman,	Wenauetuēnin.	
General,	Nanwe mamusseyeue.	
Glad enough,	Wekontamcoonk tāpi.	
Glorious, godly,	Sohsumooe, manittoe.	
Good men,	Wunnetoue wosketompaog.	
A good house,	Wunnegen, (<i>or</i>) wunne wetu.	
Good commandments,	Annoteamcoongash wunnegūn-	
	nash.	
It is all for good : <i>subst</i> :	Ne wame wutche wanegkuk, (<i>or</i>)	
	wanegik.	
He is gray before he is good,	Noh womequau, asqunwunne-	
	tookup.	
Let your speeches be good,	Kuttinnohquātumooongash wun-	
	negenna.	
Good, better, best,	Wuñne, auwannegen.	
<hr/>	Wunnit (<i>things.</i>)	
<hr/>	Wunnissu (<i>persons.</i>)	
Gray headed, gray,	Wompontuppāonk, wompishocki.	
Great God,	Mussikkenōe God.	
Greatest evils.	Mohsag (<i>sing.</i>) mogakish	
	matchukish.	[p. 24.]
A great estate,	Mussi wenauwetūonk.	
A great man,	Missugken wosketomp.	
A great beast,	Mishee puppunasshim.	
Greatness, weightiness, momen-	Missugkencoonk.	
touness,		
Greedy gut,	Wussomuppōe menogks.	

Green apron,	Askosque attoh.
Gross, <i>or</i> horrible,	Nishkeneunkkque,
Guilty,	Pohquinumöe, keessantamöe.
Hairy bear,	Ukkeesshæe moskq.
Half a bushel,	Pohshe quttohhumcoonk.
Happy, happiness,	Wunniyeu, -onk.
Our happiness,	Nooniyeuonkanunnônash.
Hard, <i>or</i> difficult,	Siokke.
A hard stone,	Menuhki qussuk, (hussún.)
Haughty, <i>or</i> proud,	Quinuhqui metah, pctuanumöe.
High, and mighty,	Quinuhqui, <i>and</i> menehkësu.
An high house,	Quinuhqui wetu.
An high man,	Quinukquësu wosketomp.
Hoarse,	Nohtoommuoöonk.
A hoarse voice,	Tanne ontowâonk.
An hollow thing,	Puppuhke teag.
Holy exercises,	Wunnétupantamwe wogkouëonk.
The holy bible,	Manittöe wussukwhonk.
Holy, <i>or</i> religious seeds,	Peantamwe usseongash.
Holy rest,	Wunnetupantamwe anwohsinnoo- onk.
Consecration, <i>or</i> making holy,	Wunnetupantamwahettuonk.
Honest labour,	Sampwe anakausuonk
Honourable,	Quttiantämwe.
How many men,	Tohtohsöog wosketompaog.
How many days,	Tohtohshinnash kesüködash.
How great, how good,	Uttuh missi, uttuh en wunnetoo.
Humble beggars,	Hohpöe wenshaerinüog.
Ignorant,	Ascökitcheg.
Imperfect creatures,	Mat pahkesüe oâasineg. [p. 25.]
Imperfections,	Mat panuphettuonk.
Impossible,	Noskonongquot.
Immortal,	Mat nuppöe.
Industrious,	Wuttoantamwe.
Infallible,	Matta assokekedteamöe.
Infinite,	Matta wehquishinnöe mat, wohkükquöshik.
Inward delight,	Unnömutteahæe wekontamcoonk.
Intire, <i>or</i> whole,	Ycowame, <i>or</i> mamusse.
Joyful feast,	Miskouantämoe mishodtuppö- onk.
Irreconcilable,	Mat wunnohteac.
Just, just so,	Sampwi, tatüppéyeu.
Kind husband,	Wunnenëhhuæe wasükkien.
A knowing ladd, pl.	Wâtämöe wuskenin, wuskenesp, l.
A lame creature,	Quinnukquesukekeshkhuowæe âoas.
Last year,	Neyānat.
This year,	Kakod.

Large, late,	Mummeshki, nauohqômptümükup shäi.
Latter part,	Momiches, chippi.
Late at night,	No uttippöhkod.
Lawful authority,	Nâmatue nânâwnuncowaonk.
Lazy folks,	Segeneamöe missinnin.
A lean person,	Önauwussüe missinnin.
Learned physicians.	Nohtohtogik pouâskehtuaeninüog.
A thing left,	Neteag nogkodtümuk.
Left handed,	Nummatchu.
Light heeled, (or footed,)	Nonkkë sittont.
A light burden, or heavy,	Nonkke weânun, or tuhkëquan.
Like men,	Wosketompaut.
Like-unto, like,	Tatüppe, tatüppeneankquat.
They are made like, (conforma- ble,	Tahippeyeu, -oog.
And the like,	Kah nish ne annakisk.
Limber cloth,	Noohkie monage.
A little lispng,	Ogkosse sekontöwau.
A little man,	Peasissu wosketomp.
A little house,	Peakömuk.
Little, least,	Peawe, nanpehpeawag.
Your little legs,	Papewe kuhkonttash.
A little heaven,	Peamese kesuk. [p. 26.]
A little time,	Tiahqui ohquompi.
A little trouble,	Ogkuhse wuttamehpunnäonk.
A very little bird,	Nanpeh peississu pussuhkis.
Loathsome hole,	Nehehanumükquat wonog.
Long legged,	Quinukkontäonk.
Long time,	Quinni } ahquompi.
	Seeppe } ahquompi.
Long experience,	Seeppee pahkontamöonk.
Long way,	Nöadit may.
Lonely town,	Nonsee ootan.
Loose tongued,	Puppogque ménan.
Low barn,	Tióhquohque wechumükkomuk.
A low man,	Tióhquohqassu wosketomp.
Lowest,	Netachquohquohk, tíoquôn- quat.
Lusty and tall,	Papassununkqüssü, quinhqüssu.
Mad, maimed,	Kogkeae, ncochímwe.
Malitious,	Nishkeneunkque.
Manifest folly,	Watouwähüau tohncöheyëuuk.
Many men,	Monaog wosketompaog.
Many deaths,	Monatash nuppöongash.
Many bears,	Monaog moshquog.
Mean parentage,	Kittumöngke wutchiyëuonk.
Mere dunce,	Webe, or papaquanne asscotii.
A meet season,	Wunnohkommiäë ahquompi.

Merciful, middle,
 A mild speaker,
 Mindful of sin,
 Mindful be of the,
 Miserable,
 Modest,
 Moral,
 Much, more, most,
 Most of the things,
 Too much, so much,
 How much shall I give you,
 Much longer,
 Narrow compass,
 Naughty, near to,
 Death is near,
 Neat manners,
 Necessary,
 Beings, *or* things necessary,

Neither he, nor she,
 Neither of them,
 New, news,

Newness of life,
 Next,
 Noble man;
 None, nothing,
 Obscure, *or* hidden,
 Other, *or* another,
 Other men,
 Another way,
 Often,
 Old ways,
 Old birds,
 Original, outward,
 Original, pagan,

Pale, a pale man,
 Particular, *adj.*
 Perpetual motion,
 Plain way,
 It is plain, *or* manifest,
 The thing is very plain,
 Pleasant company,
 Pleasant weather,
 Pleasant walking,
 Plentiful harvest,

A plentiful table,

Monanitteae, nanasshoūwe.
 Maninnekek kuttoohkaēnin.
 Nanauantamooonk matchesēonk.
 Nanauantash wutche ne.
 Kittumongkeneankquat.
 Maninissish.
 Mat ôsoowunnamœe.
 Mœchêke, kœche, anue.
 Anue mœcheke teaguassinish.
 Wussômme, tohshe.
 Toh kitteashshinnūmaūish.
 Kœche wonk.
 Tottôdchi aiyœonk. [p. 27.]
 Matche, passœcheyœut.
 Nuppœonk passwappu.
 Wunnequttianumœonk.
 Quenauhikkœe, quenauok.
 Teanteaguassinish, quenauhua-
 gish.

Mattanoh.
 Matta nag pasuk.
 Wuske, ūnuhtamœonk, achmœ-
 wonk.

Wuske pomautamœonk.
 Neanak.
 Nummeskântamoēnin.
 Matta pasuk, monteag.
 Piussükke, attohtossu.
 Onkatog, onkatogig, *pl.*
 Onkatogig wosketompaog.
 Onkatog may.
 Mœchêkit, nômpœ.
 Nukkonne mayash.
 Nukkonnishâog.
 Nukkonne, woskeche.
 Wadchaubukkœe, matta peughtam-
 we.

Wompekisheeœe wosketomp.
 Nanasiyeue.
 Nagwutteanumœe wœgkouœonk.
 Wunnummayœgkod.
 Pahke unni.
 Ne pogkodche pahkneunkquat.
 Wunnœgen wechiyeumitchik.
 Wunnohquot.
 Kissontommoshœonk.
 Mishhimmechîmœe kepînumœ-
 onk.
 Mishhimmechumœe tashpœonk.

Poor, poverty,	Matcheküe, kittumungeneyeuconk.
Present trouble,	Poswohtae wuttamantamcoonk.
Present to,	Anaquabhettit, [p. 28.]
Pretty well,	Anukkowewunnegen.
A pretty fellow,	Wunnissüe missinnin.
A pretty thing,	Mosunnoquat teag.
Principal,	Negonneyeue negonneyeuuk, <i>pl.</i> negonneyeucogish.
Secret } revenge,	Keme annotāonk.
Private }	
Prodigal son,	Mohtompashaeninnüe wunnau- monien.
Profane villain,	Papaquanne aiontogomp.
That is proper, <i>or</i> right,	Wunnohteai, (<i>or</i>) ne ünni.
Prosperous gale,	Wunnopkommīae wuttin.
Prosperous men,	Wunnohkommīae wosketompaog.
Proud rogues,	Pehtuanummoe aiontkkoioig.
Publick,	Pohquae, pahpeqāontāmuk.
Pure trade,	Wunne teagwassinnu.
Quick,	Tiadche, a kenuppe.
Quick witted,	Kenūpantamoēnin.
Quarrelsome,	Penuanittee.
Rare apples,	Wunnemechimmūonk.
Rash talk,	Chitchikque kuttcoonk.
Raw as a piece of meat,	Askin neane kodchúkhi weyaus.
Ready to do good,	Pahtsū wunnenchhuōnat.
May be prepared, <i>or</i> ready,	Woh quaquashweeog.
Reasonable, rebellious,	Enomaiyeue, cheketamöe.
Red, regular,	Mishque, kuhkuhhegāne.
Religious administration,	Manittcoompae usseonk.
Resolute,	Pogkodāntam.
The rest of the men, them that } are left with some gone,	Sequishonchik woskētompaog.
Restless,	Matta anwosunōe.
Rich, right,	Weenauwetu, nenih, (<i>or</i>) sampwi.
Right handed,	Kuttinnohkōüne menitcheg.
Ripe soon,	Kesannōhta teanuk.
Roasted round.	Apwōsu, petukqui.
Rude behaviour, manner, } way, state, condition, }	Ponniyēue ünniyēuonk. Nuttinniyēuonk, nuttinohkommia- onk.
Sad, sorrowfull,	Nōowtamōe. [p. 29.]
Safe, <i>or</i> secure,	Nannauwiyeuonk.
The same,	Nenān, nnih, nont nee.
Savage, heathen,	Matche missinnūog.
Saucy, seasonable,	Mat quaquattāmmō, wunne.
Security,	Anwohsinnooonk.
Severe master,	Onkeneunkque sontim,

- Shallow, shamefaced,
 Shameless,
 Short breeches,
 In short,
 A short man,
 A short day,

 A shrill tone, *or* noise,
 Very sick,
 Sinfull, slavish,
 Well situated,
 Soft, soft wool,
 Small,
 Solemn assembly,
 Some men, some stones,

 Sound wind and limb,

 Sovereign, sovereignty,
 Sour beer,
 Spiritual,
 Spreading sail,
 Special, still,
 Stooping for age,
 Straight path,
 A strange thing,
 A stranger,
 Strong, and subtil, *or* cunning,
 Our strong arms,
 Such glory,
 Such differences,
 Such, as such men,

 Such a man,
 Such a day,
 In a man,
 Sudden change in a man,
 Sudden change in a thing,
 Superstitious,
 Sure *or* certain,

 Certainty, assurance,

 Surviving, sweet,
 Swift feet, *or* men,
 Tall, *and* tender,
 Temporal,
 Terrible thunder,

 Pongqui, akodchüe nissuonk.
 Mat akodchüe, keni.
 Tiohqui, *or* tihkosüe ogkco.
 Nuttioquem, *or* Hõwam.
 Tiohkoosue wosketomp.
 Tattauyu, kukesukod tattauyu-
 quiyeuash kesukodtash.
 Sashkontoowãonk.
 Poketche môchnog.
 Matcheseae, missiuncoe.
 Wunnummahteapüonk.
 Noohkie, noohkeshakånash.
 Peäsik, peawy.
 Qushae *or* miyae (*all*) moeónk.
 Nawhutche wosk, *and* qussuk-
 quånash.
 Mat woskesüonk, mat chenesü-
 onk.
 Wussontimõe, sontimõonk.
 Seane wuttattamõonk.
 Keteahogkounne, nãashanittiie.
 Sepakinnumõonk monag.
 Nanahsiyeue, aspeh.
 Coskinuk mohtontamõonk.
 Sampwiyeue may.
 Wuñnoh ne teag.
 Pencowohtea.
 Menekhesüe, wunninnüpwoo.
 Menuhke nuhpittenonnonash.
 Neånag sohsumõonk.
 Neanãgish chadchaboaongash.
 Neane, ne nãanësitcheq woske-
 toimp.
 Neahanëssit wosketomp.
 Ohunnag kesukod.
 Peenõonküssuonk.
 Peenõonküssuonk.
 Tiadche penõoadt. [p. 30.]
 Mat annõteamõe.
 Mat chanantamõe, wunnamuhkũ-
 tee.
 Wunnamuhkutteyeuuk, pahkon-
 tamoe annõsooonk.
 Menehteantamhũae, wekonne.
 Kenüpshe missce.
 Qunnohquat *and* nõochümwi.
 Muhhokkãe.
 Unkquinneunkque pattohqõoh-
 hon.

Thankfull for any thing,	Tabattântamcoe, wutche nanwe, teag.
Thick, thin air,	Kohpoghi, wussâppi woppinnok.
Torn coat,	Tannoghi, petasquishâonk.
Treacherous dealers,	Wnnömpukohteae onnaquisshönchik.
Trembling joynts,	Ninukshae, onaguesuongash.
True, trusting unto,	Sampwee, papahtantammun.
A twin,	Togquos, ogquos, -suog.
Vain endeavours,	Tahncoche, missontamcoongash.
Valiant,	Kenompâe.
Visible representations,	Nogqüssê, ogqueneunkqussuon-gash.
Unable, and unwilling,	Mat tappinumco, mat wekontâmco.
Universal,	Wameyeue.
Unmarried, man,	Mat mittumwussisuenin.
————— woman,	Wetouadtead, enin.
Unsavory talk,	Mat wetimunkque kekittokaônk.
Unsearchable,	Mat pakodtattinnekontamcoe.
Upwards, heavenwards, utterly,	Kesûkquiyeu, papâquanne.
Uttermost, or utmost,	Tohahhinikqûiqunitteaonk.
Wandering wanton,	Wâwônchik, poniyeue.
Weak,	Nöchimcoe.
Wealthy citizens,	Wenouwetû, wuttcotannieog.
Weary travellers,	Sauwinumoe pomisshaenûog.
Weighty matters,	Missiyêue pissaumatuongash.
Wet <i>and</i> stormy,	Wuttapôhquot <i>and</i> nashquittin.
What manner,	Uttoh unni.
Whether, or no,	Uttôkau, asuh matta.
A white wall,	Wompi sassuppokômuk.
Whole time,	Mamisse ahquompi.
Without, within,	Poquatchimiyeu unnommiyeu.
Wholesome,	Papâne.
Whosoever, <i>and</i> whatsoever,	Tokod, howan, <i>and</i> uttohkodteag.
Wicked, wide,	Matchetou, kishkoi.
Wicked men,	Matchetowog, matchetúkeg.
Wild, <i>pl.</i>	Chatchepissu.
Wise, <i>and</i> witty,	Waantam, <i>and</i> wowunnohteawau.
Wonderfull counseller,	Mohtchantamwe kencosoaênin.
Worse than the other,	Mat chit onk onkatog.
Worse,	Anue matchit.
Worshipfull,	Wowussumuâe, quttiantamwe.
Worthy,	Tapinumoe, tapeneunkquassûe.
Worthy receivers,	Quagquashwehtamwe, attumunukoog.
Wounded in fight,	Nöchimwuttohwhüssu, ut ayeutionganit.
Yearly payment,	Kogkodtumwae, oadtehteâonk.

Young,	Wuskôntam; wusketo, <i>a creature not a man.</i>
Rulers in an inferior capacity,	Nanáwinuaeninuog nag ohkeiyeu apitcheq.
Loose principles, <i>and</i> practices,	Piahchummœe unnantamog, <i>and</i> usœog.
A fancy,	Unnantamooonk.
Antipathy,	Kussasekinnamcoonk.
A rack,	Tannauwohkumpunnâonk, auwohkompanaonk.
Numbers,	Unnogketamcoonkash. [p. 32.]
Unity, one, first, once,	Pasukcoonk, pasuk, nequt, negonne pasûkqut; pasuk annû, <i>one time.</i>
Two, second, twice,	Nees, nâhohtœeu, nesit.
Second persons, causes,	Nahohtœeu howanœongash, ennomaiyeuash.
Three, third, thrice,	Nish, nishwe, nishwut.
Three commandments,	Nishwe annooteamœongash.
Four, fourth, four times,	Yau, yaué, yauwut.
Four houses,	Yauunash wetuomash.
Five, fifth, five times,	Napanna, napannaut, napannatashut.
Six, sixth, seven,	Nequtta, <i>pl.</i> nequttatassuog; nequttaut, nequttatashut, nêsasuk.
Eight, eighth, eight times,	Shwosuk, <i>or</i> nishwô, nishwôsut.
Nine, ninth,	Pâskoogit, <i>or</i> paskoogun paskoogit.
Ten, tenth,	Piog, pioggut:
Ten commandments,	Piogquttash annooteamœongash.
Eleven, twelve,	Piog nabo nequt, piog nabo nees, &c.
Twenty-one, thirty-two, &c.	Neesneechag nequt, nees, &c.
The twentieth company,	Neesneechagehtunk wechiyeutii-onk.
Thirty, forty,	Nishwinnechak, <i>pl.</i> suog, yauwinnechak.
Fifty, sixty,	Napannatashinnechak, <i>pl.</i> suog, nequttatashinnêchak.
Seventy, eighty,	Nesasuktashinnechak, nishwo-tashinnechak.
Ninety,	Paskoogit tashinnechak.
One hundred,	Nequt passûkoo, <i>or</i> passûkoog.
One thousand,	Nequt muttannonganog.
One hundred houses,	Nequt pasûkœoash wetuomash.
One hundred men,	Nequt pasukoog wosketompaog.
Ninety men,	Paskookin tashinnechakodog woske.
Ninety houses,	Paskookin tashinnechakodash wetuomash.

The fifth particular,	Napannant chippag.
The sixth,	Nequtta ut, &c.
	<i>Pronouns.</i>
	[p. 33.]
I, thou, he, him,	Nen, ken, noh, nâgum.
We, us, ye, you,	Nenauwun, kenau.
They, them,	Nag, nahog, <i>or</i> nagumau.
These men, these things,	Yeug, yeush, nish.
This man, this thing,	Yeuh, yeu.
In him, with him, her,	Ut noh, nashpe nagum.
My, mine,	Ne, neen.
My God, my friend,	Nuk Godum, netump.
My house, my grass,	Neke, nummosketiimash.
Thy, thine, your, yours,	Kenayeu, yeu kenau.
His, hers, whereby,	Nohne, nish, <i>or</i> yeu nashpe,
Our, ours,	Yeu, nenauun.
Whomsoever,	Howân ânantam.
Which,	Uttuh, uttiyeu, <i>sing.</i> uttiyeusk, <i>pl.</i>
That house,	Ne wetu.
That man,	Nô wosketomp.
Whose son is that,	Howân wunnaumonut yeuhoh.
Who,	Howan.
Who are you,	Howan ken.
I love God whose commandments are good,	Nôwaman God noh, <i>or</i> neg wut- tannocoteamcoongash wunne- gûnnash.
Whose, <i>or</i> of whom,	Howanikyeu, <i>or</i> wutchehowan.
Whose book is that,	Howan ootuhguohhonk ne.
What you think,	Toh kuttinantam, (when a man does not speak.)
What manner you think,	Teagua kuttinânkam, (to know a man's opinion.)
What life do you live, (how,)	Toh kuttinne pomântam.
What trade are you of,	Toh kittinanokautuaena.
What do you want,	Teag kukquenauehhik.
What is your name,	Toh kittistooes,
What do you say,	Toh kittinnoowam.
What did you hear,	Toh kuttonenohtam.
Thy self, him, herself,	Piuhŷükkeken, piuhŷükke nâ- gum.
Our selves,	Nuhhogkanânog.
Your selves,	Kuhhogkawoog.
Themselves, your self,	Wuhhogkawoh, kuhhog. [p. 34.]
I my self,	Nen nuhŷog.
You your selves,	Kenau kuhhogkawoog.
He himself,	Noh wohôguh.
Their goods,	Momatchiash wutche nâhog.
Their own,	Wunnehenwoncheyeumoo.
For his own,	Nehenwonche wuttahtoank.
The kingdom thine,	Ketassotamôonk kutahtauun.

Verbs.

[p. 35.]

I am able,	Nuttâppinum.
Thou art able,	Ken kuttâppinum.
He is able,	Nagum tappinnum.
We are able,	Nuttâppinnumūmun.
Ye are able,	Kuttâppinnumumwo.
They are able,	Nâg tâppinumwog.
I was able, thou wast,	Nut, kuttâppinūmup.
We were able,	Kutt apinnumumunnōnup.
Be thou able,	Ken tapinish.
Let him be able,	Nok tapinetch.
Let us be able,	Tapinumuttuh.
Be ye able,	Tapinnumōok.
Let them be able,	Tapinnumhittich.
Art thou able,	Sun kuttapinnum.
To be able,	Tapinnumunat.
Endued him with ability, } or made him able, }	Tappennumwaheau, aiyeuwanta- pinnumun.
I abound, thou,	Nummōochūkkōhtou, kum-.
To abound,	Missegkinneat.
I did, we did abound,	Nummis, nummissetimunonup.
I adorn, we adorn,	Noossin, noottinnuontamumun.
He adorneth,	Noh wussinnu.
To adorn, or make handsome.	Wussinnu, wussininneat.
To be adorned,	Wussinnuontamunat.
I will give an account,	Nont nissampooowaontam.
You must give an account,	Nont pish kissampooowamwo.
To give an account,	Wunnompagunūnate, (reckon when in debt.)
I advise, or did, I well consider,	Nconatwontam, -up.
We advise,	Nenauun nunnatwontamūmun.
To advise,	Wunnatwontamūnat.
Advice,	Kogkahquttcoonk.
To be advised,	Kogkahquttinneat.
I afford,	Nuttinne, magun.
We afford,	* * * * *
To afford,	Enummâgunat.
I did, we did afford,	Nen nummag nummagumunōnup.
Dispensation,	Ummogcoonk.
I affright, or did,	Nikkitcheesahteam, -ap. [p. 36.]
We affright,	Nenauun nikkitchesshateamun.
To be affrighted,	Kitchesshanittinneat.
I am afraid, or I fear,	Ncōwābes.
We are afraid, or do fear,	Ncōwapantamūmūn, or nowabē- sumun.
To be afraid, or to fear,	Wabesuonnāonk.
God can make us afraid,	God woh noowabesuwahikqun.
I amend,	Nuppēncōwunēunkus, usseonk.

We amend,	Nuppencowununkqussūmun.
To amend, (Sampweteauunat,)	Pencowunuñkquat.
I am angry,	Nummosquântam.
We are angry,	Nummosquantamūmun.
To be angry,	Mosquantamunatē.
To make angry,	Mosquantamhuonat.
Dont be angry with me,	Ahque mosquaniumeh.
I am angry with you,	Kummusquāmmush.
I am angry with him,	Kummosquanium.
His slow anger,	Ummanūnnee musquanittamco- onk.

Here the prefix Um, is removed from the Substantive to the Adjective.

His anger,	Ummusquanittammcoonk.
Our anger,	Nummusquântamcoonganun.
Their anger,	Ummusquantamcoonganco.
I anoint,	Nussissegquin.
We anoint,	Nussissegquinnuamun.
To anoint,	Sussegquinuonat.
To be anointed,	Sissequinnittin neat.
I answer, or did,	Nunnampcōham.
We answer, or did,	Nunnamppcōhumūmun.
To answer,	Namppcōhumunat.
Why dont you answer me,	Toh wutch mat nampcōhumoog.
To be answered,	Namppoohmoaddin neat.
I appear, we appear,	Nunnogquis, -sūmun.
To appear,	Nogquissin neat.
Appearance, or looks,	Nogquissuonk,
A pretence,	Woskeche nogquissuonk.
How does this appear,	Yeuh toh unnoowāsheau. [p. 37.]
I appease, or did,	Nummahteânun.
We appease, or did,	Nummaptteanumūmun.
To appease, or pacify,	Mahteânunat.
To be appeased,	Mahtennittin neat.
I arise, (numos,)	Nuttomuhkem, or ncowābeem.
We arise, to arise,	Nuttomukkēmun, omuhkenate.
I arise out of my bed,	Nuttomuhkem wutch nuttappin- neat.
God arises me from sleep,	God nuttomuhkinuk wutch kaue- onk.
I arrive, to arrive,	Nootuhtohkom, wuttuhtuhkomu- nat.
I am ashamed,	Nutâgkodch.
To be ashamed,	Ôgkodchinat.
Make me ashamed,	Nutogkodchēhhit.
I was ashamed,	Nutogkodchup.
It ashamed me,	Nutâgkodchehikqun.
It makes them ashamed,	Wuttakodchuwahikkounneau.

I ask nothing,	Nunnattcotumwehteam monteag.
Thou askest,	Kenattcotumwchteam.
He asks, he did ask,	Nonattōotumwehtean, -up.
We ask, ye,	Nunnattcotumwehteamun.
They ask,	Nattcotumwehteaog.
To ask,	Nattcotumwehkonat.
I assure you,	Kuppohkontamwahhinnunwoo.
To assure,	Pâhkontamunat.
I attempt, to attempt,	Nen nukkodüssep, kodussenat.
To avouch,	Wanwōnat.
I awake, we awake,	Nuttōhkhēm, un, nuppagīs.
To awake,	Toohkēnat.
To be awake, I did awake,	Pagwissinneat.
I aim at,	Nummissantamun.
To aim at,	Missântamunat.
I bargain, to bargain,	Nutomattinneat.
We have bargained,	Nummalittommattimun.
We bargain,	Nuttommattimun.
To bark,	Wohwokkōnnat. [p. 38.]
The dog barks,	Anúm wohwōhteau.
To be, that is,	Ainneat, nenih.
I be, thou art, he is,	Nen nont, ken nont, nohne.
We are, ye are, they are,	Kenauun yeu, kenauna, nâg, na.
He is my friend,	Nohnoowetompiin.
Let him be my friend,	Unnannumnoh noowotompainne.
Let us be friendly,	Oowetompāe { unniittuh titteauh.
He was, we were,	Nagum nont, nenauun nee.
Ye were, they were,	Kenau ne, nâg ne.
As they were before,	Nish neânakup.
Oh that we were,	Napeh nont ne ūnuioog.
I beat,	Nen nuttattâgkom.
I am beaten,	Nen nuttattogkomut.
We beat, to beat,	Nuttattâdteâmun, tadtâgkōnat.
To be beaten,	* * * * *
A stick,	Muhtokoomes.
I am become a man,	Ncōwoskeetompa.
I am become, we are become,	Nuttinni, yumun.
To become,	Unniinat.
I beget, we beget,	Ncōnaumoni-yeum, yi-mun.
To beget,	Wunnaumoniyeuonk.
To be begotten,	Wannaumonyemuk.
I begin, we begin,	Nenkitche, nukkitcheüssem, -un.
I did begin,	Nukkitcheussep.
Do thou begin,	Kittcheusseish.
Let us begin,	Kitcheussetuh.
To begin,	Kitcheussenat.
To be begun,	* * * * *
I behold, we behold,	Kussehnunnâum, nunnaumūmun.

I believe, <i>or</i> did,	Nconamptam, -up.	
We believe,	Nconamptamūmun,	wunnamp-
	tashken.	
To believe, believe thou,	Wunnamptamunah,	wunnamp-
	tash ken.	
To be believed,	Wunnamptoadtinneat.	
Faith, Infidels,	Wunnamptamōonk, pan-	
	noowohtogig.	[p. 39.]
Infidels,	Mat wunnamptoggeg.	
Believers,	Wunnampuhtogig.	
Hereticks,	Mat wunnamptoggeeg, neānak	
	wussukwhongane, wunnomwa-	
	yeuonk.	
To bellow, <i>or</i> make a noise,	Nishkōwaunat.	
I bend, we bend,	Nōwonkūnum, -un, <i>or</i> nconō-	
	wānum.	
To bend, bending,	Wonkunumunat, ncowanumō-	
	onk.	
To be bent,	Wonkkenittinneat.	
I beseech you,	Kōwequetummāush.	
I beware, we beware,	Nan nunnūkqus, -sumun.	
To beware,	Nunnukqussinneat.	
Beware of men,	Nunnukqusuoat wosketompaog.	
Beware of the sea,	Nunnukqussuontash keitah.	
He was betrayed,	Wanassōomit.	
I bind, we bind,	Nukkishpinnō, -mun.	
To bind,	Kishpinnauūnat.	
To bind, <i>or</i> engage us,	Nukkishpinnukqunat.	
Obligation, <i>or</i> binding,	Kishpissuonk, <i>or</i> mohttomattuonk.	
To be bound,	Kishpissinneat.	
I bite, we bite,	Nen nussogkepōwam, -un.	
To bite,	Sogkepcoonate.	
I blame, we blame,	Nen nōochum, -ōmun.	
To blame,	Wutchumonate.	
To be blamed,	Wutchittinneat.	
I bless, we bless,	Nen nconānum, nconānummū-	
	mun.	
To bless,	Wunnaunumonat.	
To be blessed,	Wunnanittinneat.	
To blot out,	Jishkhamunat, jeshkhash num-	
	matchseonk.	
I blow, we blow,	Nuppcopootontōwam, -un.	
To blow,	Pōtontouunat.	
Bellows,	Popcopōtauwanāmuk.	
The wind bloweth,	Waban ootshon.	
I boil,	Nunnummattchkuhquam.	
To boil the pot,	Nepattohkūhquōnat.	
Midwife,	Nōochkuwaenin.	[p. 40.]
I am born,	Nummahche neetti.	

We are born,	Nummahche nettimun.
To be born, heirs,	Nekinneat, ayuskottumauomuk-keeg.
To bear a child,	Nechanat-mukkoies.
To brag, <i>or</i> swagger,	Mishoowānat.
I break, we break,	Nupcookūkkom, -ūmun.
To break,	Poohkukkomunat.
To be broke,	Pookkukkasinneat.
I break a law,	Nuppoohqun naumattuonk.
A law is broken,	Naumatuonk pōhchokossu.
To break a limb,	Pohchōhkomūnat, pohchātuk.
I breathe, <i>or</i> did,	Nen nunnāsshām, <i>or</i> -nont.
We breathe, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnashōomun, -nont nunnash.
To breathe,	Nahnashānat.
I bring, <i>or</i> did,	Nen nuppātton, -up.
We bring, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppattoman nōnup.
To bring,	Pattouūnat.
To be brought,	Pasoowittinneat.
Bring him with you,	Noh pasoo nashpe ken.
Bring my coat,	Patauish nuppetōhkos.
Bring thou, bring ye,	Patunishken, patooook.
Let him bring,	Pattauitch nagum.
Let us bring,	Patauūtuh.
Let them bring,	Neg patauehhittich.
Dost thou bring,	Sun ken kuppato.
Dost he bring,	Sun noh patou.
Do we bring, <i>or</i> not,	Sun nuppātōmun asuh mat.
To bring thee,	Patauunat.
To bring up any thing from a place.	Patchippohtīnat.
To be educated,	Wunne nehtuhpēkheonat.
I build, <i>or</i> did,	Ncowekītteam, ncowekitteop.
We build, <i>or</i> did,	Ncowekitteamun, nōnup.
To build, to be built,	Wekukkonat, wekukkoaddinneat.
I burn, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchikkos, nutchikkos-sumup. [p. 41.]
We burn, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchikkossūmun, -nōnap.
To burn,	Chikkossūmunat.
To be burnt,	Chikkossinneat.
I bury, <i>or</i> did,	Nupposūkin, -nop.
We bury, <i>or</i> did,	Nupposekinnuwōmun, -nōnup.
To bury,	Poosekinnuwonāt.
To be buried,	Poosekinnittinneat.
I buy, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttottōwām, nuttottowap.
We buy, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttaphumumūn, -nonup.
To buy,	Taphumanate.
To be bought,	Attowonnittinneat.
Redemption,	Mancowhāonk.
I call, <i>or</i> did,	Ncowēqūtteam, -up.

We call, <i>or</i> did call,	Nooewutteamumün, -nōnup.
To call,	Wequtteamūnat.
To be called,	Wequttinneat.
What you call Table,	Toh katusscowetam Table.
What you call a Wolf, } in Indian. }	Tohkitteuhin nattoohqus ut Indi- anut.
Called,	Asscovesit.
Calling,	Wehkomāonk.
I do care,	Nen nunnanauantam.
I dont care,	Mat tohnittintupantünmoo.
To care,	Wuttanantamunat.
I carry, we carry, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttāshun, -nuwamun, -nōnup.
To carry,	Tashinnekonat.
To be carried,	Pumminnegkonittinneat.
I carry a man,	Nukkūnum (nukkūnum) wos- ketomp.
I carry a stone,	Nappummunneeteam hussum.
Do thou carry me,	Kenpumminnegkosseh.
I will carry thee,	Pish kuppumminnegkonish.
Do thou carry him,	Ken pumminnegkos noh.
Do ye carry us,	Kenau pumminnegkoshinneat.
I cast, we cast,	Nussohwhoteam, -un.
To cast, <i>or</i> be cast,	Sohwhokōnat.
I catch, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttohquinūmmun. [p. 42.]
We catch, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttohquinumūmun, -nōnup.
To catch,	Tohquinnmunat.
To be caught,	Tohquinnittinneat.
I cease, <i>or</i> did,	Nummahteaim, -ep.
We cease, <i>or</i> did,	Nummahteamun, -nonup.
I charge (a gun,)	Nummechimmuhkontüe.
We charge,	Nummeechumuhkonomun.
To charge, <i>or</i> order,	Mechumuhkōnat.
I am charged much,	Nuttasscowūnum.
I charge thee,	Kummechumahkonish.
I change, we change,	Nuttasscoveennis, -sumun.
To be changed, to look after another manner,	Penoowinneunkqusspinnat.
Change thou, change ye,	Penoowinnunkqusish, -seg.
Let us change,	Penoowinnunkqussittuh.
I chastise, <i>or</i> did,	Nussohsamātoh.
We chastise, <i>or</i> did,	Nussohsamatohwhāmun, -nonup.
To chastise,	Sohsamatohhcoonat.
To be chastised,	Sasamatahwhittinneat.
I cheat, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttasscokekodteam.
We cheat, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttasscokekodteamumun.
To cheat,	Asscokekodteamunat.
I chuse, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppepenam.
He has chose,	Mahcheepepenam.
Choose thou,	Pepenash.

To cherish, <i>or</i> to nourish,	Sokkoinmōscowōnat.
I cherish, <i>or</i> I nourish,	Nussohkommoosōwam.
To be cherished, <i>or</i> nourished,	Sohkommoonittin neat.
I chide, <i>or</i> scold,	Nen nunnishquēwam.
We chide, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnishquewamun.
To be chid,	Nishquemittin neat.
	Nuppashoon, -nup, (wutche we- yaus.)
I am choked, <i>or</i> was,	Nuppashoonūmun, -nonup.
We are choaked, <i>or</i> were,	Passhoōnninn neat.
To be choaked,	Nukkechīquabes pemin neat.
	Nukkechīquapīnit penīn- [p. 43.] yoh.
I am choaked, with an halter,	Nuppehchenūnnam.
	Nuppehchenunnamumun.
I claim, <i>or</i> did,	Nunpāmūnat.
We claim, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchogkoshkeetham.
To claim,	Chogkoshkittohhamunat.
I clap,	Pahhēsīn neat.
To clap,	Pohquohwhunnittin neat.
To be clear, <i>or</i> manifest,	Nummōsogquetam, -umun.
To be cleared, <i>or</i> acquitted,	Nuttohkoos.
I cleave to, we cleave to,	Sohkcosin neat.
I climb,	Nutōgquannehhuam.
To climb,	Wuttogquannehhuōnat.
I cloath,	Wuttogquannehittin neat.
To cloath,	Nukquosquatch, <i>or</i> nussonkques.
To be cloathed,	Nukquosquatchumun, -nonup.
I am cold, <i>or</i> was,	Quosquatchinat.
We are cold, <i>or</i> were,	Annūm quosquatchoo.
To be cold,	Ohke sonkqui.
The dog is cold,	Nuppeyom, nuppeyop.
The earth is cold,	Nuppeyāmūn, -nonup.
I do come, <i>or</i> did,	Peyānat.
We come, <i>or</i> did,	Kuppeyain, -wco.
To come,	Peyau, peyauog.
Thou comest, ye come,	Nont kuppeyōmp, peyop.
He comes, they come,	Nont kuppeyainwop.
Thou didst, he did come,	Peyōpanneg.
Ye did come,	Woh nuppeyom.
They did come,	Tohhunnco kcoīn kekit.
I would come,	Wosketompaog peyauog.
When did you come from home,	Momatchiash peyomcōash.
Men come,	Peetitash, nauwin.
The goods are come,	Peyosh.
Come in, come hither,	Paomōonk.
Come,	Tapehoowaenin. [p. 44.]
Future, <i>or</i> to come,	Nuttappēh, -heonp, neāwau.
The comforter,	Nuttappēhuāmūn, -nōnup.
I comfort, <i>or</i> did,	
We comfort, <i>or</i> did,	

To comfort,	Tappehhuōnat.
To be comforted,	Taphittinneat.
Consolation,	Wekontamwahettūonk.
I command, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannocoteam, -up
We command, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannocoteamumun, -nōnup.
To command,	Annocoteamwinneat,
He commands you,	Kutanconuk.
He commands me,	Nutanconuk.
He commands him,	Wutanconuk.
He commands us,	Nutanconukqun.
He commands you,	Kutanconukco.
He commands them,	Wutanonuk neh.
Command your man, and do the thing your self,	Annoos kittinninum, <i>and</i> ne teag usish ken.
I commit, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttohtossoowam, -wap,
We commit, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttohtossoowamun, -nonup.
To commit,	Ahtossooonate.
I commit evil,	Nuttissem machuk.
To commit to prison,	Ahtosoowonate en kuppishshag- kinnittuonk.
To compass sea, and land,	Pannupshōnat kehto, kah ohke.
I compass,	Nuppannūppushsham.
I compell, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchekeyēuwae.
We compell, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchetimūwamun, -nonup.
To compell,	Chetanuwonate.
To be compelled,	Chekeittinneat,
I complain, <i>or</i> did,	Nootōwam, nootowap,
We complain, <i>or</i> did,	Nootowamun, -nonup.
To complain,	Wultoōnat.
Did you complain of me,	Sun kootowam nuhhog
I condemn, <i>or</i> did,	Nupgogkodontowam, -wap. [p 45.]
We condemn, <i>or</i> did,	Nupgogkodontowamun, -nonup.
To condemn,	Pogkodchummuōnat.
To be condemned,	Pogkodchittinneat.
I confess, <i>or</i> did,	Nussâmpcōwam, wap, nussam- pcōwauun nuhhog matches.
We confess, <i>or</i> did,	Nussampoowamun, -nonup.
To confess,	Samppoowonate.
I sick,	Nuhbog chippohtoōnk.
I consume,	Nummahcheem, <i>or</i> nummohtup- aeem.
We consume, <i>or</i> did,	Nommohtupaemun, -nonup.
To consume,	Mohtupaenate.
To be consumed,	Mohtupanittinneat.
I am convinced, I acknowledge,	Nummahche, wunnomwahit.
I convince, <i>or</i> convinced,	Nupgogkodchum, -omp.
We convince, <i>or</i> did,	Nupgogkodchumomun, -nonup.
To convince,	Pogkodchummuōnat.

I cover, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttonkhūmun nuhhog, nupput- togkoōhhum.
We cover, <i>or</i> did,	Nupputtogkōohhumumun.
To cover ones nakedness,	Puttoghūmunat poshkissūonk.
I counsell, <i>or</i> advise,	Nukkogkahqūtteam.
We will counsell you,	Nont kukkogkatimumun.
Thou shalt counsell me,	Nont kukkogkahtimme.
Counsell, <i>or</i> advice,	Kogkahquuttōonk.
A counsellor,	Kencoscoaēuin.
To create,	Keshitoūunate.
To be created,	Kezhittinneat.
I creep, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppummōotasshom.
We creep, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppumōtashomun, -nonup
To creep,	Pummootashōnate.
I cry, we cry,	Nummōme, nummōmun.
I did cry, we did cry,	Nummoup, nummomunnōnup.
To cry,	Momuttamwinneat.
I curse, <i>or</i> did,	Nummattannitteam. [p. 46.]
We curse, <i>or</i> did,	Nummattannitteamun.
To curse,	Mattanniskōnat.
To be cursed,	Mattannittinneat.
A curse,	Mattannuttuonk.
I cut, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttummissum, nuttummissup.
We cut, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttummissimumun, -nonup.
To cut,	Tummussumūnat.
Cut thou me,	Tummutchāswe.
I dance, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppūmūkkom, p.
We dance, <i>or</i> did.	Nuppapomukkōmun, -nōnup.
To dance,	Pumukkōnat.
Dont dance,	Apque matwākesh
I dare, we dare,	Mat ncowapsu mun.
To dare,	Mat quuttamōunat.
I deceive, <i>or</i> cheat,	Nattassookekoditeam, kommoo.
We deceive,	Nuttassookekodteamun.
To deceive,	Assookekogkonat.
Dont you deceive me,	Ahque assookekomme.
To dedicate,	Magunat en Godut.
To be dedicated,	Magittinneat en Godut.
I defend <i>or</i> did,	Nukkinhāmom, p.
We defend, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkinhamomun, -nonup.
To defend,	Kinnohkomōnat.
Defend thou me,	Kinnohhamah.
I defile, <i>or</i> did,	Ninnesketeoh, -up.
We defile, <i>or</i> did,	Ninnesketeōmun.
To defile,	Nisketeouunat.
To be defiled,	niskenunkqussinneat.
I delight, <i>or</i> did,	Noowekontamōontam, -up.
We delight,	Noowekontamōontamumun
To delight,	Wekontamōontamūnat.

To be delighted, I deliver, <i>or</i> did,	Wekontamôoonittinneat. Nuppôhquohuhussuwam; nuppohquohwhuttoom momatchiash, (from). [p. 47.]
We deliver, <i>or</i> did, To deliver, To be delivered, Delivered, <i>or</i> spoken, Deliver me good Lord,	Nuppôhquohwhussuwamun. Pohquohwhusscoonat. Pohquohwhunnittinneat. Mussohhomûnnap. Pohquohwhusse wunneton son- tim.
I demand, To demand, I deny, <i>or</i> did deny, We deny, <i>or</i> did, To deny, To be denied, Deny if you dare, I depart, <i>or</i> did, We depart <i>or</i> did, To depart, Dont depart, It dependeth not, I deserve, <i>or</i> did, We deserve <i>or</i> did, To deserve, I desire, <i>or</i> did, We _____ To desire, To be desired, I despise, <i>or</i> did, We despise, <i>or</i> did, To despise, To be despised, I cannot devise what to do,	Nunnohnattittum. Nohnattittumunat. Nukquenôwam, nukquencowap. Nukquencowamun, -nonup. Queencowonat. Quenôonittinneat. Quenoowash mat quaquêtamôo. Nuttamâeem. Nuttamaemun, -nônup. Amaênat. Ahque amaetash <i>or</i> amaish. Matta kenantamoomoonoo. Nuttâppêhkôm, -up. Nuttâpehkomumun, -nonup. Tâpehkomunate. Nukkodântam, -up. Nukkodtantamun, -nonup. Kodtantamunat. Kodtannittinneat. Nuttjishântam. Nuttjishantamumun, -nonup. Jishantamunat. * * * * *
To devise, I, we devour, <i>or</i> did, To devour, <i>or</i> to be devoured, I shall dy, You must dy, We must all die, He died last week, He died for me, I make hole. I dig, <i>or</i> did dig, We dig, <i>or</i> digged, I did dig, To dip, To dispatch,	Mat nunnattoontamoouttuh woh asêe. Natwontamunat. Nummahchip pumun, -up. Matchipwittinneat. Pish nunnûp. [p. 48.] Nont pish nunnuppûmun. Nont wame nenuppumun. Noh nupwoi ut natteâ weekqsi. Noh nunnappoonuk. Nukkûtham. Ncowonteam, ncowontep. Ncowonteamun, -nônup. Nont noowontep. Qupagkinumûnat. Mohtshodtounat.

I dispatch,	Nummohtshattauun, anakansu-onk.
I dissemble, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttompuwus, -sup.
How do I dissemble,	Uttuh nittinomppuwissin.
We dissemble,	Nuttompuwussumun, -nônup.
To dissemble,	Ompuwussunate.
To be dissembled,	Askookekattinneat.
A pretence,	Webe oqquenunkqussina.
I divide, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchadchapûnum, -up.
To be divided,	Chachapenat.
To divide,	Chippunumunat.
I do, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttussen, -up.
We do, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttussemun, -nonup.
Thou doest, <i>or</i> didst,	Kuttussen, -nap.
He doth, <i>or</i> did,	Nâgum, wuttoussen, -nap.
Ye do, <i>or</i> did,	Kutussemwoo, -wop.
They do, <i>or</i> did,	Nag wuttussennâog, -op.
I have done,	Nummahche ussem.
To do, to be done,	Ussênat, kod-ussênat.
My doing,	Nuttusseonk.
I dote, <i>or</i> grow foolish,	Nutassookenunkqe.
To dote,	Assookinneat.
I doubt, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchânântam, -up.
We doubt, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchanantamûmun, -nônup.
To doubt,	Chunantamûnat.
To be doubted,	Chanantinneat.
I draw, <i>or</i> did,	Ncotonchittom, -up.
We draw, <i>or</i> did,	Ncotonchittômun, -nônup.
To draw,	Wuttonchittonûnat.
To be drawn,	Wuttontonchittinneat.
To draw out,	Sohwhotonchittonûnat.
I drink, <i>or</i> did,	Ncôtâtam, ncôtâtammup.
We drink, <i>or</i> did,	Ncôtâtâtamûmun, -nonup.
Thou drinkest, <i>or</i> didst,	Kcôtâtam, -ûnap.
He drinks, <i>or</i> did,	Nagum wuttâtam, -up.
Ye drink, <i>or</i> did,	Kcôtâtamumwoo, <i>or</i> -wo.
They did drink,	Nag wuttattamupâneg.
I would drink,	Nen woh nootâtam.
Drink no more,	Ahque wonk wuttâtash.
To drink,	Wuttattamunat.
To be drunk,	Wussaumsippaminneat, <i>or</i> kogkehoópônat.
Dont be drunk,	Apque kogkesupamwish.
I ease myself,	Nuttannûwossumweh nuhhog.
To ease a man of his Burden,	Nonketeauun wosketomp cowêanun.
I eat, <i>or</i> did,	Nummechin, -nap.
We eat, <i>or</i> did,	Nummechimun, -nonup.
To eat,	Mechinat.

Eat heartily,	Meneehtipwish.
I embrace, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkehchikquan, (I hold by the throat).
We embrace, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkehchquannuwamun.
To embrace,	Kehchikquannuwōnat.
I empty,	Nussekkūnum, nōtattamwaetch.
To empty, to be empty,	Sekqunumunot.
I encourage, <i>or</i> did,	Nen nōtcoāntam, -up.
Thou encouragedst, <i>or</i> did,	Ken kōtcoāntambuam.
We encourage, <i>or</i> did,	Nōtcoantamhuwāmūn.
To encourage,	Wuttcoantamhuōnat.
To be encouraged,	Wuttcoantamhittinneat.
Encouragement,	Tapeneauwahtuonk.
I endure, <i>or</i> did,	Nummēnehteantam, -up. [p. 50.]
We endure, <i>or</i> did,	Nummenehteantamūmun, -nōnup.
To endure,	Menehteantamūnat.
To be endured,	Menehteantamhittinneat.
I enjoy, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwekontāmcoontam, -up.
We enjoy, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwekontamuontamūmun.
To enjoy,	Weekontamcoontamunat.
To be enjoyed,	Weekontamcoonittinneat.
I enquire, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnattcootumwehteam, -up.
We enquire, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnattcootumwehteamun, -non-up.
To enquire,	Nattcootumūhkōnat.
To be enquired after,	Nattootumoonittinneat.
Questions,	Nattcootumwehteaonk, -ash.
I enter, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppetteaōntam, -up.
We enter, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppetteaōntamūmun, -nonup.
Enter if you dare,	Napeh petiteash.
I entice, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwowetimmūam, -ap.
We entice, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwowetimmuamun, -nonup.
To entice,	Woweekkōwōnat.
To escape,	Pohquohhamunat.
I establish, <i>or</i> did,	Nummēnehkehūam.
We establish, <i>or</i> did,	Nummenehkehteomun.
To establish,	Menehkehteauūnat.
To be established,	Menehittinneat.
I esteem, <i>or</i> did,	Nōtcoontam, -up.
We esteem, <i>or</i> did,	Nōtcoontamūmun, -nōnup.
To esteem,	Wuttcoontamūnat.
To be esteemed,	Wuttoanittinneat.
He esteems him,	Ootoanūmuh.
I esteem you,	Kcotooanūmūnumwo.
Let him be esteemed,	Wuttoanumūnach.
I excell, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishānumūhqus, -up.
We excell, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishanumūhqussimun.
To excell,	Mishanumukquissinneat.
He exposeth, he supposeth,	Noh unqutamup.

I fall, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppinišshom, p. [p. 51.]
We fall, <i>or</i> did, a fall,	Pinissišhōnat, penushaonk.
To falter, <i>or</i> fail,	Nōoninnúwōnat.
I begin to falter, <i>or</i> fail in my understanding,	Nunnōoche nooninnuwam ut noowatamooonganit.
I fasten, <i>or</i> did,	Nummēnehkeehchteo, -up.
We fasten, <i>or</i> did,	Nummenehketeomun.
To fasten,	Menuhketecouūnat.
To be fastened,	Menuhkehittinneat.
I favour, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkitteamonteanum.
We favour, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkitteamonteanumōmun.
To favour,	Kittūmonteanittineat.
I fear, to fear,	Noowabes, wabēsinneat.
I will make them to fear,	Pish noowabteauaheaog.
Dost thou fear him,	Sun kukquish noh.
To feign, to dissemble,	Ompuwussūe unnissūonk.
I feed, <i>or</i> did,	Nussohkomōsoowam, nuttonnees.
—— Cattel,	Nuttōhsan netassuog.
We feed,	Nussōhkomoosowamun.
To feed,	Sohkomōsooōnat.
To be fed,	Sohkoomoonittinneat.
I feel, <i>or</i> did feel,	Nummattamāttam, -up.
We feel, <i>or</i> did,	Nummattamattamūmun, -nonup.
They feel,	Mattāmattāmwoḡ.
To feel,	Ammattāmūnat.
I fetch, we fetch,	Nunnemskom, -ūmun.
To fetch, to be felt,	Neniskomūnat.
I fight, <i>or</i> did,	Nummekuhteam, -up.
We fight, <i>or</i> did,	Nummekuhteamun.
To fight,	Mekuhkōnat.
To be fought,	Wuttooamontamunat.
To fill,	Nūnumwamechimehchteam.
We fill, <i>or</i> did,	Nūnumwamechimehchteamun.
To fill,	Numwamechimehkōnat.
To be filled,	Numwamechimehkonittinneat.
Let be filled,	Nummohtaj.
I find, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnāmeehchteo, -ooup. [p. 52.]
We find, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnāmeehchteomun, -nōnup.
To find,	Namehtheonūnāt.
To be found,	Namehmittinneat.
I finish, <i>or</i> conclude,	Numohtanūhkus.
I flow, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttamogkonehiteam.
We flow, <i>or</i> did,	Nippe tāmogkon nuttamogkonehiteamun.
To flow,	Tāmoganehkōnat.
I fly, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttowen, <i>or</i> nuttišshom,
We fly, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttowēmun, -nōnup.
To fly,	Toowēnat.
I flatter, <i>or</i> did,	Noowauwūnonukōwam.

We flatter, <i>or</i> did,	Noowaunonukcowamun.
To flatter,	Waunonuhkoowōnat.
To be flattered,	Wauwunnonuhquatinneat.
To fold a cloth,	Wewhepunumūnat.
I follow, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttassōhkos, nuttassuhkou.
We follow, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttassuhkonōmun.
To follow,	Assuhkouōnat.
To be followed,	Assuhkoattinneat.
Cause them to follow,	Nag assuhkoshittich.
I forbid, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqueehittiteam, -ap.
We forbid, <i>or</i> did,	Nuhquehittiteamun, -nōnup.
To forbid, God forbid,	Quehtehkōnat, God quehtehchaj.
To be forbidden,	Quehtinnittinneat.
He forbiddeth,	Noh quehtehteuu.
I forget, <i>or</i> did,	Noowanântam, -up.
We forget, <i>or</i> did,	Noowanantamūmun.
To forget,	Wanantamūnat.
Make, <i>or</i> cause us to forget you,	Wanantamwāhhinnean kenau.
To be forgotten,	Wananittinneat.
To fulfill,	Panuppe, ussēnat.
To forswear,	Panncowae, chachekeyeuōnat.
To be forsworn,	Wōkonnusunuhkōnat.
To fortify, to be fortified,	Menehkehicottinneat.
I gape, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttoiwānneem, nuttōa- nep. [p. 53.]
We gape, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttōânēmumun, -nonup.
To gape,	Toanēnat.
I gather, <i>or</i> did,	Nummukkūnum, -up.
We gather, <i>or</i> did,	Numukkinumūmun, -nonup.
To gather,	Mukkinumūnat.
To be gathered,	Mukkinittinneat.
A congregation,	Mukkinnēonk.
I get, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahchuehteo, -up.
We get, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahchcoehteomun.
To be gotten,	Ahchupittinneat.
I give, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinūnūmau, -omp.
Thou gavest, <i>or</i> didst,	Kuttinūnūmau, -omp.
He gave, <i>or</i> did,	Noh ununumaūau.
We give, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinunumauoumun, -nonup.
Ye give, <i>or</i> did,	Kittinunumauwomwoo.
They give. <i>or</i> did,	Nag ununumauau.
Give thou me,	Ken ununūmah.
Let us give,	Ununumanoūtuh.
To give,	Ununumauwonate.
To be given,	Ununumauattinneat.
I am glad, <i>or</i> was,	Nōwekōntam, -up.
We are glad, <i>or</i> were,	Nōwekontamūmun, -nonup.
To be glad,	Weekontamūnat.
I was made glad,	Nooweekontamwahitteao.

We were made glad,	Noweekontamwahitteamun.
He was made glad,	Noh weekontamwaheoppan.
They were made glad,	Neg weekontamwaheoppanneg.
Try to make me glad,	Qutche weekontamwâke.
Gladness, cheerfulness,	Wekontamōonk, taphettaonk.
I go, <i>or</i> did,	Nummoncheem.
I go on, <i>or</i> did,	Nummoncheontam, -up.
Perseverance,	Nagwuttacyeuooonk.
How do you go,	Uttuh kittinnemonchem. [p. 54.]
We go, <i>or</i> did,	Nummonchîmun, -nonup.
To go, <i>or</i> walk,	Moncheenat, pomishonat.
Go away, go out,	Monchish, sohhash.
I govern, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnaunauwinyeuwam, -wap.
We govern, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnânauwinyewamun.
To govern,	Nanauwinyeuōnat.
To be governed,	Naunuwinitinneat.
A governour, sovereignty,	Sontim, sontimōonk.
Dominion, power, strength, au-	Nananuinumooonk, menuhkesu-
thority, efficacy, substance,	onk, menuhkesuonk.
A tribunal, <i>or</i> judgment seat.	Wussittumœe, appuonk.
I am going home,	Nummonchashum.
Do we go, <i>or</i> stay,	Sunnummonehemun, <i>or</i> nenutap-
	pin***
I am ready to go,	Nuppaktis moncheenat.
I will make you go, if you dont,	Kuttiyumaush moncheenat, mat
	monchean.
To be green,	Askkosquesinneat.
I grieve, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnoohūam.
We grieve, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnoohuwamun, -nonup.
To grieve,	Nooheuōnat.
To be grieved,	Noohittinneat.
To grind,	Togguhhumunat.
To grin,	Neeskonneonk.
I groan, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttouahkontōam, nuttoughom.
We groan, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttouahkontōwamun, -nonup.
To groan,	Auahkontooōnat.
To handle,	Weogkinumūnat.
I was hanged,	Nukkehchikquabsip.
To be hanged,	Keechequepsinneat.
A ladder,	Tahkoosowontuk.
I hasten, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkinuppe, usseem.
We hasten, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkinuppēmum, -nonup.
To hasten,	Wapantamūnat.
I am in haste,	Ncowâpântam.
I hate, <i>or</i> did,	Nutjishōntam, -up. [p. 55.]
We hate, <i>or</i> did,	Nutjishontamūmun, -nonup.
To hate,	Jishontamūnat.
To be hated,	Jishanittinneat.
I have, <i>or</i> had,	Nummahche, nutahtou.

Thou hast, thou hadst,	Kummahchè, kuttahtoup.
He hath, he had,	Noh mahche, noh ahtou.
We have, we had,	Nenauun nummahche, nuttah- tomun.
Ye have, ye had,	Kenau kummahche, kuttahtom- woo.
They have, <i>or</i> had,	Nag mähche, nag ahtoog.
To have, to be had,	Ahtöüinat.
I will, <i>or</i> would have,	Nen nont, asuh woh nuttähtou.
I had rather,	Ane woh tappeneam.
I heal, <i>or</i> did,	Nunneetskeh, -huwap.
We heal, <i>or</i> did,	Nunneetskehhuamun.
To heal,	Netskehhuōnat.
To be healed,	Netskessinneat.
Heal thou, heal us,	Netskeh, -kinnean.
Heal them,	Netskeh nag.
Let him heal,	Netskehhuach.
Let him heal us,	Netskehnikquuttuh.
I hear, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōtam, -up.
Thou hearest, <i>or</i> did,	Kunnōtam, -up.
He heareth, <i>or</i> did,	Noh nootam, -up.
We hear, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōtamūmun, -nonup.
Ye hear, <i>or</i> did,	Kennōtamumwo.
They hear, <i>or</i> did,	Nag nootamwog.
Hear thou me,	Ken nōtah.
To be heard,	Nootoadtinneat.
To hear,	Nōtamunat.
To hearken,	Kuhkehtamunat.
To hedge,	Wokonoossinehkōnat.
I hedge,	Noowohkonnoostinehteam.
I hide, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttattahtome, <i>or</i> nupput- togqueem. [p. 56.]
We hide, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttattahtōmun, -nonup.
To hide,	Attahouūnat.
To be hid,	Attashshittinneat.
I hinder, <i>or</i> did,	Nootamehhūwam.
We hinder, <i>or</i> did,	Nootamehhuwamun.
To hinder, I hinder you,	Wuttamhuōnat, kootamehhish.
To be hindered,	Wuttamhittinneat.
To hiss,	Maunuwōnat.
He hisseth,	Noh mōnoōwau.
I hold, <i>or</i> did,	Numminuhkinnum.
We hold, <i>or</i> did,	Numminuhkinumūmun.
To hold,	Menuhkinumūnat.
I hold my peace,	Ne nutteashshoōwon.
To hold ones peace,	Nehittāshannumunneat.
I hope, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannōous, -up:
We hope, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannōousumun, -nonup.
Thou hopest, <i>or</i> didst,	Kuttannōontam, -up.

He hopes, <i>or</i> did,	Noh annoâusu.	
Ye hope, <i>or</i> did,	Kuttannoausûmwoo.	
They hope, <i>or</i> did,	Nag annoousuog.	
Hope in God,	Annôôssish ut Godut.	
To hope,	Annoosunneat.	
To be hoped,	Annonittinneat.	
We did hope,	Nuttannôôsimunnonup.	
Let him hope,	Noh annoôsitch.	
Let us hope,	Annoôsittuh.	
Hope ye,	Annoôseg.	
Let them hope,	Annoosihittich.	
Hope thou in me,	Ken annôôseh.	
Dost thee hope ?	Sun ken kuttannoôus ?	
Dost he hope ?	Sun noh annoôssu ?	
Do we hope ?	Sun nuttannoôsimun ?	
Do ye hope ?	Sun kuttannoôsimwoo ?	
Do they hope, <i>or</i> expect ?	Sun neg annoôsuog ?	
I [am] hungry,	Nukkodtup.	[p. 57.]
I am hot, <i>or</i> was,	Nukkissâpis.	
We are hot, <i>or</i> were,	Nukkissâpessûmun.	
To be hot,	Kussuppesinneat.	
Fervency, <i>or</i> heat,	Kissopetteahâonk.	
I howl, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishontôoahpuhs, -up.	
We howl, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishontcoahpuhsûmun.	
To howl,	Mishontooahpuhsinneat.	
I hunt, we hunt,	Nuttahchun, nuttahchumun.	
To hunt,	Achanat.	
I hurt, <i>or</i> did,	Noowoskheuam, -huap.	
We hurt, <i>or</i> did,	Noowoskheuamun, -nônup.	
To hurt,	Woskêheuônât.	
To be hurt,	Woskehittinneat.	
I imitate, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttiannâu, -omp,	
We imitate, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttiannauomun, -nônup.	
To imitate,	Aiannauonate.	
To be imitated,	Aiannôattuonk.	
I increase, <i>or</i> did,	Nen nummisseet, -up.	
We increase, <i>or</i> did,	Nummissetûmun, -nonup.	
To increase,	Missekinneat.	
To be increased,	Nummissegkinneat.	
I intreat, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnânompânwam, -wap.	
We intreat, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnannompanwamun, -nonup.	
To intreat,	Nunnâmpanwonat.	
To be intreated,	Nannompassittinneat.	
I intreat you,	Kenânompassiwunûmwoo.	
I joyn, <i>or</i> did,	Nummosogqueem.	
We joyn, <i>or</i> did,	Nummôsogquëmun, -nonup.	
To joyn,	Mosogquënat.	
It irketh, <i>or</i> troubleth,	Noowântammuhhikqun.	
It jerketh, <i>or</i> suddenly twitcheth,	Teadche wuttotûkkon.	

I itch,	Nen nukkisseppeis.
To itch,	Kusséppésinneat.
Keeping, <i>or</i> (observation),	Nânâwehtoonk. [p. 58.]
I keep,	Nunnânauechtoo, -up.
We keep, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnânauchteomun, -nonup.
To keep,	Nanâwehtouñat.
To be kept,	Nanauwunnittinneat.
Keep thou me,	Nanâwanumeeh.
I am kept,	Nunnanauwinnit.
Let us be kept from sin and danger,	Nanauwinnitteatuhwutch matche seonganit kah nunnukquat.
I kill, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnishteam, nunnishtear.
We kill, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnishiteamun, -nonup.
To kill,	Nishehkônât, nunishonat.
One stab,	Nukqotomashaonk.
To be killed,	Nushshittinneat.
I have been kind,	Nen nummahtche womoaus.
To be kind,	Womosinneat.
Be kind to me,	Kitteamonteânûmeh.
I kiss, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchipwuttôonap.
We kiss, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchipwuttconapoowamun.
To kiss,	Chipwuttconapooôonate.
To be kist,	Chipwuttoonapwuttinneat.
To knit,	Mittassehkônate.
I knock, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchohchunkquttahham.
We knock, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchohchunkquttahhomumûn.
To knock,	Chohchunkquttahhamûnat.
I know (understand), <i>or</i> did,	Ncōwateo, -up.
Thou knowest, <i>or</i> didst,	Kcōwâteonun, -nap.
He knoweth, <i>or</i> did,	Oowâteonun, -nap.
We know, <i>or</i> did,	Ncōwâteomun, -nônup.
Ye know, <i>or</i> did,	Kcōwâteomwō, -wop.
They know, <i>or</i> did,	Nag wahteooq.
To know,	Wahteouñat.
To be known,	Wahhittinneat, wahitteauñat.
Make him to know,	Wahteauwah.
Make me to know,	Wahtouwahhe.
Let him know,	Unnânûm, wahteuñat.
Make us to know,	Wahteauwahinnean.
How do you know,	Tohkuttinnewahteoun. [p. 59.]
I will make ye to know,	Kcōwahteauwahush.
Know thou,	Wahtouish, <i>or</i> wâwagk.
Know her, <i>or</i> let him know,	Wahtou noh, noh wahteoitich.
Let us know,	Wahteuuttuh.
Know ye,	Wahteoook.
Let them know,	Wahteahittich.
To be known,	Wahteuñat.
I know thee,	Kcōwahhish.
I know him,	Ncōwaeh noh.

I know you,	Koowahinumwo.
I know them,	Ncoowaheâog.
Thou knowest me,	Koowaheh nen.
Thou knowest him,	Koowaeh noh.
Thou knowest us,	Koowahimun.
Thou knowest them,	Koowaheao.
He knows me,	Noowahik.
He knows thee,	Koowâhik.
He knows him,	Nohoowahêuh.
He knows us,	Noowahikqun.
He knows you,	Koowahikkoo.
He knows them,	Oowahêuh.
We know thee,	Koowahinumun.
We know him,	Noowaheoûn.
We know you,	Koowahinnûmun.
We know them,	Koowaheonônog.
Ye know me,	Koowahimwoo.
Ye know him,	Koowaheau.
Ye know us,	Koowahimun.
Ye know them,	Koowaheauwôog.
They know me, (well enough),	Neg nuttâppe wahikquog.
They know thee,	Nag koowahikwog.
They know him,	Oowaheauwoh.
They know us,	Noowahikqunnônog.
They know you	Koowahikoowôog.
They know them,	Negoowaheâuh.
I did know thee,	Koowahinnup.
I did know him,	Noowaheoppa.
I did know you,	Koowahinumwop.
I did know them,	Noowaheoppa.
Thou didst know me,	Koowaheip.
Thou didst know him,	Koowaheopan.
Thou didst know us,	Koowahimûnûonup.
Thou didst know them,	Koowaheoppa.
He did know me,	Noowahikûpan.
He did know thee,	Koowahikuppan.
He did know him,	Oowaheopab.
He did know us,	Noowahikqunnonup.
He did know you,	Koowahikkoo.
He did know them,	Oowaheoppa.
We did know thee,	Koowahinumunnonup.
We did know him,	Noowaheanônop.
We did know you,	Koowahinumun.
We did know them,	Noowaheanôuppanneg.
Ye did know me,	Koowahimwop.
Ye did know him,	Koowaheopan.
Ye did know us,	Koowahimunnonup.
Ye did know them,	Koowaheawoppa.
They did know me,	Koowahimwop.

[p. 60.]

They did know thee,
 They did know him,
 They did know us,
 They did know you,
 They did know them,

Koowahikuppanneg.
 Oowaheäöpah.
 Noowahikqunnonuk.
 Koowahikkoowop.
 Oowaheowoppah.

Imperative Mood.

[p. 61.]

Let me know thee,
 Let me know him,
 Let me know you,
 Let me know them,
 Do thou save me,
 Do thou trust him,
 Do thou deliver us,
 Do thou hear them,
 Let him know me,
 Let him know thee,
 Let him know him,
 Let him know us,
 Let him know you,
 Let him know them,
 Let us know thee,
 Let us know him,
 Let us know you,
 Let us know them,
 Let them know me,
 Let them know thee,
 Let them know him,
 Let them know us,
 Let them know you,
 Let them know them,
 I wish I did know thee,
 If you knew me,
 If I did know thee,
 To know thee,
 To know me,
 To know him,
 To know us,
 To know you,
 To know them,
 I dont know thee,
 Thou dost not know me,
 I dont know him,
 We dont know you,
 I did not know thee,
 I wish I did not know thee,
 If I did know you,
 Not to know you,

Pâkoowahish.
 Panoowaeh.
 Pakoowahinnumwoo.
 Panoowaheaog.
 Wadchannah.
 Unnohtükquah.
 Pohquohwhussinnean.
 Kennootamwontamau.
 Pa-noowahikq.
 Pa-koowahikq.
 Pa-cowaheaauh.
 Pa-noowahikqun.
 Pa-koowahikkoo,
 Pâ-oowaheuh.
 Pa koowahinumun.
 Pa noowaheaun.
 Pa koowahinumun.
 Pa noowaheanönog.
 Pa noowahikquog.
 Pakoowahikquog.
 Pa oowaheuh.
 Pa-noowahikqun.
 Pakoowahikkoo.
 Pâ nah oowaheuh.
 Napehnont wahinnon.
 Tohneit waheog.
 Tohneit wahinnon.
 Koowahitteanat.
 Noowahitteanat.
 Oowaheanat.
 Noowahikqunnononut.
 Koowahikqunnononut.
 Oowaheannat.
 Mat koowahinneoh.
 Matta koowahëuh.
 Mat noowaheouh.
 Mat koowahinnoomun.
 Mat koowahinnoop.
 Napehnont mat wahinnoou.
 Tohneit wahinnogus.
 Mat koowahikkoonat.

[p. 62.]

Not to know them,	Mat oowaheanat.
Dost thou know ?	Sun koowateoh.
Doth he know ?	Sun oowataun.
Do I know ?	Sunnoowateoh.
Do we know ?	Sunnoowahteomun.
Do ye know ?	Sunkoowahteomwoo.
Do they know ?	Sun oowahteouunnau.
Dost thou know me ?	Sun koowaheh.
Dost thee know him ?	Sun koowaeh.
Does he know us ?	Sun noowahikqun.
Do you know them ?	Sunkoowaheaog.
I labour, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttanâkous, -up.
We labour, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttanakousimun, -nônup.
To labour,	Anâkousinneat.
Labour thou hard,	Menehkee, anakaûsish.
I lament, <i>or</i> did,	Nummomüttam, -up.
We lament, <i>or</i> did,	Nummomuttamumun, -nonup.
To lament,	Momuttamünate.
To be lamented,	Momuttamoonittinneat.
Does he lament much,	Sun moocheke momuttammoo.
To languish,	Môchêkonaënk.
I laugh, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahhaneehtam, -up.
We laugh, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahhaneehtamûmun, -nonup.
To laugh, [laughing,]	Ahhânuônât, (ahhanûnk.)
To be laughed at,	Ahhânehtoadtûnk.
To be lawfull,	Naumatuwaeyeuoonk.
It is lawfull,	Ne naumutuwaëyeu.
I lead, <i>or</i> did,	Nussogkompaginnûwam. [p. 63.]
We lead,	Nussogkompaginnuwamun.
To lead,	Sogkompaginûnat.
To be led,	Sagkompaginittinneat.
To lean on,	Ompattissinninat.
I leap, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqueeshshom, -shomp.
We leap, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqueshshomun, -nonup.
To leap,	Queeshônât.
I learn, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnéehtûhtou, -up.
We learn, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnehtuhtoumun, -nonup.
To learn,	Nehtuhtauûnat.
To be learned,	Nehtuhtauwahittinneat.
Learn me if you can,	Nohtuhtauwahke, tapenûmán.
Can you learn me,	Woh kenehtuhtouwâhe.
I learned them,	Nunnehtuhtouwahaëog.
They learned us,	Nag nunnehtuhtouwahikqun.
To leave off, to finish,	Ahquehtôuûnat kestouunat.
I leave, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnukodtum, -up.
We leave, <i>or</i> did,	Ninnûkodontumun, -nonup.
To leave,	Nukodontumûnat.
To be left,	Nukkonittinneat.
Leave me to myself,	Unnea ne wassompadtamma.

I lessen,	Nuppēhtaūun.
To lessen,	Petouūnat.
To be lessened,	Pehittinneat,
Do not lessen your gains,	Ahque petouūnach kutanuhum- ōonk.
Let me,	Unanumeh monchenat.
I lick, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnoonosquadtam, -up.
We lick, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnoonosquadtamūmun, -nō- nup.
Do you lick,	Sun kenoonosquadtamumwo.
To lick,	Noonosquadtamūnate.
I am lifted up, <i>or</i> was,	Nen nuttashhīnit teap.
We are lifted up, <i>or</i> were,	Nuttashinnitameun. -nonup.
To lift up,	Tashunumūnat.
To be lifted up,	Tashinittinneat.
I dont like,	Mattá nuttapeneumun yeuwag.
To linger, <i>or</i> delay,	Maninnēonk quogquohqueonk.
Where you live,	Tonnoh kootōhkeem. [p. 64.]
I live at Ponds,	Kitteaumit nootōhkeem.
They lived for him,	Nag uppommtamwanshouh.
By Gods blessing I am } yet alive, }	Nashpe God oonanitteakonk, asq nuppomtam.
New life,	Wuske pomantamōonk.
Vain, <i>or</i> wicked living,	Tahnōoche pomantamōonk.
I lose, <i>or</i> did,	Nōowanteo, -up.
We lose, <i>or</i> did,	Nōowanteomun, -nonup.
They lose,	Nag wanēhteog.
To loose,	Wanehteouūnat.
To loosen, to slacken,	Nashwāgompānūmūnat.
I am loud, <i>or</i> vain,	Nummatche tohnoochayeuo.
To be loud,	Toh noocheyeuwinneat.
A voice,	Wadtauwohtonkquūssūonk.
I love, <i>or</i> did love,	Nōowomontam, -up.
We love, <i>or</i> did love.	Nōowōmontamūmun, -nonup.
They love me,	Neg nōowomonukquog.
Thou lovest him,	Ken kōowomōnnop.
He loveth thee,	Noh kōowomōnuk.
Dost thou love me,	Sūn kōowomōsch.
To love,	Womoausinneat.
To be loved,	Womonukquissinneat.
I love you, <i>or</i> thee,	Kōowomonnūsh.
I love you all,	Kōowomonnumwo wame.
He loves me,	Nōowomonuk.
He loves him,	Oowomonuh.
He loves us,	Nōowomonnūkkun.
He loves you,	Kōowomonnukkoo.
He loves them,	Oowomonnuh neh
I love a man,	Noowāmān woskétomp.
I love a book,	Nōowomōntam wussukhonk.

I love a woman,

I love thee,

I love him,

I love you,

I love them,

To love us,

Love, *subs.*

I ly, *or* did,

You ly, *or* did,

He lyes, we ly,

Ye ly, they ly,

To ly, a ly,

To be belyed,

To ly along, (I ly,)

I ly along,

To ly hid,

I make, *or* did,

Thou makest, *or* didst,

We make, *or* made,

They make,

To make, I will make you,

To be made, *mark Imp.*

I marry, *or* did,

We marry, *or* did,

To marry,

I am married, (the woman,)
 _____ (the man,)

To be married,

I dont mean that,

I dont mean that,

The meaning of it is,

I mean,

I measure, *or* did,

We measure, *or* did,

To measure,

To be measured,

Measure that,

I meditate, *or* did,

We meditate, *or* did,

To meditate, *or* consider,

In regard, *or* respect, *or* }
 considering, }

To milk,

I mingle, *or* mix,

We mingle, *or* mix,

To mingle,

Ncwowomon } muttumwus.
 Womós }

Koowomonish ken. [p. 65.]

Noowomon unnoh.

Koowomonunumwoo kenauau.

Noowomonnoog nag.

Womossinnean.

Wômônittüonk.

Nuppannoowam, -wap.

Kuppannoowam, -wap.

Nohpannoowau, nuppanncowâmun.

Kuppanncowâmwoo nag pannoo-
 waog.

Panncowônât, panncowaonk.

Pannoowahittinneat.

Nussommogquissin nûnnat.

Nussummogquissin.

Sepsinûnat puttogquênat.

Nuttiyam, nukkeesteo, -up.

Kuttiyam, kukkeesteo, -up.

Nuttiyamûmun, nukkeestoomun.

Nag ayimwog kesteoog.

Ayimûnat, kuttiyumaush.

Ayimoadtinnat kehkinneâsek,
 wuttonnees.

Nooseentam, -up.

Nooseentamûmun, -nônup.

Wussentamûnat.

Noowetauattam.

Nummittumwussissu.

Wetouadtinnate wetouakônate.

Matta kuttâuncoh ne.

Matta nuttoutamôun.

Ne nawwuttâmmun.

Nuttâuüttam.

Nen nukquttôhwhous.

Nukqutwhosumun, -nônup.

Qutwhosinneat.

Quttuhwhonittinneat.

Quttoohhush ne. [p. 66.]

Nunnatwôntam, -up.

Nunnatwontamûmun, -nonup.

Nutwontamûnate.

Ne wannehpeh, natwontamog.

Senunumûnat sogkôdonk.

Nukkinukkînum.

Nukkinukkinumûnan.

Kinukkinumûnat.

- To be mingled,
 A mixture,
 I mistake, *or* did,
 We mistake, *or* did,
 To mistake,
 Dont mistake me,
 Mistaking,
 To be mistaken,
 I move, *or* did,
 We move, *or* did,
 To move, to move one's house,
 I mourn, *or* did,
 We mourn, *or* did,
 To mourn,
 I murmur, *or* did,
 We murmur, *or* did,
 To murmur,
 To mutter,
 I must, nen nont,
 I name, *or* did,
 We name, *or* did,
 To name,
 To be named, a name,

 To neglect,
 To nod,
 I nourish, *or* did,
 We nourish, *or* did,
 To nourish, *or* be nourished.
 I obey, we obey,
 To obey,
 To be obeyed,
 Obey thou me,
 Obey God,
 Obey always,
 A servant, (Vide, p. 19.)
 Reverence, obedience, duty,
 I obtain, *or* conquer, *or* did,
 We obtain, *or* did,
 To obtain,
 To be obtained,
 I offend, *or* did,
 We offend, *or* did,
 To offend,
 To be offended,
 If you offend me,
 It is offered, *or* sacrificed,
 I open, *or* did,

 Kinukkinnosinneat.
 Kenugkiyeonk.
 Nuppuhtântam, -up.
 Nuppuhtântamûmun, -nonup.
 Puhtantamûnat.
 Mat nuppuhtantammoo.
 Puhtantamõonk.
 Puhtantamunat.
 Nutantsëap, -up.
 Nutantsepûmun, -nonup.
 Antsapinneat, ontsahtâunat.
 Nen nummou, -oop.
 Nummôumun, -nônup.
 Mauwinneat.
 Nummõomõoskõõwam.
 Nummõomõoskõowamun.
 Mõomõoskõowõnate.
 Mõomõosquenõowõnat.
 Nummõosquenõowam.
 Nõowesuonkanehkõntam, -up.
 Nõowesuonkanehkõntamûmun.
 Wesuonkanehkõnat.
 Wesuonkanuhkonittinneat, wesu-
 onk.
 Mishanattamunate.
 Nonomuhquoshshõnat.
 Nuttassan, nuttassânup.
 Nuttassanûmun, -nonup.
 Kessikkéhhuõnat.
 Nunnooswëtam, -ûmun. [p. 67.]
 Nooswetamûnate.
 Nooswetoadtinneat.
 Ken nõoswëtah.
 Nõoswehtau manit.
 Nõoswetash yayadchee.
 Wuttinumun.
 Qushaonk, nõoswetamõoonk.
 Nussohkos, nussohkussup.
 Nussohkossûmun, -nonup.
 Sohkussinneat.
 Sohkoattinneat.
 Nummatchenehhuûam, -huap.
 Nummatcheneh-huamun, -nonup.
 Matchenehhuõnat.
 Matchenehittinneat.
 Tohneit matchenehhëan.
 Scephaus.
 Nõowoshwûnum, *or* nupphoquâ-
 nam.

We open, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwoshwunūmun, -nonup.
To open,	Pohquanumūnate.
To be opened,	Woshwunnosūut.
I wish the door might be opened,	Napeehnont ēsquont pohquanō-sik.
Open the door,	Pohquanich usquont.
He ordained the means,	Kuhquttumauop aninnumoadtu-ōngash.
I overcome, <i>or</i> overcame,	Nuttānnūwun, -omp.
We overcome, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttanuwunōmun, -nōnup.
To overcome, <i>or</i> conquer,	Anuwinnuonat.
To be overcome, victory,	Sohkausuonk.
I owe, <i>or</i> did owe,	Nuttinuhtukqāahwhit, -teap.
We owe, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinuhtukquah, -whiteamun.
To owe,	Unnohtukquahwhittinneat.
I am in your debt,	Kuttinnohtukquahe.
A debt,	Nummontuhquahwhuttuonk.
A penny, wages, <i>or</i> reward,	Ompskod, onkquatonk.
Tribute, dues,	Unnontukquahamōongash, ompe-teaonk.
I paint, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannogkīnum, -up. [p. 68.]
We paint, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannogkinumūmun, -nonup.
To paint,	Annogkinumūnat.
To be painted,	Annogkinnittuonk.
I am pale,	Noowomppahkisham.
To be pale,	Wompohkishōnat.
Why art thou so pale,	Toh wufch nene wompohkesean.
I pant, to pant,	Sauhkissinneat, nussauūhkis.
I pardon, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahquontous, -up.
We pardon, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahquontossimun, -nonup.
To pardon,	Ahquontamunat.
To be pardoned,	Ahquontamooadtinneat.
Pardon me sir,	Ahquontāmah sontim,
To patch,	Meshashshiōnat.
I pay, <i>or</i> did pay,	Nuttoadtūhkūs, -up.
We pay, <i>or</i> did,	Nutōadtuhkussimun, -nonup.
To pay, to be paid,	Oadtuhkōnat.
To cause to be paid,	Oadtuhkossuwahuōnat.
Pay me now,	Oadtuhkah eyeu.
Payment,	Oadtehteaonk.
To pierce,	Pannuppeetahhamūnat.
I perceive, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttogwāntam, -up.
We perceive, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttogwantamūmun, -nonup.
To perceive,	Ogwantamūnat.
To be perceived,	Ogquontamooadtinneat.
I permit, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinānītteam, -teap.
To permit, permit me,	Unnanūkkōnat, unanumeh.
Permission,	Ummugkōnaittūonk.
I perswade, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnupweshan, -omp.

We persuade, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnupweshashscowamun, -nonup.
To persuade,	Nupweshashscōnat.
To be persuaded,	Nupweshamittinneat.
How do they persuade,	Utuh nag wuttin nupweshasscoonau.
Perswasion,	Nupweshashscowaonk.
To pitch ones tent,	Matchekekompatinat wetu.
I pity, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkitteamonteanitteam, -teap. [p. 69.]
We pity, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkitteamonteanitteamun.
To pity,	Kitteamonteanēkōnat.
To be pitied,	Kitteamonteonittinneat.
I play, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkissauōus, <i>or</i> nuppuhpum, -up.
We play, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppuhqūmun, -nonup.
To play,	Puhpinneat, <i>or</i> kussauausinneat.
Boys will play,	Mukkitchogquissog nont puhpūog.
I please, <i>or</i> did,	Noossekittēāh.
We please, <i>or</i> did,	Noosekittēāheōmun, -nonup.
To please,	Wussekitteahhuōnat.
To be pleased,	Wussekitteahhittinneat.
Pleasure, (Vide, p. 8.)	Tapeneamcoonk.
I shall plow to-morrow,	Pish noowonohchaham saup.
To plow,	Wonohchuhāmūnat.
I pluck, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkodtūhkom, -up.
We pluck, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkodtuhkomūmun.
To pluck,	Kodtuhkomūnat.
To polish,	Wussinuwontāmūnat.
I am polluted, <i>or</i> was,	Nishkoneuñkquis, -sup.
To pollute,	Nishketouūnat.
To be polluted,	Nishkenunkquissinneat.
I am poor,	Nummatchek.
He is poor,	Noh matchekō.
To pour, to be poured out,	Sookenumūnat, sookonittūonk.
To prate,	Kogkeehitūimate.
I pray, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppeātam, -up.
We pray, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppeantāmūmun, -nonup.
To pray,	Peantamwanshōnat, <i>or</i> nannāmpanwōnat, <i>or</i> peantamunat.
Pray always,	Pentāmook nagwutteea.
I pray, <i>or</i> intreat you,	Kenānompasumush.
To press, <i>or</i> oppress, as a log falling on,	Sinukkitchuhhcōwōnat.
To be oppressed,	Sunnukkitchahwhittinneat.
I prick,	Konnittihquomūnat.
To be pricked,	Sessinnittinneat connittikquonittinneat.
I procure, <i>or</i> did,	Nutahchueehteom, -up. [p. 70.]
We procure, <i>or</i> did,	Nutahchōwehteomun, -nonup.

To procure,	Ahchoehteouñat.
To be procured,	Ahchœehittin neat.
To profane, <i>or</i> pollute,	Nishkenunkqueteouñat.
I promise, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquoshshoam, -wap.
We promise, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquoshowâmun, -nonup.
To promise, a promise,	Quoshowōnat, quoshodtuonk.
To be promised,	Quoshshodtin neat.
You promise well,	Kcōne quoshowâmwō.
I prove, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqutchhūwam, -wap.
We prove, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqutchhuwamun, nōnup.
To prove,	Wunnamwâteouñat, &c.
To prop, <i>or</i> uphold,	Kutcheethamūnat.
I provide, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquoshouchtam, -up.
We provide, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquoshouehtamūmun, -nonup.
To provide,	Quoshouehtamūnat.
Provide for me,	Quoshouechtāmāh.
Provision,	Aninumoadtuōñk.
Providence, <i>or</i> foreseeing,	Nanâwantamōōnk.
I provoke, <i>or</i> did,	Nummōmōsqueh.
We provoke, <i>or</i> did,	Nummōmōsquehhuwamun.
To provoke,	Mōmōsquehhūonāt.
To be provoked, <i>or</i> vexed,	Mosquehittin neat.
I punish, <i>or</i> did,	Nussâsamitahhōām, -ap.
We punish, <i>or</i> did,	Nussasamatahhoāmun, -nonup.
To punish,	Sasamatahhoōnat.
To be punished,	Sasamatahwhuttin neat.
He will cause us to be punished,	Noh pish susamatahhoawahuwau.
To purge, <i>or</i> purify,	Pahketeauñat.
I put, <i>or</i> did put,	Nuppōnum, -up.
We put, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppōnumūmun, -nonup.
To put, to be put,	Pōnumūnat.
To put off, to put on,	Aumanumūnat, ogquinneut.
I put on,	Wunnogquannēonk.
Propositions,	Pakodtuttumoonkash. [p. 71.]
I quench, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahtâppōdtou, -up.
We quench, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttahtappadtoūmun.
To quench,	Tahtippadtauñat.
To be quenched,	Uhtapattauunāt.
I quarrell,	Nummattuhteam.
I am quiet, <i>or</i> was,	Nummaninnap, -up.
Be thou quiet,	Maninnapish.
Let him be quiet,	Maninnapitch.
Let us be quiet,	Maninnapittuh.
Be ye quiet,	Maninnappeg.
Let them be quiet,	Manninaphittich.
Will you be quiet,	Sunwohkummaninapūmwō.
To be quiet,	Maninnapinneat.
To quiet,	Mahteannōnat.
I rage,	Nunnishquet.

To rage,	Nishquékinneat.
To rain, it rains,	Scokenōnat, tcokeñōnni.
Does it rain,	Sun scokēnon.
How long has it rained,	Tohuttooche nate sokonōnk.
I read, <i>or</i> did read,	Nuttogkētam, -up.
We read, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttogketamūmun, -nonup.
To read,	Ogketamūnat.
Can you read?	Sun woh kuttoghētam.
To be read,	Ogkemitteanat.
Victuals are ready,	Quoshwohta metsuonk.
I am ready (<i>or</i> wait) to go,	Nukquāshwap, nuppahtis moncheenat.
I resolve, <i>or</i> decree,	Nummahtahnittam, nukkesantam.
A decree,	Uppogkodkontantamcoonk.
I refuse, <i>or</i> did,	Nussekenēam, -up.
We refuse, <i>or</i> did,	Nussekeneamūmun, -nōnup.
To refuse,	Sekeneamūnat.
To be refused,	Sekeneaattinneat.
I rejoice, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishkouāntam, -up.
We rejoice, <i>or</i> did,	Nummishkouantamūmun, -nonup.
To rejoice,	Mishkouantamūnat.
I remember, <i>or</i> did,	Nummehquāntam, -up. [p. 72.]
We remember, <i>or</i> did,	Nummehquāntamūmun, -nonup.
To remember,	Mehquantamūnat.
To be remembered,	Mehquanittinneat
Remember thou me,	Mehquanūmeh.
Remember thou,	Mehquontash.
A memorial,	Mehquānumaonk.
Conscience, <i>or</i> remembrance,	Mehquontamwutteahāonk.
I repent, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttaiuskoiāntam, -up.
We repent, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttaiuskoiantamūmun, -nonup.
To repent,	Aiuskoiantamūnat.
Repent of sin,	Aiuskoiāntash matchesēonk.
To be repented,	Aiuskoiannittinneat.
I return, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquishkeem, -up.
We return, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquishkēmum, -nōnup.
To return,	Quishkēnat.
To be returned,	Quishkinittinneat.
I revenge, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttannōtome.
We revenge, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttanncoteomun, -nonup.
To revenge, revenge,	Anncoōōnnat, annotaonk.
To be revenged,	Annootoattinnēat.
To roar, to roast,	Mishontooōnat, apwonnat.
Roast the meat,	Appoosish weyaus.
To rob,	Mukkookinnuōnat.
To be robbed,	Mukkookinnittinneat.
To be rotten, to rowl,	Pisseahquōōnnat, ompoochēnat.

I rub,	Nummumükqunum.
To rub,	Umukquinumünat.
I rule, <i>or</i> did,	Nussogkompagennuwam, -wap.
We rule, <i>or</i> did,	Nussogkompagennuwamun.
To rule, <i>or</i> lead, (lead),	Sâgkompagennuōnat.
To be ruled,	Nanauinittinneat.
How do ye rule, <i>or</i> govern,	Uttuh kuttinne nanauonnuonat.
I run, <i>or</i> did,	Nugquogqueem, nugquogkeep.
We run, <i>or</i> did,	Nugquogquēēmun, -nonup.
To run,	Quogquēēnat.
Run thou, <i>and</i> come,	Quogquēwe, kah peyaāusee.
Run thou to me,	Quogquewe peyaōsseh.
I will make you run,	Kukquogquewahinumwoo.
To sacrifice, a priest,	Seephausinneat, sephausaen.
To be sacrificed,	Sephausittinneat.
To sail, I sail,	Seppaghamünat.
To satisfy,	Tapeneauwahuōnat.
I am satisfied,	Nuttapeneauwaētum.
Are you satisfied,	Sun kuttapeneauaetumwoo.
To be satisfied,	Tapeneauwaetinneat.
We will make you satisfaction,	Kuttappenēauahinnumwoo, pish-
<i>or</i> we will satisfy you.	kittappeneuwahinumun.
Be thou satisfied,	Tapeneauāētush.
Let me be satisfied,	Tapeneauwuhitteatuh.
Let him be satisfied,	Tappeneauāhinnaeh.
Let us be satisfied,	Tapeneauaehitteatuh.
Be ye satisfied,	Tapeneauaetook.
Let them be satisfied,	Tappeneauwaetchhittich.
I say, I said,	Nissim, nuttinnōwap.
What you say,	Teagua kissim.
We say,	Nissimun, nuttinnōwamun.
We said, <i>or</i> did say,	Nissimunnōnup.
To say,	Unnōwōnat.
I scatter, <i>or</i> did,	Nussewäuhteam, -up.
We scatter, <i>or</i> did,	Nusseäuhteamun, -nōnup.
To scatter, to be scattered,	Seauhkōnat.
To scratch, I scratch,	Neehnekinnuōnat, nukkitch-
	keem.
I search, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnattinneahteam, -up.
We search, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnattinneahteamun, -nonup.
To search,	Nuttinneahkōnat.
Search me,	Nattinneahkōsse.
To season,	Tappepukquanehkōnat.
I see, <i>or</i> did see,	Nunnaum, nunnaumōop:
Behold,	Chuh namuk.
We see, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnaumūmun, -nonup. [p. 74.]
To see, to be seen,	Naumūnat, amanisuonittinneat.
Dost thou see ?	Sun kenâum.
Do they see us ?	Sun nunnauqunnonog.

I seem to be weary,
 I seek, *or* did,
 We seek, *or* did,
 To seek,
 To be sought,
 I sell, *or* give, *or* did sell,
 We sell, *or* did,
 To sell, to be sold,
 I send, *or* did,
 We send, *or* did,
 To send,

To be sent,
 Send me if you dare,
 I will separate you,
 I separate,
 To separate,
 To be separated,
 I serve, *or* did,
 We serve, *or* did,
 To serve,
 To be served,
 A servant, (Vid. p. 19.)
 I will shake you,
 To shake,
 I shake, *or* tremble,
 I shave, to shave,
 To be shaved,
 Will you be shaved,
 To shear (sheep),
 To-morrow I will shear,
 I show, *or* did show,
 We show, *or* did,

To show,
 Show me your house,
 I shine, *or* did,
 We shine, *or* did,
 To shine,
 The sun shineth,
 I shun, *or* did avoid,
 We shun, *or* did,
 To shun,
 To be shunned,
 I shut, *or* did,
 We shut, *or* did,
 To shut, to be shut,
 Shut the door,
 I am sick, *or* was,

Nuttogqueneunkqs sauwunumuk.
 Nunnattinneah, -whomp.
 Nunnattinneahwhomun, -nonup.
 Nattinneahwhōnat.
 Nattinneahwhittinneat.
 Nummâg, nummâgup.
 Nummagūmun, -nonup.
 Mâgunat.
 Nunnékónchūam, -ap.
 Nunnekonchhuwāmūn, -nōnup.
 Monchaanncononat, *or* nekonch-
 huonat.

Annoonittinneat.
 Annōsseh mat quttamcoan.
 Pish kutchippinnumumwo.
 Nutchippunnūwam.
 Chippinumūnat.
 Chippinnittinneat.
 Nōtininnūmēkoss, -up.
 Nōtininūmēkossimūn, -nonup.
 Wuttininūmēkossinat.
 Wuttinumuhkoattinneat.
 Wuttinnumin.
 Pish kenēnemuhkōnish.
 Nenemuhkōnat
 Nunnukkīshshom.
 Nuppeeghum, peeghumūnat.
 Mooswittinneat.
 Sun woh kuppeegwhitteamwo.
 Moosommūnat.
 Saup nummoossoowam.
 Nunnōhtin, -omp.
 Nunnâhtitteamun, -no-
 nup. [p. 75.]
 Nahtuhkōnat.
 Nahtuhseh keek.
 Nōwossum, -up.
 Nōwohsamūmun, -nonup.
 Wohsumwinneat.
 Nepâz (kesūkquish) wohsum.
 Nukquisūhkom, -up.
 Nukquissūhkomūmun, -nonup.
 Qussūhkomūnat.
 Quishshuhkauōnat.
 Nukkuphâm, -up.
 Nukkuphamūmun, -nonup,
 Kuppohhamūnat.
 Kuppōhhash ūsquont.
 Nummohtchīñam, -up.

We are sick, <i>or</i> were,	Nummohtchinâmun, -nonup.
Are you sick ?	Sun kummohhtch'nam.
To be sick, he is sick,	Mohtchinônât, mohchinnai.
I am silent,	Nutchequânnap.
To be silent,	Maninussinêat.
I sing, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkuttôhûmom.
We sing, <i>or</i> did,	Kukkuttuhumômûn, -nônup.
Can you sing,	Sun kenauan kukketôhumom- woo.
To sing,	Ketoohumônât.
I sin, <i>or</i> did,	Nummatchesem, -up.
We sin, <i>or</i> did,	Nummatcheseêmun, nônup.
To sin, sin not,	Matchesênât matchesêkon,
I sit, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnummâtâp, -up.
We sit, <i>or</i> did sit,	Nunnummâtâppûmun, -nonup.
To sit, sitteth,	Nummâtâpûnat, appû.
To be skillfull (<i>or</i> knowing,)	Wahteouûnat.
Are you skillfull,	Sun kôwahteomwoo.
I sleep, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkôueem, -up.
We sleep, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkâuemun, -nonup. [p. 76.]
To sleep, sleep,	Kauênât, kaûeonk.
To be sleepy,	Kodtukquomunat.
Didst thou sleep well,	Sun koowetêekouem.
Sleep thou, let him sleep,	Kuttinnanum kauish.
Let us sleep, sleep ye,	Unanuminneankauish.
Let them sleep,	Kauehittich.
I slide,	Nappummechêsham.
To slide, to slip,	Nutt cœnikquissinnûnat.
I smell, <i>or</i> did,	Numminônât, -up.
We smell, <i>or</i> did,	Numminontamûmun, -nonup,
To smell,	Menontamûnat.
Sneezing, snorting,	Annuonk nanagkœonk.
To sneez,	Sannegkœonk.
To snow, it snows,	Muhpœoinneat muhpœwi.
Does it snow,	Sun muhpœ.
It does not snow,	Matta moohpinnœ.
I sob, <i>or</i> sigh,	Nunnohtumup.
To sob, <i>or</i> sigh,	Nohtimwinneat.
To be sold,	Magkœ-wonittinneat.
I am sold,	Nummagkœônât.
Is he sold,	Sun noh magun.
Was he sold to him,	Sun unûnumoadtinnêas.
I sow, <i>or</i> plant,	Nuttohkehteam.
To sow, <i>or</i> plant,	Ohkeehkônât.
To be planted,	Ohkehkonittinneat.
When do you sow your ry,	Ahquompi kuttohketeam kuttanni.
To sow, <i>or</i> sew ones cloaths,	Ushquamûnat monag.
I spare, <i>or</i> afford, <i>or</i> did,	Nummag, -up.
We spare, <i>or</i> did,	Nummâgûmun, -nonup.

I am sparing,
 To spare (*or* preserve,)
 To be spared,
 I speak, *or* did,
 We speak, *or* did,
 To speak,
 To be spoken,
 I shall speak,
 He speaks well, *or* }
 Is fair spoken, }
 I am mischievous, *or* spitefull,
 I spit, *or* did,
 We spit, *or* did,
 To spin, to spit, to be spiteful,

 To sprinkle, I sprinkle,
 I did sprinkle, (Vid. Scatter,)
 He was sprinkled,
 To be sprinkled,
 To stagger, *or* reel,
 A drunkard staggers,
 Staggering, *or* reeling,
 I stand, *or* did,
 We stand, *or* did,
 To stand, stand you away,
 I stay, *or* did,
 We stay, *or* did,
 To stay, *or* wait,
 Stay for me,
 I steal, *or* did,
 We steal, *or* did,
 To steal, to be stolen,
 Why did you steal,
 I step, *or* did,
 We step, *or* did,
 To step,
 To stick to,
 It sticks to,
 I am stiff,
 To be stiff,
 I stink, *or* did,
 We stink, *or* did,
 To stink;
 I am stirred up,
 To stir up,
 He stirred him up,
 They stirred us up,
 To be stirred up,
 I stop, *or* did,

Ncwohquaniteam.
 Ahteauñat.
 Wadchanittinneat.
 Nukkchetōkom, -up.
 Nukkehetookōmun, -nonup.
 Ketcoōkonat.
 Kuttoohkonat.
 Woh ncwoeogqūttum. [p. 77.]
 Noh wunne keketoōkau.
 Wouwunnapwāwan.
 Nissuke.
 Nutteeskōuous, -up.
 Nutteskououssūmun, -nonup.
 Tattuppunnohkōnat, eskauousin-
 neat.
 Sēaohkōnnat nusseāuhteam.
 Nusseāuhteap.
 Noh seaúkauop.
 Seauhkoattinneat.
 Chachannīshaonk.
 Koghesippamwaēnin chanīsshau.
 Chanehchashauonk.
 Nunnepco, -up.
 Nunnepōmun, -nōnup.
 Neponunneat amakompauish.
 Nuppahtis, -up.
 Nuppahtisūmun, -nōnup.
 Pahtsinneat.
 Pahtīssish wutch nen.
 Nukkummcot, -up.
 Nukkummcotūmun, -nonup.
 Kummcotinnat, kummcotinneat.
 Tohwaj Kummcotcomōmwco
 Nuttontānēhtip. -up.
 Nuttohontanehtimūn, -nonup.
 Ontaneehkinneat.
 Pissogquomwinneat.
 Pissogquōommco.
 Nutchetaues.
 Chetauesinneat.
 Nummatchimunkqus, -sup.
 Nummatchimunkqussimūn.
 Matchimunkqussinneat.
 Nummomontinīn.
 Mummōntinnuōnate.
 Noh mammontinūwop. [p. 78.]
 Nag nummamontinūkqun.
 Mommontinnīttuonk.
 Nuttogkōgkem, -up

We stop, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttogkogkēmūn, -nonup.
To stop, to be stopped,	Togkogkēnat togkogkinnittin- neat.
Stop your course,	Togkogkīnish kuttinniyeuonk.
I stretch out my hands,	Nussummogkinnitchāem.
To stretch,	Summāgkinumūnat.
To be stretched,	Summogkinnittuonk.
He stretcheth a great way,	Noh summāgke noāditit.
I strike, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttogkōm, -omp.
We strike, <i>or</i> did.	Nuttogkomōmun, -nonup.
To strike a stroke,	Togkomōnat tatteaonk.
I strive, <i>or</i> did,	Nut chekeayeuiteam, -teap.
We strive, <i>or</i> did,	Nutcheāyuteamun, -nonup.
To strive,	Chekeaiyeukōnat.
I am strong, <i>or</i> was,	Nummēnuhkes, -up.
We are strong, <i>or</i> were,	Nummenuhkesimūn, -nonup.
To be strong,	Menuhkesinneat.
Strength, His,	Menuhkesoonk, -um.
To study,	Natwontamūnat.
Do you study much,	Sun kenatwontam moōchēke.
I stumble, to stumble,	Nuttogkissittāssin togkissittassin- inat.
To stuff,	Cheethamūnat.
I suck, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōn, nunnōnup.
We suck, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōnūmun, -nonop.
To suck,	Nōniinneat.
A child sucks,	Mukkoies uōnōntam.
I suffer, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchequinēēhtam, -up.
We suffer, <i>or</i> did,	Nutchequineehtamūmun, -nonup.
To suffer,	Chequineehtamūnat.
To be suffered, <i>or</i> born,	* * * * Nutchequiehtam wuttan- ehpunaonk.
I suffer affliction,	Numinoohquōnat. [p. 79.]
To sup up pottage, &c.	Nuttinantam, nuttogquantam.
I suppose, <i>or</i> imagine,	Nuttinantamūmun, -nonup.
We suppose, <i>or</i> did,	Unnantamūnat, ogquantamūnat.
To suppose, to imagine,	Unantamunat.
To be supposed, (<i>Vid.</i> Think,)	Chachekeyeūnat,
To swear,	Woh sampwe nutchadchekeyeu- wam.
I can swear truly,	Nukkissittāshōm, -p.
I sweat, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkissittashōmun, -nonup.
We sweat, <i>or</i> did,	Kissittashōnat.
To sweat,	Nummōkques, mogquesinneat.
I swell, to swell,	Noh mogquesūwi.
He swelleth,	Sepuash tahshemōash.
The rivers swell,	Wosketompaog mogquesuwog.
Men swell,	Nuppumosōweem, -up.
I swim, <i>or</i> did,	Nuppumosōwēmun, -nonup.
We swim, <i>or</i> did,	

To swim,	Pumosooenat.
Can you swim,	Sun woh kuppumôšwemwo.
I take, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnemünun, -up.
We take, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnemunünun, -nonup.
Did you take it,	Sun kenemünunünas.
To take bribes,	Nemunumünat magcoongash.
They taking, (for communicat- ing,)	Nemunukeeg.
To tame, (see Keep,)	Nanneuchteouñat.
Can you tame him,	Sun woh kenânnauwissüwah.
To be tamed,	Nannauwussuwaheonat.
I cannot tarry,	Mat woh ne nuttappöwun.
To tarry,	Ne appinneat.
I taste, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqutchëhtam, -up.
We taste, <i>or</i> did,	Nukqutchehtamümun, -nonup.
To taste,	Qutchehtamünat.
To be tasted,	Qutchehpwonittineat.
I teach, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkukhootumwehteam,
	-teap. [p. 80.]
We teach, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkukhootumwehteamun, -no- nup.
To teach,	Kukhootumwehkōnat.
Will you teach me,	Sun woh kukkukhootümah nen.
I am taught,	Nukkukhootumonteap.
Thou art taught,	Kukkukhootumonteap.
He is taught,	Kukhootumauop.
We are taught,	Nukkukhootumonteamun.
Ye are taught,	Kukkukhootumonteamwoo.
They are taught,	Kukhootumauōpanneg.
I was taught,	Nukkukhootumonteap.
Thou wast taught,	Kukkukhootumonteap.
He was taught,	Kukhootumauop.
We were taught,	Nukkukhootumonteamunnonup.
Ye were taught,	Kukkukhootumonteamwop.
They were taught,	Kukhootumauōpanneg.
Be thou taught,	Kukhootumonteash.
Let me be taught,	Kukhootumaiinnach.
Let him be taught,	Kukhootumauunach.
Let us be taught,	Kukhootumonteatuh.
Be ye taught,	Kukhootumonteag.
Let them be taught,	Kukhootumauunach.
Are you taught to read,	Sun kutogketamwahitteamwoo.
I wish I might be taught,	Napehnont kukkootumaiimuk.
When I am taught, I will teach you,	Uttuh annoohkukhootummaïmi, neit pish kuktahkootumam.
When they are taught,	Uttuh annooh kukkootumauu.
I am not taught,	Mat nukkukhootumonteoh.
We are not taught,	Mat nakkukhootumonteon.
Not to be taught,	Mat kukhootumauoun.

To be taught,	Kuhkootumauonat. [p. 81.]
Doctrines of men,	Wosketompae kuhkootumuehtea- ongash.
A minister, <i>or</i> schoolmaster,	Kuhkootumwehteaēnin.
Ministers, text,	Nohtompeantog, quenshitteank.
I tear,	Nunnegunum.
To tear,	Nenekikōmūnat.
I tell, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinōnchim, -up.
We tell, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinonchimūmun, -nonup.
We are told,	Unnoowomoo.
To tell,	Unnonchimwinneat.
To be told,	Unnonchimookōattinneat.
I cannot think,	Mat nuttinautamoo.
I think, <i>or</i> did,	Nuttinantam, -up.
What you think, (See Pronouns,	Toh (<i>or</i> teagua) kuttinantam.
p. 33.)	
Methinks,	Nuttogquantam.
To think, (see Suppose.)	Unnantamunat.
To be thought,	Unantununat.
A thought,	{ Unantamooonk.
I thirst, <i>or</i> did,	{ Unnantamooonk.
We thirst, <i>or</i> did,	Nukkóhkittoon, -up.
To thirst,	Nukkuhkittoonūmun, -nonup.
I threaten, <i>or</i> did,	Kuhkittoonūnat.
We threaten, <i>or</i> did,	Nukquogquohtōwam, -wap.
To threaten,	Nukquogquohtowamun.
To be threatened,	Quogquohtouwōnat.
I throw down,	Quoquohtuntinneat.
To throw down,	Nuppenoohkonat.
Can you throw him,	Penohkōrat.
I throw away, he throws,	Sun woh kussāmúhkon.
Dont throw,	Nuppâketam, paketam,
I thrust (into a thing,)	Ahque pahketash.
To thrust,	Nutcheke pethinum.
Thrust him from you,	Neppinnittinneat.
I thunders,	{ Nehpinumook nehpinncok
To thunder,	{ wutch kenau.
I touch, <i>or</i> did,	Pattohquohānni.
We touch, <i>or</i> did,	Pattohquohānnat.
To touch,	Nummissinum, -up.
I can't translate,	Nummissinumūmun, -nonup.
I tread hard,	Missinumūnat.
To tread on,	Matta wóh nukquishkinnūmun.
He treads upon him,	Nukquissukquannek. [p. 82.]
I tremble, <i>or</i> tingle, <i>or</i> did,	Taskuhkouonát.
We tremble, <i>or</i> tingle,	Noh wuttañtäskuhkaūuh.
	Nunnukkishom, -p.
	Nunnukkishōmun, -nonup.
	Nunnukkishōnat.

My flesh trembleth,
 I trust, *or* did,
 We trust, *or* did,
 To trust,
 To be trusted,
 I try, *or* did,
 We try, *or* did,
 To try, to be tried,
 Trials, *or* attempts,
 I turn, *or* did,
 We turn, *or* did,
 To turn, to be turned,
 I try, *or* did,
 To ty,
 To vex, (see Provoke,)
 I view, *or* did,
 To view, to be viewed,
 To take a view,
 I vomit, *or* did,
 To vomit,
 He vomits,
 I vow,
 Vows,

 I urge, *or* did,
 To urge, to be urged,
 I am urgent,
 An use, (*or* a sermon,)
 I use, *or* did,
 We use, *or* did,
 To use, to be used,
 Use me well,
 To wail, *or* howl,
 To wait for,
 They wait, (vid. Stay,)
 I walk, *or* did,
 We walk, *or* did,
 To walk, *or* go,
 Endeavouring to walk,
 Walk uprightly,
 I wander, *or* did,
 Wandering, *or* going astray,
 He wanders, (*i. e.* is lost,)
 They wander,
 I want, *or* did,
 We want, *or* did,
 To want,
 To be wanting, *or* defective,
 They want,

Nooweyaus nunnukisshau.
 Nuppapahtântam, -up.
 Nuppâpahuntamûmun, -nonup.
 Papahantamûnat.
 Papahtanittinneat.
 Nukqutchiteo, -up.
 Nukqutchteomun, -nonup.
 Qutchteouûnat.
 Qutchehëteongash.
 Nukquinûppem, -up.
 Nukquinuppêmun, -nonup.
 Quinuppênat.
 Nuppissaunuqûnum, -up.
 Pissaunuqunumûnat.
 Moomcosquehhuônât.
 Nukkeehkêneam, -ap.
 Kihkinneaattaonk.
 Kuhkinassinneat.
 Nummenättam, -up.
 Menattamûnat.
 Nôh menattam.
 Chadchekeyeuae nukquoshouam.
 Quoshowaongash, *or* chadcheke-
 yeuae quoshaumuaongash.
 Nutchetimmûwam, -wap.
 Chetimuônât.
 Nutchekewe, chetimûwam.
 Auwohchaonk, [p. 83.]
 Nuttauohteam, -teap.
 Nuttauohteamun, -nonup.
 Auwohkônât.
 Wunniyeuwâhe.
 Mômuttamîwe mishontôonat.
 Nuppahtîssuônât.
 Pahtscoog.
 Nuppumwûsham.
 Nuppumwushâmun.
 Pomishônât.
 Kodpomushahettit.
 Pomîshon sampweseae.
 Noowoowôn, -nup.
 Wauwonnûonk.
 Noh nanwûsshau.
 Nag wawonnûog.
 Nukquenauwêhhik, -up.
 Nukquenawêhhikûmun, -nonup.
 Quenauehhikquiîât.
 Nônât, *or* quenauat.
 Nag quenauwehquog.

I am warm, *or* was,
 We are warm, *or* were,
 To be warm,
 Warm yourself and depart,
 To warm,
 I wash, *or* did,
 We wash, *or* did,
 To wash,
 Be thou washed,
 To be washed,
 Baptism,
 I saw a woman washing }
 and cleansing cloaths, }
 To waste,
 He wastes himself,
 To be wasted,
 To wear cloaths out,
 I wear,
 To wear out,
 I did wear,
 They would wear,
 I am weary, (*very*),
 To weary, *or* make weary,
 To be weary,
 To weave,
 I weep, *or* did,
 We weep, *or* did,
 To weep, weeping,
 To weigh,
 Weighing,
 I weigh,
 He weighs by the pound,

 To be weighed,
 I am wet, *or* was,
 We are wet, *or* were,
 To be wet,
 To whet, *or* make sharp,
 I am willing, *or* was,
 We are willing *or* were,
 Are you willing,
 He is not willing,
 To be willing,
 Being made willing,
 I am wise, *or* was,
 I would be wise,
 Wouldst thou be wise,
 Ye are, *or* were wise,

Nukkesōap, -up.
 Nukkesōsimun, -nonup.
 Kesōsinneat.
 Auwâsish kah monchiesh.
 Auwaesinneat.
 Nukkitisum, -omp.
 Nukkitisippattomun, -nonup.
 Kittissumwinneat.
 Ken kittissūmwish.
 Kittissumwunneat.
 Kutt[iche]ssumoonk.
 Nunnau mittūmwus kuttisupatto
 kah pompahkēto monagūnash.
 Mâhtshottouūnat. [p. 84.]
 Noh mohtahkonnau wohhoguh.
 Mohtahkonittuonk.
 Ompattamūnat, auwohkonat.
 Nuttauwohteam.
 Nummahtompattamūnat.
 Nummahche ompattam.
 Nag woh ompattamwog.
 Pogkodche nussouūnum.
 Souunumwahuūnat.
 Souunumūnat.
 Monagkeneehkōnat.
 Nen nummome.
 Nenauq̄n nummōmun.
 Mouinneat, -moonk.
 Quttompaghcotoōnat.
 Quttompaghcotoōnk.
 Nuttehkequin.
 Noh quttompaghcoto nashpe qut-
 tōōheg.
 Quttomppaghootosinneat.
 Nootāgkes, -up.
 Nootagkessimun, -nonup.
 Wuttagkesinneat.
 Keekodtauūnat.
 Nōowekōntam, -up.
 Nōowekontamūmun, -nonup.
 Sun koowekontamūmwo.
 Noh mat weekontam.
 Wekontamūnat.
 Wekōntāmwaheoncheg.
 Nōowaāntam, -up.
 Nukkod waāntam.
 Sun woh kōowaāntam.
 Koowāāntamunwō, -wop.

To be wise,	Waantamunūnat, (Vid. Gram- mat. p. 26.) *
I wish, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnontweāntam, -up. [p. 85.]
We wish, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnontweantamūmun, -nōnup.
They shall wish,	Nag pish nontweantamwog.
To wish, (<i>like</i> waantam),	Nontweantamūnat.
To be wished,	Nontweantamwinneat.
I wipe, <i>or</i> did,	Nutjeeskham, -up.
We wipe, <i>or</i> did,	Nutjiskhamūmun, -nonup.
To wipe,	Jiskhamūnat.
To be wiped,	Jishwhissinneat.
To wither, <i>or</i> pine away (as a tree,)	Nuppcopassinneat.
I wither, I am lean, <i>or</i> pine away,	Nuttonnanwissinneat.
A tree withers,	Mehtuk nuppōta.
I wonder, <i>or</i> did,	Nummohchānantam, -up.
We wonder, <i>or</i> did,	Nummohchanāntamūmun, -non- up.
To wonder,	Mohchantamūnat.
I work, (vid. Labor,)	Nuttannākous.
A good work,	Wunne anakausuonk.
How do we work,	Uttuh nuttinanakaussinnean.
He workt for me,	Nutanakausueātunk.
I worship, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwowussumūwam.
To worship,	Wowussumuōnat.
We worship, <i>or</i> did,	Nōwowussumuwāmun.
Worship God,	Wowussum God.
To be worshipped,	Wauwussittinneat.
To wrest, <i>or</i> misinterpret,	Matche quishkinumūnat.
I did not misinterpret,	Mat nuppāhogketāmoo.
I can write,	Woh nōsoohquōhham.
Can he <i>or</i> they write,	Sun noh, nag wussoohquōhham- wog.
Can you write,	Sun woh kōsoohquōhham.
To write a book,	Wussōhkhāmūnat, wussukquōh- honk.
To be written,	Wussoohquōhwassin.
I yield, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōsweem, -up.
We yield, <i>or</i> did,	Nunnōswemun, -nonup.
To yield,	Nooswēnat.
Yield yourself to me,	Nōoswētah nen.
I am zealous,	Nummaninisse menehki- nit. [p. 86.]
Be thou zealous in a good cause,	Maninīssish ut wunnēgen unni- yeūonk.

* This reference is to *Eliot's Indian Grammar*, which will be found in the *Historical Collections*, vol. ix. Second Series. Edit.

He is a zealous man,	Noh maninissüe menehkenitteae wosketomp.
Thou art zealous,	Kummaninissue menehteantam.
We are zealous, <i>or</i> were,	Nummaninissimun.
Ye are zealous, <i>or</i> were,	Kummaninnissumwoo.
They are zealous,	Nag maninissuog.
Zeal,	Maninissuonk.
Welcome,	Koonepeam.
You may take it for granted,	Ahque chanantah.
What do you say,	Toh kuttinnoowam, <i>or</i> kussim.
Why will you go,	Tohwutch monchean.
What is the Indian word for fire,	Uttuh yeu Indianne kuttooönk wutch chikkoht, <i>or</i> nootau.
Tell me how it was,	Usseh uttuh änaGIS.
How much must I give you for those feathers,	Toh kuttinañnoohhumaish, koo- peeñnog.
Dont trouble yourself about it,	Ahque wuttamooontash ne papau- me.
When will you come again,	Ahquomppak wonk kuppéyam.

Participles.

Abounding, adorning,	{ Missechöönk. [p. 87.]
Adorned,	{ Unnoohhoosöönk.
Advising, advised,	Wunnoohwhósinneat.
Affording, afforded,	Kogkahquttue, kogkaktimau.
Affrighted,	Ununumôadtüönk.
Fearing,	Kuttijschanñtüönk.
Afraid,	Quehtammoöönk.
Abounding, <i>subs.</i>	Wapsuontamooönk.
Amazing, amazed,	Moochikohtooönk.
Amending, amended,	Keannontüpah.
Growing angry,	Aianukkôöoöönk.
Anointed, anointing,	Neken mosquantamoöönk.
Answering, answered,	Sussequenittüönk.
Appearing, appeared,	Namppoohamoöönk.
Appointing, appointed,	Nogquissinneat.
Arising, risen,	Kehteimau, kuhquttumäuwö.
Armed,	Omohkëönk, <i>or</i> omohkej.
Arriving, arrived,	Kenhoosünash, kenhoosu.
Asking, asked,	Missohkomukhínumooönk.
	Wequttum, wequttumäuwau, <i>or</i> nottoohuniwehteai.
Aswaging, aswaged,	Wuttogquënoi.
Attempting, attempted,	Qutchehhüau, qutchehhean.
Awaking, awaked,	Toohkenüau, toohkënu.
Banishing, banished,	Quossoohkaüsu, quossoohkauau.
Being,	Nenih, <i>or</i> wannëpeh.
Bearing, born,	Menehteäntam.

Beating, beaten,	Sasamâta ^h ho ^o nat.
Becoming, (<i>or</i> decent,)	Tappeneunkquissinneat. [p. 88.]
Begetting, begot,	Wouwunnechann ^u onk.
Begun,	Kuttche.
Beheld, beholding,	Môninneam, môninneâmonk.
Believing, believed,	Wunnamptâm ^u n, wunnâmptam.
Bent,	Wonkkenâsu.
Benumbed,	Mat waammattamooonk.
Bewaring,	Nunnukquanumcoonk.
Binding, bound,	Kishpinno ^o nk, tohtogkuppis.
Biting, bitten,	Sagkepo ^o au, sagkepwoos ^u onk.
Blaming, blamed,	Wutchimau.
Blessing, blessed,	Wunnanitt ^u onk, wunnam ^u mau.
Blinding with smoke,	Choquass ^u muk.
Blotted,	Jeshhamo ^o onk.
Blowing,	Pootantamo ^o onk.
Boiled,	Nummattohkukqu ^o ssu.
Born,	Netu, nechânat.
Bragging,	Mishsho ^o onk.
Breaking, broke,	Poohquiss ^h au.
Breathing,	Nânâhshon ^{at} .
Bringing, brought,	Pas ^o wou, patt ^o hsu, pattou ^u nat, <i>or</i> kessikkeh ^h ittuonk.
Brought up, <i>or</i> educated,	Pasoowou, kenunn ^o ssu.
Built,	Wekukk ^o ssu, kess ^u kkeh ^h âu.
Burning, burnt,	Chikkosso ^h su, chikko ^h tta, moht- titta.
Burying, Buried,	Pooskinittuonk, pooskin ⁿ ous.
Buying, bought,	Adt ^o wau, taphum ^u n.
Calling, called,	Wehkok ^o muk, wequtteam ^o onk,
* * * *	Tashshin ^â ssu.
Cast off,	Pogket ^o hsu. [p. 89.]
Cast down,	Penohkâ ^o ssu.
Caught,	Tohquinum ^u nat.
Ceasing,	Mahtea ^o onk.
Changing, changed,	Ossoowunum ^o onk.
Charging (a gun), charged,	Mechimuhk ^o n ^u h.
Chastising, chastised,	Sasamâto ^h whou,
Cheated, cheating,	Assookekom ^w oo, assook ^e ho.
Cherishing, cherished,	Kesoosumm ^u au, kesoos ^u mau.
Chiding,	Nishqu ^e mau.
Choakt, choaking,	Pashsh ^o nnu, -onk.
Claiming, claimed,	Pekchenunn ^u au.
Coming,	Peyâonk.
Comforting, comforted,	Taph ^u au, taph ^h âu.
Commanding, commanded,	Annot ^e amoo, annoon ^u .
Committing, committed, putting,	Poonum ^o adt ^u onk.
&c.	
Compassing, compassed,	Pannupsh ^o onk.

Compelled,	Chekēwe, <i>or</i> chekshanittuonk.
Complaining,	Wuttoowâonâonk.
Condemning, condemned,	Awâkomponnac, wussūmau.
Confessing, confest,	Sumppooau, pohkoôau.
Confuted,	Wuttamhēau.
Consuming, consumed,	Mohtchikkissōoæ.
Convincing, convinced,	Pogkodchimuâonk.
Covering, covered,	Onkwhussu.
Counselled,	Kogkahtīmau.
Created,	Kesiteoüssu. [p. 90.]
Crying,	Môwōonk.
Cursed, cursing,	Mattânūmat.
Cut, cutting,	Nenehkissôsu.
Dancing,	Mattwakkâonk.
Daring, dared,	Aiahchūmau, assookekōmau.
Deceiving, deceived,	Assookekodtēamoo.
Dedicated,	Mâgūnat en Godût.
Defending, defended,	Kenohhamôadtūonk.
Delighting, delighted,	Wokontamoonittūonk.
Delivering, delivered,	Pohquowhunitūonk.
Demanding, demanded,	Wehquuttumwōonk, <i>or</i> nohnatit- tumooonk.
Denying, denied,	Quencoau, quenoonittin.
Departing, departed,	Amâeonk, amâeai.
Deserving, deserved,	Sompwe attumunumoōonk.
Desiring, desired,	Kodtantamūnat, kodtantam.
Despising, despised,	Jeshantamunat, (to be chief,) nish- ananumūkqussineât.
Devising, devised,	Natwontamūnat.
Devouring, devoured,	Mohtchuppōe.
Digging, digged,	Anoskhamunat, noohkōhteahhâ- mōonk, wonohkōnat, wânah- teau.
Dipping, dipped,	Quogkinnôsuë.
Dispatched,	Montshanittūonk.
Dissembling, dissembled,	Omppuwussuë, omppuwussu.
Dividing, divided,	Chachappinumūnat.
Doing, done,	Assemuk, ussonash, ussenap, us- seonk, mahtche-ussen.
Doubting,	Chanantamūnat.
Drawing, drawn,	Wuttonchittauūnat, <i>or</i> wussau- mētummoo. [p. 91.]
Drinking, drunk,	Kogkewau, wuttattamūnat, kod- kewau.
Eased,	Anunumauwaêtōonk.
Eating,	Metsinneat.
Embracing, embraced,	Womosuë, ukkehchik, quaittuonk.
Emptying, emptied,	Sequnumūnat.
Encouraged,	Menehkéwuttoantamwōonk.

Enduring, endured,	Quo missontamūnat, (quache) us-sēonk.
Enjoying, enjoyed,	Wekontamooontamūnat.
Enquiring, enquired,	Pohkodtootumuhkōnat.
Entring, entred,	Petitteontamōonk.
Enticing, enticed,	Wāwetimūonk.
Establishing, established,	Menuhketouūnat.
Esteeming, esteemed,	Wuttooantamūnat, wuttooañtam.
Excelling, excelled,	Anukomūnat, anukomōomoo.
Exhibited,	Quoshwunnumauut.
Falling, fallen,	Penishshau, penishshai.
Failing,	Nooninnuwōmoo.
Fastened,	Sonkkeketouwunat.
Favouring, favoured,	Tappenêaattuonk.
Fearing,	Quittamūnat.
Feeding, fed,	Meetsuontamunat.
Feeling, felt,	Mehquinunat.
Fighting,	Mekonittuonk, ayeuuttūonk.
Filling, filled,	Numwohtouūnat.
Finding, found,	Nameehtouūnat.
Flowing,	Tomokkonnuooo.
Flying away, fled,	Wussēmoo, wussemoōwi. [p. 92.]
Flattering, flattered,	Wouwekoowāonk.
Following, followed,	Assuhkom-moo-mōo, or mooe.
Forbidding, forbidden,	Quttehkōnat, quahtinnittimuk.
Forementioned,	Quosshoue, missohhamūnap. (p. 96.)
Forgetting, forgot,	Wanantamūnat.
Fortifying,	Meneketaūūnat.
Gathered, gathering,	Mohmōwunūmūnat.
Getting, gotten,	Ahchuehtouūnat.
Giving, given,	Magkoo, magkun.
Glad,	Wekoñtam.
Going, went,	Pumushshāonk, monche.
Governing, governed,	Nanauunummōonk.
Grieved, or grief,	Noohittūonk.
Groaning,	Auwohkontoowāonk.
Handled,	Weogkehtauūnat.
Hanged, hanging,	Waāshanittūonk, wawasshattau-unat.
Hastening, hastened,	Wapantamōōê.
Hating, hated,	Sekeneamōonk.
Having,	Ahtunkeeg, <i>pl.</i> ahtouūnat.
Healing, healed,	Netskesūonk.
Hearing, heard,	Nootamoōonk.
Hedged,	Wakaunoos.
Hiding, hidden,	Puttogquēonk.
Hindering, hindered,	Wuttamteōonk.
Hoping,	Annôoassūonk.

Howling,	Mishontcowâpôsu.
Hung,	Kehchiquepsu.
Hunting, hunted,	Adtchanittüonk.
Hurting, hurt,	Woskehhüonät, woskesu. [p. 93.]
Imitating, imitated,	Aiannauönat.
Increasing, increased,	Missetüonk.
Inlightning,	Wequaiyeukâuont.
Intreated,	Nanompanwönat.
Joyning, joyned,	Mosogquëonk.
Keeping, kept,	Nanauehteouünat.
A well kept sabbath,	Wunnunnanâwehtosoë sab.
Killing, killed,	Nishittüonk nishshauai.
Kissing, kissed,	Chipwuttoonnapwuttüonk.
Knocked,	Chohchohquttahhamöonk.
Knowing, known,	Wahteau, wateouonk, wahittin.
Labouring, laboured,	Anakausöonk, anakausu.
Lamenting, lamented,	Mömuttamöonk.
Languishing,	Mohtchikanaëonk.
Laughing,	Ahanüonk.
Leading, lead,	Sagkompaghonüau.
Leaning,	Ompattissinnöonk.
Leaping,	Quequëshau.
Learning, learned,	Nehtuhtouünat.
Leaving, left,	Nukkodtumünat.
Lessened, diminished,	Peohteouünat.
Lifting, lifted,	Tohshinumünat.
Living,	Pomantamünat.
Losing, lost,	Wunnëhiteöonk.
Loving, loved,	Womontam, womonnau.
Lying wickedly,	Pannööau matchetöe.
Making, made,	Ayumünat, ayum.
Marrying, married.	Wetouadteau, kekompau.
Measuring, measured,	Quttuhhumünat. [p. 94.]
Meditating,	Nutwontamöë.
Mingling, mingled,	Kunukkinnâsu.
Mistaking, mistook,	Pehtantam, puhtantamoöonk.
Moving, moved,	Momonchëonk, antsappu, ontap- puonk.
Mourning,	Mööongäne.
Murmuring,	Moomooskooâonk.
Naming, named,	Wesuonkanuhkönat.
Nigh to,	Passcoohyeuut.
Nourished, nourishing,	Sohkommocsoöonät.
Obeying, obeyed,	Nooswetamöonk.
Obtaining, obtained,	Wuttahtimumöonk.
Offending, offended,	Wuttamhuönat.
Opening, opened,	Woshwunummöonk.
Ordained,	Ukkuhquttümün.
Conquering, overcome,	Sohkôöonk, sohkoattin.

Owing,	Nohtukquahwhuttöonk.
Painting, painted,	Annogkëonk.
Panting,	Sauuhkïssüonk.
Pardoning, pardoned,	Ahquontamöonk.
Paying, paid,	Oadtehkönat.
Perceiving, perceived,	Ogquantamünat.
Permitted,	Unanukkönat.
Perswading, persuaded,	Nuttinantamwähit.
Pityed, pitying,	Kittëamongkeneadtiinne.
Playing, well played (to any thing,)	Puhpüonk wannahühneh.
Pleasing, pleased,	Tapeneunkque.
Polluting, polluted,	Niskhetouünat.
Praying,	Peantamöë
Pressed, oppressed,	Sunukkitchahhooonät. [p. 95.]
Preventing,	Amaunnumunate, (take off.)
Procuring, procured,	Ahtauünat.
Profaning.	Neshketouünat.
Promising, promised,	Quoshshowönat.
Proving, proved,	Wunnomwatauünat.
Providing, provided,	Quoshshouehtam.
Provoking, provoked,	Moosquantamhuönat.
Punishing, punished,	Sasamatahhoönat.
Purged, or purified,	Pompahkëto pahhetouünat.
Putting, put off,	Poonumünat, aumânumanat.
Quenching, quenched,	Onthamünat, ontapattauünat.
Quieting, quieted,	Maninishuönat.
Raging,	Kogkewe mosquantam.
Raining,	Onnöh quat.
Reading, read,	Agketamunät.
Refusing, refused,	Sekeneamöonk.
Rejoicing,	Mishkouantamooonk.
Remembring, remembred,	Mehquäntamünat.
Repeated,	Pehpetäwe.
Repenting, repented,	Aiuskoiantamünat.
Reserved,	Wadchanoog.
Returning, returned,	Quishkënat, quishke.
Revealing,	Wahteauwahteauwönate.
Revenging, revenged,	Annootönat, annootäonk.
Reviled,	Nukkehkönut.
Roaring,	Mishontoowäonk.
Roasting, roasted,	Apwönnat, appoosinne[at.]
Robbed,	Mukkookinittinneat.
Rubbing, rubbed,	Mummukquinümün.
Ruling, ruled,	Nohnouwinittüonk.
Running, out-runned,	Quogquënat.
Sacrificing, sacrificed,	Seephausinneat.
Satisfying, satisfied,	Tappenauwahusoomöouk.
Saying,	Noowau. [p. 96.]

Said,
 Scattering, scattered,
 Searching, searched,
 Seasoning, seasoned,
 Seeing, saw, seen,
 Seeking, sought,
 Selling, sold,
 Sending, sent,
 Separated, separating,
 Serving, served,

Shaking,
 Shamed,
 Shaved,
 Shewing,
 Shining,
 Shunning, shunned,
 Shutting, shut,
 Thing signified,
 Singing,
 Sinning,
 Sitting,
 Sleeping,
 Sliding,
 Smelling, smelt,
 Sowing, sown,
 Sparing, spared,
 Speaking, spoken,
 Forementioned,

Spitting,
 Sprinkling, sprinkled,
 Staggering,
 Standing, stood,
 Staying,
 Stealing, stole,
 Stinking,
 Stirred up,
 Stopping, stopt,
 Stretching, stretched,
 Striking, to be stricken,
 Striving, strove,
 Studying, studied,
 Stumbling,
 Sucking, suck'd,
 Suffering, suffered,
 Supped up,
 Supposed conditions,

Unnoowāonk, unnooonat.
 Seāuhkōnat, sewohham.
 Nattinohkōnat.
 Tappetouūnat.
 Naumooonk, nunnau.
 Nattinneohateaonk.
 Mômâgun, mâgun.
 Annoonittin, ānoonau.
 Chippinumūnat.
 Wuttinnūmun, wuttininnūmōh-
 kou.
 Tottauhōhkon.
 Ogkodchīnat.
 Mooswossinneat.
 Nāhtuhkōnat.
 Wossumwinneat.
 Quishshuhkomūnat.
 Kuppohkamunat.
 Kubkinneasimuk.
 Ketookamōnat.
 Matchēsenat.
 Nummâtappinneat.
 Kouenatkaueonk.
 Toonikquissinūnat.
 Menontamunat.
 Ohkehrōnat.
 Magunap.
 Kuttoonat.
 Negonne, keketoookontamūgkish.
 (p. 92.)
 Suhquinneat.
 Seauhkonat, touhteac.
 Mat kuhkenauīshoo.
 Nepouinneat.
 Pahhuonat. [p. 97.]
 Kummootōowonk.
 Matchemonkquat.
 Wogkonūnnau.
 Kuppohwhōnat.
 Summagkinumūnat.
 Togkomōnat, togkodtinneat.
 Pogkodche, aiyeukōnat.
 Natwontamunat.
 Togkissittassinūnat.
 Noonōowonk, noonūnat.
 Wuttamehpinnāonk.
 Numdhquonnat.
 Ponamōe wunnatwontamcoon-
 gash.

Supposing, supposed,	Unnantamunat.
Swearing, sworn,	Chachekeuwaonk.
Sweating,	Kussittannammūonk.
Swelling, <i>or</i> swoln,	Mogquesūonk, mogquesu.
Swimming,	Pummōsoowēnat.
Taking, took,	Mauminnat, <i>or</i> nemunumunat.
Tamed,	Nannauhuōnat.
Tarrying,	Pahhuwāonk.
Tasting, tasted,	Qutchtamunat.
Teaching, taught,	Kuhkootumkōnnat.
Tearing, torn,	Tannogkukkomūnat.
Thinking, thought,	Unantamōonk.
Thirsting,	Kuhkittōonōwe.
Threatning, threatened,	Quoquohtowōnat.
Thrown down,	Punuhkōnat.
Thrusting,	Nehqunumūnat.
Touching, touched,	Missunūmūnat. [p. 98.]
Treading,	Anōhquisshaonk, onahquisshānat.
Trembling, trembled,	Nunukkishshaonk.
Troubled,	Wuttamantamoōonk.
Trusting, trusted,	Papahtantamoōonk.
Trying, tried,	Qutchehteouūnat.
Turning, turned,	Quishkēnat.
Tying, tyed,	Kishpinnauunat.
Unspeakable,	Matta masshommoomūkish.
Vexing, vexed,	Moomoosquehhuōnat.
Viewing, viewed,	Pahke, kuhkinneamunat.
Visible things,	Naumūkish teanteaguas.
Vomiting, vomited,	Menattamunat, menattam.
Urging, urged,	Chekeyimōnat, chetimuonat.
Using, used,	Auwohkōnat.
Waiting,	Pahtsuontamūnat.
Walking,	Pomshōnat.
Wandering,	Nanwushshōnat.
Wanting, wanted,	Quenauwehhūau.
Warming, warmed,	Appissumūnat.
Washing, washed,	Kuttūssumūnat, kuttisupatto.
Wasting, wasted,	Mahtshattouūnat.
Wearing, worn,	Ompattamūnat.
Wearying, wearied,	Souunumooonk, sauunūmunat.
Weeping, wept,	Mōoonk, mouwinneat.
Weighing, weighed,	Quttompaghootōonk.
Wishing, wished,	Nontwewōnat.
Withering, withered,	Mussupassōwe.
Wondering,	Wouwonnuonk.
Worshipping, worshipped,	Wouwusssummuōnat.
Writing, written,	Wussukwhosu, wussoohquōhha- mooonk.
Yielding, yielded,	Nooswenat, <i>or</i> nosweonk.

The Creed. Wunnampitamōonk. [p. 99.]

Noonampitan God wame manuhkēsīt wutooshīmau, noh kezhit-unk kesuk kah ohke; kah noonampitan Jesus Christ ummoh-toōmeegheōnche nussontimōmun noh wompēquoōmuk nashpe wunnetupantamwe nashauānit netuōnont penompāē Maryhoh chequnehtāmup ut agwe Pontius Pilate pummetunkuppinnau-ūtup, nuppoop kah pooskīnop womisupe en Chepiohkoīmūkqut, nashikqunōgok noh omōhke wonk wutch nuppūnat kah waābe en kesūkqut kah na wutāppinadt wuttinnoh kāunit God wame manuh-kēsīt wuttōshīmau, nawutch pish peyau wussumōnut nanēswe pomantōgig kah nāpūkig—Noonampitam ut wunnētupantāmwe nashauānit, noonampitam ut mamūsse wunnētupantamwe moēuweh-komonganit kah ummōohkāmāongaūncō wanetupantōgik, kah ahquontamoadtūonk matcheseongāsh kah muhhogkōē omūhkeonk kah micheme pomantamōonk ut kesukqut. Amen. 1708.

A Talk between two. Keketokionk nashauenesoog. [p. 100.]

- P. Well met, friend, how do you do? Wunne nogkishkōadtūonk, netomp, toh kuttinukkētēam.
- M. I am pretty well, and ready to serve you. Nuttanūkkō wunnikkētēam kah nukquāshwap kootinnumukoun.
- P. When did you come from home, or town? (Koo) uttahuūnooh koomūmus kuttiyeunganit asuh kuttootānat.
- M. Two days ago. (Nam.†) nesukquinōgkod.
- P. Is your wife and children well? Sunkummittūmus kah kenechānog wunniyeuog.
- M. I have no children, but my wife is sick. Mat noomukkoiyēumoo, qut nummūtūmwus mohchīnāi.
- Q. Is it a healthy time in your place? Sun wunnuhketeaonkānnu ut kootohkeonkanit.
- A. Yes, generally. Nux ut omōg wame.
- Q. How many miles do you live from hence? (Nat.†) nātahshemilesūoo attan-uppomantāmun wutch yeut.
- A. I dont know. (Np.) mat noowāehteōoo.
- Q. How far are you going? (Nt.) uttoh unukkūhquat ne ayōan.
- A. To Connecticut. (Np.) ut Quinnehtukqut.
- Q. When do you come back? Nahkuttunnooh quishkem.
- A. In a little time. Ut tiahqui ahquompi.
- P. You should not run about the country; it is not good to be lazy or idle? Mat wunnegonūnnoh kuppum-ōshumat ut wuttohtimōnōiash; mat wunnagunūnnōoh nono-gq[ush.]

† The abbreviations *Nam.* and *Np.* stand for *Nampoohamōonk*, i. e. Answer; and *Nat.* and *Nt.* for *Natootommuhteonk*, i. e. Question. *Edit.*

- M. I want much to see my friends in those parts, and I hope that will excuse me.
- Nukquenauehhik nauonat netomppaog ut yeush aiyeuongash kah nutanôous woh nonommaianumit.
- P. Nay, I beg your pardon for calling you idle?
- Qut koowehquttumauish ahquontennu wutch nussuônk kenonôgques.
- A. I intend to mind my ***, when I come home.
- Numissôntam nanauehteouün ncotamantamooonk peyau *** nekit.
- Q. Who teaches you on Lords day?
- Howan kukkuhkootu- [p. 101.] mong ut ukkessukodt-ûmut Lord.
- A. A very good Indian.
- Ahche wunnetoôé Indian.
- Q. Do all the Indians come to meeting?
- Sunwame Indiansog peyâg ut môêongânit.
- A. No, some stay away.
- Mat, nôwhitche mat nogquissog.
- Q. Do you want any books?
- Sun qukquenauehkikumwawuss-ooohqu***.
- A. Yes, a certain new book.
- Nux, aiânne wuske wussookquohon***.
- Q. Are you willing to be good?
- Koowekôntam woh koonetûnat.
- A. Yes, but I have a wicked heart.
- Nux, qut nuttohtô matchetoôwe metah.
- P. You must pray to God to make it good?
- Mos kuppoantamae God onk weh cōnetoôahtâuinat.
- Q. How often should I pray?
- Noh toh tashe nuppeantam.
- A. Pray always, that is, at all convenient times be ready to that duty.
- Peantash nagwutteaê ut wame wunnôhteashaê ahquompi quoshwâpish wutch ne noo-soetamoo.
- P. But I must work sometimes.
- Qut môs nuttanâkous mômânish.
- M. Yes, so you must, but then you may lift up your heart to God.
- Nux, ne woh kuttissen qut neit woh kuttashunum kuttah en Godut.
- Q. Will you work for me a day or two?
- Koowekontam kuttanunûnah pasuk kesûkkodasuh nes.
- A. Yes; what will you give me?
- Nux, tohkuttinonkquâtah nen.
- P. I will pay you honestly. I will satisfy you. I would have my garden digged.
- Pish nont kuttonkwattou***. Pish kuttappenauwohhush. ***kodontam nuttutnohkteaon nokkuthumune.
- P. Have you any plants in it? Yes.
- Sun kûttohtou ahâhkeh- [p. 102.] te mûkik nâut? Nux.
- P. Let me shake you by the hand, and (I pray) tell me what news.
- Unanumeh sogkinitehâne kenûtcheq, ûsseh toh anitûnkquok.
- A. I hear the French are much beaten, and that the Indians
- Nuttincotam punachmonog soht-tohwok, kah Indiansog wash-

are discovered coming down upon us.	äog peyâg kukquentunkquinô-nog.
P. It is well they are discovered.	Ne wunnegen nag ne oowâshânau.
Q. That is true.	Ne wunnomwâonk.
P. But it may be I shall hinder you, if I stay any longer,	Qut ammiat tuh kootam ehshish toh neit kooche yeu appëon.
Q. I am in haste, and want to be going.	Noowapântam kah nukkodtântam monchenat.
R. Well I wont detain you much longer.	Ôu, mat kootâmehhinnook kooche wonk.
Q. Fare you well.	Nehunûshshash, or wunniish.
R. Good night to you.	Wunnegen koononkquissinoô-onk.
R. Good morrow to you.	Wunnegen koowompan issinnôô-onk, or wequâsinnôoonk.

Adverbs, Pronouns, &c.

Antiently,	Nukkonneyeûuk.	[p. 103.]
Badly,	Matchëyeue.	
Basely,	Mattohkomaî âshsha.	
Bitterly,	Wesogkëyeu.	
Blindly,	Pogkinumôe.	
Bountifully,	Missëkin, or musshimmechanue.	
Brutishly,	Puppunashshimwe.	
Calmly,	Ôwwepinnûe.	
Carefully,	Nannauantâmwe.	
Chastly,	Maninissûe.	
Cheerfully,	Wekontâmwe.	
Chiefly,	Nahnaneyöue.	
Cleanlily,	Pahkeyëuê.	
Clearly, more clearly,	Pahkee, anue pohkiyeu.	
A sting,	Chohkûhhoo.	
Commonly,	Wekônche.	
Contingently,	Neenwoncheyeüe.	
Covetously,	Ncoôsûwe.	
Craftily, cunningly,	Pogkodche, kuhkenäue.	
Cruelly,	Uhquantâmwe.	
Courteously,	Womôssûe.	
Daintily,	Wekontamweneunkquad.	
Darkly,	Pohkinniyëue.	
Dearly beloved,	Mishshoadtûe womânukqûssu.	
Differently,	.Mat nahnâne.	
Doubtfully,	Chanantamöee.	
Earnestly, hastily,	Wapantamöe.	
Easily,	Nukkûmme.	
Effectually,	Menuhkesue.	
Elegantly,	Wunnenonkquâtte.	

Emptily,	Mohtchiyēue.	
Enviously,	Iskououssūe.	
Equally,	Tattuppeyēue.	[p. 104.]
Especially,	Nahnaunne, nanpehyeu.	
Eternally,	Michemohtāe.	
Excessively,	Moochekeyēuuk.	
Fairly,	Pahkeyēue.	
Faithfully,	Pāpahtantāmwe.	
Falsely,	Pannowāe.	
Famously,	Wunnegennūe.	
Filthily,	Matchiyēue.	
Firmly,	Menukohtāe.	
Fitly,	Tapiyēuê.	
Foolishly,	Mattammagqwe.	
Forcibly,	Chekewāe.	
Formerly,	Chenohkommūê.	
Freely,	Nannāuwe.	
Fruitfully,	Mishshumméchummūe.	
Fully,	Numwae, pāshame.	
Generally,	Ut omog wame.	
Gently,	Maninne.	
Gladly,	Wekontāmwe.	
Greatly,	Mishe.	
Greedily,	Kogkeneunkquussūe.	
Guiltily,	Kesohkōadtāmwe.	
Happily,	Wunniyēue.	
Hardly,	Auohkōnche, <i>or</i> siogkod.	
Harshly,	Uhquompanumoadtūonk.	
Haughtily,	Petuanumōōê.	
From hence,	Wutch yeūt.	
Highly,	Quinūhque.	
Holily,	Sampweseâê.	
Honestly,	Papahtawumukquissūe.	
How far,	Uttoh unnuhkūhquat.	
Honourably,	Quittianumukquissūe.	
Humbly,	Maninussūe.	
Imperfectly,	Mat pahkeyēue.	
Industriously,	Wouwuttoowussūe.	[p. 105.]
Intirely,	Mamusseyeue.	
Inwardly,	Unnâmmiyēue.	
Joyfully,	Mishkouantāmwe.	
Justly, ignorantly,	Sampwe, assootūê.	
Kindly, knowingly,	Wunneneehhuâê, watāmwe.	
Largely,	Papahchiyēue.	
Lastly,	Momachisheue.	
Lately,	Pasōowe, mājjsheyēue.	
Lazily,	Nânogquesūe.	
Learnedly,	Nehtuhtōe.	
Lightly,	Nonganne, meshanantāmwe.	

Loathsomey,	Jeshantânwe.
Loosely,	Kukkoômwe.
Lustily, <i>or</i> lustfully,	Memohkesue, matchekodtanta- mũ.
Manifestly,	Nahtittêae.
Meanly,	Meshanne, meshanantâmwe.
Meerly,	Wutcheyçûê.
Mercifully,	Mōnanitteâe.
Mildly,	Ununânumôe.
Miserably,	Kuttumonkkeyeûe.
Modestly,	Ogkodchûe.
Nakedly,	Poshkissûe.
Narrowly,	Nâppiyêue.
Naughtily,	Matchenôquâtê.
Nearly,	Pâsoocheyêuê.
Neatly,	Tappeneunkquâtê.
Necessarily,	Quenauadte.
Newly,	Wuskeyêue.
Nobly,	Kogkittâmwe.
Obscurely,	Siogkode.
Oftentimes,	Moocheke ahquompiyêuash.
Ordinarily,	Nonagwutteae.
Outwardly,	Woshkecheyêue.
More plainly,	Kooche papahkowona. [p. 106.]
Plainly,	Piuhstückéyêue.
Pleasantly,	Wekontamwutteâhhâe.
Plentifully,	Moochekeyêue.
Poorly,	Matchekköoe.
Presently, immediately,	Teanuk, teanooh, <i>or</i> kenuppeyêue.
Prettily, (any thing that makes laugh,)	Pissekkeyêuê.
Privately,	Kemeyouê.
Prodigally,	Mcogkemogkooê:
Profanely,	Matcheseâê.
Profitably,	Wunomppamukquissûe.
Properly,	Pâpâsununkquâte.
Prosperously,	Wunuhkommiâê.
Proudly,	Petuanumôe.
Publicly,	Pohquâê, pohquaweyêue.
Purely,	Wunnegennûe.
Quickly,	Tëanuk, <i>or</i> kenÿppe.
Rarely,	Wunnôhtuh wunnêgen.
Rashly,	Mat natwontamœe, chuhchukque.
Readily,	Quoshshôue:
Rebelliously,	Cheketâmoeÿêue.
Resolutely,	Kesânumôe.
Rightly,	Sampweÿêue.
Roughly, (a coat not soft,)	Koshkeyêue.
Roundly,	Petukquiyêuê.

Rudely,	Tohnoachéyëue.
Sadly,	Kuttūmung.
Safely,	Nānauwiyëue.
Saucily,	Aiuskeyëuē.
Seasonably,	Wunne uttoōche.
Secretly,	Kemeyëue.
Seldom,	Chekëwe.
* * * *	Nanauântāmuwe.
Severely,	Pogkodcheyëue. [p. 107.]
Shamelessly,	Mat ogkodchüe.
Sharply,	Keniyëue.
Shortly,	Ompetag, ompchikquinogok.
Simply, since,	Assutüe, mahche.
Sincerely,	Metahhcwae, sumpwuttoohae.
Softly,	Noôhke yeüe.
Solemnly,	Quttocheyeucoash, nâgna ossoo- wunumōoonk kah kenauun yeu ossoowunumōoonk ut na- hog piuhsnkkeyeukish.
Soundly,	Pahkewunnegen.
Straightly,	Sampwesumogunnôsu.
Strongly,	Menuhkesüe.
Suddenly, the times,	Tiadcheyëue, ahquompiyeuash.
Surely,	Pogkodche nenit.
Sweetly,	Wekönne.
Swiftly,	Kenupshâe.
Tenderly,	Nahtwantamwe.
Terribly,	Unkqueneünkque.
Thankfully,	Tapâdtontumüwe.
Thinly,	Wussäppe.
Treacherously,	Wunnomppukohtëa.
Truly,	Wunumuhkutëyeu.
Vainly,	Tohnōche.
Valiantly,	Kenomppâe.
Verily,	Wunnamuhkut.
Unsavourily,	Mat weekonnūnnou.
Unwillingly,	Matwekontāmwe.
Usually,	Wameyeue, yoyatcheh.
Wantonly, playingly,	Pohpûê.
Weakly,	Noochumwesüê.
Willingly,	Wekontamöe.
Wholly, entirely,	Mamüsséyëuê.
Wickedly,	Matchese[ye]uê.
Wildly,	Chatchepissüe.
Wisely,	Waantamöeyëue.
Wittily,	Wunnogkinniantamöe.
Wofully,	Uttae.
Wonderfully, worthily,	Mohchantamwe, tappeneunkquis- süe.

Wonderfully,	Mohchantāmwe.	[p. 107 b.]
Worthily,	Tappeunkquissüe.	
Wildly,	Chachepisüe.	

Pronouns.

I, thou,	Nen, ken.	
He, him,	Noh, nâgum.	
In him,	Ut noh.	
We, us,	Nenāwun, neanauun.	
Ye, you,	Nek, kenau.	
They, them,	Nagumau, nag, nahog.	
Those, these,	Yeug, yeush, neeg.	
Of him, <i>or</i> her,	Wutch nâgum.	
To him, <i>or</i> her,	Ut nâgum.	
From, <i>or</i> with him,	Wutch nashpe nagum.	
Of them, <i>or</i> those,	Wutch nahog.	
To them, to those,	Ut nahog, ut yeug.	
By, <i>or</i> with those, whose son,	***Vid. p. 1. 2.(a)	
My, mine,	Nee, nen.	
Thy, thine,	Ne, kittihe.	
Whomsoever,	Howan ânantam.	
Your, yours,	Yeu, kenau.	
His, hers,	Noh, ne.	
Whence, <i>or</i> whereby,	Nish nashpe, yeu nashpe, <i>sing.</i>	
Our, ours,	Yeu, nenauun.	
Not that (house), not that (man),	Matta he, matta no.	
Which, that,	Uttuh yeu, ne.	
Thyself, himself,	Piuh sükke ken.	
Himself, herself,	Piuh sükke nagum.	
Whose,	Howae, howāwuttihe.	
Ourselves,	Nuhhogkanonog.	[p. 107 c.]
Yourselves,	Kuhhogkawoog.	
Themselves,	Wuhhogkāwoh.	
Yourself,	Kuhhog.	
I myself,	Nen nuhkog.	
You yourself,	Kenau kuhhogkawoog.	
He himself, &c.	Noh wehkōguh.	
Their own,	Wunnehen wonche.	
These men, which, which, <i>pl.</i>	Yeug, uttiyeu, uttiyeush.	
This man,	Yeuh.	
This thing,	Yeu.	
These things,	Yeush, nish.	
Bring him with you when you come,	Passcouk neh wechekenau uttuh annooh peyauog.	
Bring my coat,	Patauish nuppet***.	
Beware of men,	Nunnukqussuos wosketomp.	

(a) The pages here referred to are wanting in the Ms.

Beware of the sea,	Nunnukqussuontash kehtah.
The dog is cold,	Annum sonkquesu, <i>or</i> quosquat- chu.
The book is old,	Wussoohquohhonk sonkqui.
Come hither,	Peyau yeuut.
Command your man, and do the thing yourself,	Annoos kettinninum, ussisk ne teag kihenwouheken.
To commit one man to another,	Ahtuhtoonat pasuk wosketomp en onkatoganit.
To commit a sin,	Ussenat teagwe matcheseonk.
Make him to know,	Noh wahtouwahinach.
Make me to know,	Nenwahtouwahinneach.
Make me rich,	Wenauekhinneach.
Victuals are ready,	Quoshwohta metsuonk. [p. 107 <i>d</i> .]
I am ready to go,	Nuppahtis moncheenat.
How long have you stayed,	Nohkittinukooquetteam.
I will make you go if you wont,	Kuttiyumaush moncheenat, mat monchean.
Make him to know,	Wahteauwah.
Make us to know,	Wahteauwahinnean.
I will make thee to know,	Kooahteauwâhush.
Good, better, best,	Wunne, koche winnit, <i>or</i> wunne- gen.
Greater, greatest,	Anue missi, nemossag.
———, longest,	Nachuk, anëqunnag.
Sweet,	Weekam.
Little, least, sweetest,	Peawe, nanphepeawag, weehoh.
Most handsome,	An wunnissit.
All alone, another man,	Nonsiyeu, onkatog woske.
Any man, any wood,	Nanwi woske, nanwe wuttuhgu- nash.
Evil of sin, black man,	Machuk matcheseonk, moosue woske.
Evil of punishment,	Ne machuk sas unctahwhottuonk.
Black cloth,	Mōak monag.
An easy lesson,	Nukkumat kōkod nahtuh.
Easy tempered,	Nukkamme unnittoahhâonk.
Empty of grace,	Mahchi wutch kitteamonte***.
A gentle cow,	Nanausue kouish.
He is gray before he is good,	Noh womppuhqua asq wawuni- took.
Much, more, most,	Moocheke, kooche.
Pale man,	Wompishkauonk wosketomp.
A pretty thing,	Pissehkinneunkquat ne teagwaj.
Their envy,	Wutiishkauoussuogannoo.

Wussukquōhhonk wutch Indian.

[p. 108.]

Reverend Sir. It was so late when I came to Plimouth that Quohtianūmit Sōntim, Nowut-túppuhkōdtup ne payai Ompaām

night when you did look, I should have called; that I ventured to pass by you, hoping it would not much displeas you, since it was a long time that I had bin from my place and family, yet I beg your pardon this time. I will be as good as my word; you shall see me next Monday night, if weather permit to travel with my family and I intend to tarry one day with you; weather has bin so bad I could not do what I had to do here. Speak a good word for me to Mr. Thomas, that he may not be much concerned about his money, for the Honourable Mr. Sewall doth intend to treat * * * about the debt.

Your humble servant,

* * * * *

ne nōhkok nuttauōmpâmēohp woh nunnauātche petitteap, nuk-qutchetēaup kuppâmkauūinat nuttanōōsíp woh mat mōochēke kenochikkoun yeuwutche quinni ahquompi nateah nūgkōdtum nūttiyeuonk, kah nutteashinninēonk, onch nōweqūttum kut-tahquontomonk yeu ahquompi, nont pish nutissen ne ancow . . . mp pish kunnāweh wonk monoak, wun-nonkōōuk wunnōh-quok pummuittāinat nutteashinninēonk, kukkod wetōmish pasuk kesūkod; momattohquōttup newaj nōonūnum ussēnat ne koduseyeu ut unnōwash wun-nēnuhkōwāonk en Sontim Thomas wutch nen woh mat wussaume wuttamantamōōk wutch wutteagwash newutche quohtianumukqussūe Sontim Sewall pish cōweogquttumāuon ne nohtuh quahwhittionk: Agwappehtunkquēan Kittinninume. Jn°. Nemumin.

Adverbs.

[p. 109.]

Always,
Abroad, again,

Alike, almost,
As though,
Certainly, to day, ever,

Even as, formerly,
A great way off,
How, further, from hence,
Here, ho holloo, ill,
Hereafter,
Indeed, lastly,
Lateily, learnedly, since,

Lo, little,
Moreover, mostly,
Tomorrow,
Much, more,
Namely,

Nagwutteea.
Touwisshāe, wonkanet, onk, *or* wonk.
Tātüppeneūnkquot, omōgpeh.
Onatuh, *or* neāne,
Tohkō, mat chanantamōe, yeukesūkod.
Ne nēane, chenohkommu.
Noadtit.
Uttuh, onk, yeu wutch.
Ye uut, wohwatōwau, matche.
Pishompētak pogkodche.
Neni mōmīches, momachisheue.
Nateah, *or* kumma, *or* paswu, nehtuhtōe.
Kusseh, ogkōsse.
Nānō, nanpehne.
Saup.
Mōochēke, kōoche.
Nahnane, wesuogane.

Never,	Mat micheme, asnükqut, <i>or</i> matta nam kqut.
Not, no, not at all,	Mâtta, mattnequt, ahque.
Now,	Yeueyu, eyeu.
By no means, nigh,	Matta weh nënancoh passocche.
Not only,	Matta webe, <i>or</i> webeyeue.
Perhaps,	Ammiat, pogquâtche.
Rather,	Anue.
Scarcely, separately,	Awâkônche, chippinneunkqussüe.
Sometimes, so,	Neuh, momänish, nemêhkuh, nënancohque, neâneyeue.
Together, thence,	Moywe, nauwitch.
Truly, then,	Wunnamükqut, neit.
There, therein, thus,	Neküs, naut, yeuunni.
Valiantly, to the uttermost,	Umukquompæ, panüppe.
Unawares, very,	Tiadche, ahche, pehtuh,
Why, whence,	Tohwaj, tonnohwitch.
Whither, whether or no,	Tonnoh, tonnöhut sun ummatta.
Where, well, within,	Tonnoh, winnit, unnomiyeu.
When, (every where,)	Ahquompag, nohhannco, <i>or</i> tohhunna, (nishonnut.)
Yesterday,	Wunnonkou.
The day before yesterday,	Neesukquinogkod.
Yet, yea, well,	Nux, wunnekin.

Conjunctions.

[p. 110.]

And, also; or,	Kah; asuh.
Neither, either,	Mattane, nanwe.
But, for, as,	Qut, waj, neâne.
For which cause,	Newaj.
Because if,	Newutche, tohnëit.
Whilst, unless,	Asqhuttoche, kittümma.
So that,	Ne ennih, <i>or</i> nemehkuh ne, waquinnoh.
Until, otherwise,	Nöpajeh, onkatogänit.
Besides, although,	Onkatuk onkne, tokanögque.
Therefore, inasmuch,	Newutche, yôwutche,
Yet, least, even,	Oneh, ishkont, naish,
Qut onch, <i>sometimes is used, for</i> but, because, yet so, but also, but even, nevertheless.	

Interjections.

O brave,	Wunnahünneh, <i>or</i> wekohtea.
O dreadful,	Misshe unkueneunkquat.
Fy upon it,	Konshakënuh, <i>or</i> chah.
O, wo,	Quah, woi, unquanümukquat.
Ah,	Oowe, wesomkuh.

Prepositions.

[p. 111.]

Against, at,	Kodnūshau, <i>or</i> ayeukauntūe, ut.
About, after,	Waene, wewēne, nahohtoēu, <i>or</i> wuttate.
Among, above,	Kenugke, witche, waabe,
Before, <i>or</i> in presence,	Anāquabit, anaquabcog, <i>pl.</i>
I walked before his house,	Nuppoinsham anaquohtagwek.
Before,	Quoshoē, negonnummiyeu.
Between,	Nashāue.
Beneath,	Nanashoē, agewe, <i>or</i> ohkiyeu.
Besides, nigh,	Kootne, chonchippe, keeshkhe.
Behind, beyond,	Wuttat, <i>or</i> wuttommiyeu, unnuke onkōue.
By, <i>or</i> through,	Nāshpe, nashpēne.
For, from,	Wutche, nawutch, (from a town.)
In into,	Ut, ut ne.
On this side,	Wuttoshimaiyeu.
On the further side, other end,	Ut onkoūwe, ohquāe.
Of, out of his house,	Wutch, wekit.
Out of,	Wutche yeu.
To, towards, <i>or</i> that way,	En, nenogque.
This way,	Yeunogque.
Until, under,	Nāpaj, agqwe.
Upon,	Woskeche.
Without,	Matta nashpe, <i>and</i> matta wutche.
Without father,	Mat wuttooshe.
Without life,	Mat pomantamō.
With,	Wutche.
Spoken of, ē viz.	Missahhamunash, q.
(i. e. nene,) 1707,	Wohkukquōshin.

When 2 or 3 O together, how to be pronounced ? [p. 112.]

Massachusetts, an hill in the form of an arrow's head.

Nequt, a thing that is past.

Pasuk, a thing in being.

Wuske kitehishshik kuhkootumwehteaonk nootainook wuttinnoowaonk God kah quaquāshwek attumunumūnat ne ansookwhosik ut Luk: 16, 26; at wohkukquoshik kuhkoo; eyeu kuminahche nootamumwoo wanegig wuttinnoowaonk God atohneit menuhke nanauwelteaog nashpe ummonanitteonk God pish koonanumitteamwoo micheme.

Let us sing to the praise of God, *Psal.* 23. Kuttcohumontuh en wawenomaonganit God.

Sentences. Kuttoongash. [p. 113.]

1. Be slow in choosing a friend, but slower in changing him when thou hast chosen. Manūnūssish ut pepenāonāt ketomp; qut anūe manunūssish oscowunnōnat noh-hannō mahche pepenāuonche.

2. Let it not trouble thee that some others have lived longer than thyself; not the length of thy life but the goodness of it will render thee happy, (or is the measure of thy happiness.)

3. If thou hast lived well, thou hast lived long enough, if thou hast not lived well, thou hast lived too long.

4. Make not other men's sins thine by imitating them, nor thine, other men's by teaching them. Do nothing in which thou wouldst not be followed.

5. Follow nothing of which thou canst not well justify the doing.

6. Measure not thy self by what men say of thee. They may mistake thee, and it is their sin not thine.

7. Love nothing in this world too well, no, not thyself. Think the pleasure of this world either sins, or the occasions of them.

8. Do what thou art commanded, and dont make what others do the rule of your actions; never think it too soon to repent.

9. Reckon nothing which thou hast thine own, nor nothing which thou doest at thine own disposing.

10. Good works and a good death will lead to a good place.

11. It is an easier matter to give counsell, than to follow it.

Ne wuttamehhukkōkon nahwhutche onkatōggig seepepomanamōog neit ken; mat ne sahgteag kukkittēaonk qut wanegekuk, ne winnet pish kōniyeontāmun (asuh ne quttōhonk wutch kōniyeūonk.)

Tohneit wunnetōe pomantāman kusseeppēketeaonk tāpi; tohneit mat wunnetōe keteaan kōsōmee seepee pomantām.

Ayimōhkon onkattōgig wosketompaog ummatcheseongash ken, nashpe musontamūnat nesh, asuh ken onkatōgig wosketompaog nashpe kuhkōtumauōnat nish. Ussēkonteag uttiyeu mat woh asuhkomōan.

Assuhkomōkon teag uttiyeu nooninūman papānee sampwee nehtinneat usseonk.

Quttōhōhkon kohhog nashpe tohānukquēan wosketompaog; nag woh puhtantamōog wutoh ken kah ne umatcheseongānno matta ken.

Wommotōhkon teag ut yeu muttāohkeit wussāmee mat matta kohkog. Mehquontash tapeneamōongash yeu muttāoh keit, asuh matcheseongash asuh nish wāchiyeuontamuūkish.

Ussish toh anee [p. 114.] anoonumuk, kah mat-ta toh asehētitt onkattōgig; unnantamoohkon wussāmee konuppéyēuco en aiuskoiantamūnat.

Wunnompiskunnummōkon teag uttiyeu āhtāuan ken nehenwonchee; asuh teag uttiyeu ussēan ut ken nehen wonchee kuppiohquuttumōongānit.

Wunnanukausuongash, kah wunnee nuppoonk ne woh ussoowehteommoo en wunne ayeuonngānit.

Ne anuēe nukkūmmat kogkohkoowōnat onk neit asuhkomū-

Sometimes we have known men fall into the same sins that they have counselled against.

12. And since thou must shortly dy, be afraid to sin, and to order thy sins as thou mayst not be afraid to dy, that thy sins do not bring to a worse death, and that this death may lead thee to a better life.

13. Thou art sure to see an end of this life.

14. And to order thy estate and thy soul, in thy health, that when thou comest to dy, thou mayest have nothing to do but to dy.

15. Confess that the good which thou recievest is not for thine own sake; nor the good which thou doest, by thine own power; it is the mercy of God that moves him to do for us, and that inables us to do that which pleaseth him.

16. Humour no man for his wealth; do nothing sinfully to please any.

17. What thou wouldest do, do it for thine own soul, that thy death may be the beginning of thy happiness, and not the end of it.

18. Spend not thy time in exhorting others to the keeping of the commandments, and break them thy self. Measure not thy goodness by another's want of it,

nat; momänish noowaheömun wosketompäog penissshaog en ne matcheseongänit ayeuuhkoüne kencotamwehhittit.

Kah nate nont paswee nupcoan, quohtash matchesēnat kah unnchteäuwash kummatcheseonk neānee woh mat quohtamōan nuppūnnat ne ut kum matcheseongash ahque pasōoquish en nishkinneonkque nupcoongänit kah ne yeu nupcoonk woh kussogkompanükqun en wanēguk keteaonk.

Pahkee kowäuoh nāmūnat wohkükquoshik yeu keteaonk.

Kah wunnēteauush [p. 115.] kuttohtōnk, kah kukkoteahogkau, ut kummīnnehkēsinnēat ne toānoo nupcoonk peyont, woh matteag kuttissu qut webe woh kunnup.

Samppōwash ne wanegkuk uttiyeu adtumunnūman ne mat nehenwonche ken, asuh wanegkuk uttiyeu assēan ne matta nashpe nehenwonchee kummenekesūonk; ne ukkuttummonte anēteaonk manit ne onsapēhukquit kuttussēanēshukqunnanōnut ne tapēnum wohqueog ussēnat wauwēekēhheaūkon.

Wauwehkeōgish matta wosketomp wutche wuttahennetik muk teagua; ussēkon matcheseāe, wussikkēteaōnat nanwee.

Toh woh assēan, ussish wutch nehenwonche kukketeahogkau ne kenupcoonk wohut kuttishin kconyeūonk matta woh ne ut woh kukquoshshinnco.

Mohtishadtooōhkon kuttohquompīyeum kuhkcootumauōnat onkatōgig nanaehtinnat ancoteamcoongash, kah ken küppooqunnumūnash. Matta kukqutooh-

normeasure thy want of goodness by others' store of it.

19. Think only the present time thine, for that which is past is none of thine; and that which is to come, it is a question whether ever it shall be thine.

20. Evil works, and an evil death will lead to a bad place.

21. When a virtuous action is done, if there be any difficulty or trouble in it, it is quickly past, but the pleasure is perpetual; but on the contrary, if there be any pleasure in a wicked action it is quickly gone, and the sting and trouble remain for ever.

22. The greatest sin not allowed, or repented of, will not hurt you, but the least sin not repented of will ruin you for ever.

23. It is pleasant to be virtuous and good, for that is the way to excell many others. It is pleasant to grow better, for that is the way to excell our selves, &c.

Nequt muttannonganog ne sasuk

hūmoo kōnetūonk nashpe onkātog ukquenauwehhukqunnat, asuh quttōhammōōhkon kukquenauwehkooonk wanegkuk nashpe onkātog wuttohtoongānit.

Unnāntash webe ogūhsee ahquempi ken newutche uttiyeu pāūmushomōōki matta ken; kah newoh peyaumōōuk ne chānantamōōonk sun pish ne ken.

Matchee anakaussuongash kah matchee nup pooonk ussoehteōmō en matchit ayeuwonkānit.

Uttuhāuncoh wunnēgen asuh misshoattūe ussēonk ussēmuk, tohneit sioyohk asuh wuttamētōonkannūook neteanuk pāamshaūmō, qut ne wekontamōontamōōonk nagwutteayēuō qut ossōokqua tohneit nawekontamōonkannūuk ut ne teagwe matchetōe usseonganit, ne tanuk mohtshau kah ne wutchohkchōwāonk kah wuttamētōoonkamōōonk ne michemōhta.

Ne mohsag matcheseonk mat wekontamōootamomuk asuh aiuscoiantāmuk, mat kowoshikkōan, qut ne pawamēsik matchesoonk matta aiuscoiantamōan ne kuppāgwannūonk micheme.

Wekontamooonkan- [p. 119.] nūō waneginnūe wunnetuinat ne māgō en anukauōnat mōnaog onkatogig. Wekontamōonkannūō kooche kah kooche wunnetinat ne māgō anukauōnat nuhhogkanōnog.

pasukcoog kah nishwo. 1708.

A Dialogue.

[p. 118.]

How does your wife, or husband do?

Toh unnuppomāntam kummitūmwus asuh kāsuk.

What is the matter that Indians very often no speak true?

Toh waj unnak Indiansog mōchēke nompe matta sampwe unnoowoōog.

- Have you bin at Squantam lately? Sun Squantam kuppeyômus päswe.
- Do the souldiers go to Canada? Sun aiyerehteaeñog aüog Canada; matteag.
- No. Neit nag pish matta toh unné wunneseög, qut mocheke woskeüssëog.
- Then they will do no good, but a great deal of hurt. Nux, nag pish mishe ôadtehkонтamwog wuttohkeöngash.
- Yes they will put the country to a great deal of charge. Sun chupponâog asq koppaemünnoo.
- Is not the fleet come ashore yet? Sun kuttenântam nash pish peyômöash.
- Do you think they will ever come? Ammate matteag.
- It may be not. Ache ogqueneunkquat matteag.
- Very likely not. Nuttinantam nag monchuk en Spain.
- I believe they are gone to Spain. Tohwaj ontootään wutche Nattick.
- Why do you remove from Nattick? Woh kummoochke wuttehtin-um teagwas nâut onk Moskehtükqut.
- You will get more money there than at Sandwich. Nutteashinninnëonk wuttit mohchinnonâop.
- My family is sickly there. Kah sun nag wunne pomantamwushanneg ut Moskehtükqut. Nux.
- And were they healthy at Sandwich? Yes. Sunnummatta kummishontukquahwhuttëoh nâ utt.
- Dont you owe a great deal of money there? Nux, qut nuttannôos nuttapadtehkônât päswëse.
- Yes, but I hope to clear it quickly. Toh woh unni kuppëshagkinukquëan.
- What if they would put you in prison? Neit nag woh woskehheag wuhhogkâuh kah nen wonk.
- Then they will hurt themselves and me too. Moochëke tohkoj yeu kesukod.
- It is very cold to day. Nâhen togquttinash nuhtaöügwash kah nuppoohkuhquänitchëgat.
- Almost I freeze my ears and fingers. Tohwaj matta ahchueh- [p. 119.] teoöou kohpökgag kah onkquontüpape.
- Why dont you get a thick cap? Newutche matta nuttohtoo teagwash.
- Because I have no money. Kah tohwaj mat menukânâkausean.
- And why dont you work hard? Ne woh nuttussen nashpe manüsse nuttah, qut nummômohtehünam.
- So I would with all my heart, but I am sickly.

But it may be work will cure you, if you would leave off drinking too.

I think you give good advice, but let me work for you.

How many years old are you? Eighteen; and how old is that boy, or girl.

Why do boys of that age run about, and do nothing.

You had better let me have him, and I will learn him to write, and read.

He shall want for nothing, neither meat, drink, cloathing, or drubbing.

Idleness is the root of much evil.

Do you come, or else send him tomorrow early.

Dont forget your promise.

I am glad to see you.

Where have you been this long time? Hunting. And what did you find?

A fox or two.

I believe so; these drams will ruine Indians and English.

A great deal of praise that Indian deserves that keeps himself sober.

I wish such an one would come and set down on my land, I would be kind to him as long as I have any thing.

Why do you deceive me so often?

I am forced to be worse than my word.

I am in debt. To who?

Qut ammiate woh anakausuonk kukketeöhuk, tohneit wonk ohksippamwëan.

Nuttinântam kuttinunūmah wunne kogkahquittüonk kōwehquuttumauish unnanumeh kutanakausuehtaununat.

Noh kutteāshe kodtum wōhkōm. Piog nishwosuk; kah toh unukkoohquiyeu noh nonkomp kah nonksq.

Tohwaj nonkompaog ne anoohquitecheg pumomashaōg, kah matteag usseog.

An wunnegik kuttinninumiin kah pish nunnehtühpeh wusukquōhamūnat kah ogketamūnat.

Noh matteag pish quenauehhik-ko asuh metsuonk wuttattamcoonk ogkcoonk asuh samamitahwhuttuonk.

Nanompanissūonk wutchappehk mōcheke machuk.

Pasoo asuh nekonchhuash saup nompoæ.

Wanantōhkon kōncōwaonk.

Ncōwekontam ne kenauūnun.

Tonoh kōomūmus yeu qunohquompi? Adchānat. Kah teagwas kenamiteoh?

Wonkquūssis asuh nees.

Nuttinantāmun; yeush nukquttikkupsash pish papukquan- hukqunoōash Indians kah Chāh[quog.]

Moochēke wōwenotu- [p. 120.] onk noh Indian woh ahto nanauehhēont wuhhoguh maninniyeuongānit.

Nāpehnont neahhenissit peyont kah appit nuttohkēit.

Woh nooneunneh tō sāhke ahtou nanwe teag.

Tohwaj wunnompuhkossēan ne tohshit.

Nunnamhit nummatchiteo nuk- kuttcoonk.

Nuttinohtukquāhwhut. Ut hōwaneg.

- To a great many and they force me to stay and work with them.
- If it be not very much I will pay it.
- I am ashamed to tell you much ; it is above 40 pounds.
- O strange ! But Indians are not to be trusted any more.
- So they say, and I dont care.
- Your house smokes, and so do I smoke, when I can get Tobacco.
- Will you smoke it now ?
- Yes, and thank you too.
- Why dont you ask for what you want ?
- Because I am afraid you will be angry.
- Be very free always when you come to my house.
- Well, what have you got for dinner ?
- Pray give me some drink.
- Very much I want old coat and stockings.
- Why dont you come and preach every day ?
- Your father came oftener than you do.
- Because my father have a great deal more than I.
- I have five pounds less than others that dont preach so often.
- Pray what is the reason for that ?
- I cant tell.
- Will you help us husk to night ?
- No, I am going to a wedding.
- Who is to be married ?
- Who married them ?
- The Indian Justice.
- Ut monaog kah nag chekewe nukkogkanunūkquog anākausuehtauōnat.
- Tohneit matta wussōmēncok kuttoadtehteanīsh.
- Nuttohkodch kūmishamauunnate neatahshik ; papaumēyeuoo yauinchake poundyeuoo.
- Mohchanitamwe ! Qut Indiānog mat wonk woh unnohtūkquohwhōun kooche.
- Ne unnōwon kah matta nuttintupantamōun.
- Kek pūkkuttāūo kah nen nup-pukkuttohteam uttuh anncohwuttoohpocomweonish.
- Sun woh kcotam eyeu.
- Nux, kah kuttabotōmish wonk.
- Tohwaj matta wehquuttumōan uttuh yeu quenauehhiquēan.
- Newutche nōowabis kummosquantamūnat.
- Mōocheke nukkōgkittāmwempayoainish nekit.
- Neit teagwa kuttohto wutch pohshāquōpōonk.
- Kōwehquuttumauish wuttattamwēhe.
- Nukquenauēhhik nukkonōgkō kah muttāsash.
- Tohwaj mat nonche kuhkcotumauwēog nishnoh kesukod.
- Kōoshi mōochikit peyā- [p. 121.] pan onk ken.
- Newutche nōoshi mōocheke ah-tōai onk nen.
- Nunnōgkos ohtom napannatāshe poundyeuash onk onkatogig matta netāhshe kukkōotumwehteahitteg.
- Kōwehquuttumauish tohwaj ne ūnnag.
- Mat nōowahteooo.
- Sun woh kuppohkogquuttanumiimin yeu nubkon.
- Mat, nuttōmwetauwatūongānit.
- Howan tohqunithittit.
- Howan wuttohqunitheūh.
- Indianē Nanuunnuaēnin.

- Q. How shall I learn Indian ? Uttuh woh nittinne [p. 122.]
nehtuhtaūan Indianne
unnontcowaonk.
- A. By talking with Indians, and
minding their words, and
manner of pronouncing. Nashpe keketoookauāonk Indians-
og kah kuhkināsinnēat uḱ-
kittooonkānnō kah wuttin-
nohquatumooonkānnō.
- Q. Is not Indian a very hard
language to learn ? Sun mat Indianne ūnntōcowa-
onk siogkod nehtuhtaūnat.
- A. Yes, tis very difficult to get
their tone. Nux, ne ahehe siogomomūkquat
ohtauūnat wuttinontcowaonk-
annō.
- Q. What do you think about
me, do you think I shall ever
learn ? Toh kuttinantam wutche (papau-
me) nen, sun kuttinantam pish
nunnehtuhtauun.
- A. I am afraid not very well. Nen ncowabes mat papaneyeue.
- Q. Would it not be better to
preach to the Indians in En-
glish ? Sun ummat ayn-wanegig kuh-
kcotumauonau Indiansog ut
wadtohkōne 'nontcowaonk-
anit.
- A. Yes, much better than to
preach in broken Indian. Nux, moocheke kooche wunne-
gen onk neit kuhkōtumau-
onāt ut nannohtoohquatumoo-
onkānit.
- Q. Can the Indians understand
the most that I say ? Sun woh Indiansog wahtamwog
uttuh annōwai asuh unnon-
tcowai.
- A. Sometimes they can, and
sometimes they cant. Momānīsh woh watamwog kah
momanish woh mat wahta-
mōwog.
- Q. What is the reason for that ? Tohwaj ne ūnnage.
- A. Because you have some of
your fathers words, and he
learnt Indian at Nope, (a)
and because you dont put
the tone in the right place. Newutche kuttahto nawhutche
ukkuttoonkash kooshi kah
noh nehtuhtoup wuttinontoo-
waonkannōō Nope Indiansog,
kah mat kukkuhkenaūwe poo-
nummō wuttinnuhquatumoo-
onkānōō.
- Q. Did your father study Indian
at Nope ? Sun kooshi kod wahtamwus In-
dianne 'nontcowaonk ut Nope.
- A. So I hear. Ne nuttinnehtamunap.
- And what is the difference be-
tween the language of the
Island, and the main. Kah uttuh unnuppenōnat wut-
tinnontcowaonk ne munnoh-
onk neit kohtolkomukōuk.
- I cant tell, or dont know, only
this I know, that these In- Mat woh nummisohhamōun
asuh matta ncowahīteo webe

- dians dont understand every word of them Indians.
- Pray tell me how to pronounce Indian right.
- I will do what I can about it.
- Well, friend, I am sorry you are going away, but I hope it will be for the best.
- I wish you may do and receive good where you are going, and I wish you a good journey.
- And I hope you will keep your self soberly and Christianly.
- Try to keep your selves from those vices to which Indians are given, and which will bring the wrath of God and men upon you, *viz.* drunkenness, falseness, idleness, and theft, &c.
- And God be with you, and bless you. Amen.
- yeu noowahteauun yeug Indiansog inat wahtanoog uag Indiansog ut nishnoh kuttoooganit.
- Ncøwehquuttum missøhhamunat samp-wohquatumunat Indian.
- Uttuh annoohque tapenum nuttissen.
- Netomp nunnooantam asuh kun-nouskösseh nekunmoncheonk, qut nuttannøøis neanwanegig wutche ken.
- Napehnont ussean kah attumunuman uttuh ayoan, napehnont wanegig kuppumwishaonk.
- Kah nuttannoous pish kummaninnis kah Christiane kenanaueh kuhhog.
- Qutchéhtaüish kenanauehheøn kuhhog wutche yeush Indiansog womantamwehhitticheh ne woh patonkquëan ummosquantamooonk God kah wosketompaog kenuhkukkonqünat, nahnane, kogkesippamoonk, assookekodteamooonk, nanompanissuonk, kumootooonk.
- Kah God wetomükquish kah wunnumükquish. Amen.

APPENDIX.

A FEW remarks have been already made, in the advertisement to this Vocabulary, upon the pronunciation of the Indian dialect contained in it. But while the proof sheets were under the editor's correction, and it thus became necessary to attend with minuteness to the syllabic divisions of the Indian words, he frequently experienced great difficulty in deciding where those divisions should be made. He therefore had recourse to an Indian *Primer*, which is believed to be one of those originally published by Eliot, and afterwards printed with the Catechism entitled 'Spiritual Milk for Babes,' written by John Cotton, the grandfather of the author of this Vocabulary. This *Primer* contains numerous examples of Indian words, properly divided into syllables, as in our English spelling-books. These were found of essential service in understanding the orthography adopted by Eliot and Cotton; and it has been thought that they would make a useful addition to the present publication. They are accordingly subjoined. With the same view are also added different examples of the *Lord's Prayer*, in which the variations of orthography will deserve attention.

The Editor has, upon the suggestion of his learned and respected friend, the Hon. Judge Davis, also annexed an entire *Sermon*, in English and Indian, written by the author of this Vocabulary; and an *Extract* from one written by the same author, but accompanied with an Indian translation in the handwriting of his father, John Cotton. These will serve, at the same time, as specimens of composition in the language and of the style of preaching used in addressing Indian congregations of that period. In a note accompanying the Sermons, Judge Davis remarks:

"According to a statement made by the Rev. Josiah Cotton, the number of adult *praying Indians*, in 1703, in the county of Plymouth, was one hundred and three; their several places of residence were *Kitteaumut*, (Monument Ponds), and *Jones' River*, in Plymouth, *Mattakees*, in Pembroke, and at *Titicut* and *Pachade*, in Middleborough." To an account of his missionary services, among these people, in 1709 and 1710, Mr. Cotton subjoins the following note,—“In all 36 sermons, besides preaching several sermons in English, (which some of them understand better than the best Indian,) and besides hiring an Indian and paying him, to preach amongst them.”

Examples from the Indian Primer.

*Wuttinnoowaongash pasuk Syllableseonk asuh Chadchaubenumo-
onk,—Words of one Syllable or Division.*

an	Christ	Lord	keep
asq	God	onch	toh
en	kod	onk	woh
mo	moskq	oosh	ut
mos	mat	koosh	us
may	neen	noosh	yau
na	keen	qut	yeu
ne	nag	pish	qush
nees	kooch	wage	yeug
nish	noh	week	nah
nux	kah	wonk	wutch

*Kuttoowongash neese Syllablesooooash asuh Chadchubenumoongash,
—Words of two Syllables or Divisions.*

Ah-que	Ahque
Ah-tukq	Ahtukq
Ayn-woh	Aynwoh
A-num	Anum
A-nogqs	Anogqs
As-quam	Asquam
Ag-we	Agwe
Cha-gua	Chagua
Ke-suk	Kesuk
Mat-ta	Matta
Meh-tugk	Mehtugk
Mi-she	Mishe
Me-nutch	Menutch
Me-noot	Menoot
Na-gum	Nagum
Ne-pauz	Nepauz
Ne-qut	Nequt
Ne-wage	Newage

*Kuttoowongash nishwe Syllablesooooash asuh Chadchaubenumo-
gash,—Words of three Syllables or Divisions.*

A-nogq-sog	Anogqsog
A-nu-e	Anue
Muk-ki-ese	Mukkiese
Mat-che-tou	Matchetou
Ne-a-ne	Neane
Na-pan-na	Napanna
Ne-sau-suk	Nesausuk
O-na-tuh	Onatuh

On-ka-tog	Onkatog
Pas-goo-gun	Pasgoogun
Punk-a-paug	Punkapaug
So-ka-non	Sokanon
Squont-a-mut	Squontamut
Ti-ad-che	Tiadche
Wad-chu-ash	Wadchuash
Wos-ke-tomp	Wosketomp
Yo-wut-che	Yowutche
Ke-suk-qut	Kesukqut

Kuttoowongash yaue Syllablesooooash,—Words of four Syllables.

A-nin-noo-onk	Aninnoonk
Aus-kon-tu-onk	Auskontuonk
Mat-che-se-onk	Matcheseonk
Mit-tam-wos-sis	Mittamwossis
Oo-we-su-onk	Oowesuonk
Pan-noo-wa-onk	Pannoowaonk
Se-phau-su-onk	Sephausuonk
Wa-be-su-onk	Wabesuonk
We-nau-we-tu	Wenauwetu

Kuttoowongash napanna tahshe Syllablesooooash,—Words of five Syllables.

An-no-o-su-onk	Annoosuonk
Ah-quon-ta-mo-onk	Ahquontamoonk
Che-pi-oh-ko-muk	Chepiohkomuk
Ke-too-ho-ma-onk	Ketoohomaonk
Pan-ne-us-se-onk	Panneusseonk
Po-man-ta-mo-onk	Pomantamoonk
Wa-an-ta-mo-onk	Waantamoonk
We-kon-ta-mo-onk	Wekontamoonk

Kuttoowongash nequtta tahshe Syllablesooooash,—Words of six Syllables.

An-noo-te-a-moo-onk	Annooteamooonk
Ish-kau-a-nit-tu-onk	Ishkauanittuonk
Mo-na-nit-te-a-onk	Monanitteakonk
Nish-ke-neunk-qus-su-onk	
Og-que-neunk-qus-su-onk	
Pit-tu-a-num-oo-onk	Pittuanumooonk
Se-ke-ne-au-su-onk	Sekeneausuonk

Kuttoowongash nesausuk tashe Syllablesooooash asuh Chadchaubenumooonk,—Words of seven Syllables or Divisions.

I-a-che-won-ta-moo-onk
Kog-ke-is-sip-pa-moo-onk
Kuh-koo-tom-weh-te-a-onk
Wun-na-muh-kut-te-yeu-uk

*Kuttoowongash swosuk tahshe Syllablesash asuh Chadchauben-
numoogash*,—Words of eight Syllables or Divisions.

Meh-quon-tam-wut-te-a-haonk
Um-mat-che-kod-tan-ta-moo-onk
Wun-nau-mo-na-ko-nit-tu-onk.

*Kuttoowongash pasgoogun tahshe Syllablesash asuh Chadchau-
benumooogash*,—Words of nine Syllables or Parts.

Num-meh-quon-tam-wut-te-a-ha-onk
Num-mus-que-nit-ta-moo-on-ga-nun
Nus-soh sum-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nut-tin-noo-wa-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-wa-be-su-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nus-seep-hau-su-on-ga-nun-no-nash

*Kuttoowongash piogq tahshe Syllablesash asuh Chadchaubenu-
mooogash*,—Words of ten Syllables or Parts.

Noo-wad-cha-nit-tu-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-we-nau-we-tu-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-we-to-mu-wa-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-wa-an-tam-oo-on-ga-nun-no-nash

*Kuttoowongash nab nequt tahshe Syllablesash asuh Chadchaubenu-
mooogash*,—Words of eleven Syllables or parts.

Nup-peh-tu-a-num-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nun-nish-ke-neunk-qus-su-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Num-mo-na-ne-te-a-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nut-og-que-neunk-qus-su-on-ga-nun-no-nash

*Kuttoowongash naboneese Syllablesooooash asuh Chadchaube-
numooogash*,—Words of twelve Syllables or Parts.

Nut-ai-us-koi-an-ta-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-wun-na-na-won-ta-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nuk-kog-ke-is-sip-pa-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nuk-kuh-koo-tom-weh-te-a-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Nut-i-a-che-won-ta-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Noo-nau-mo-nah-ko-nit-tu-on-ga-nun-no-nash
Num-mat-che-kod-tan-ta-moo-on-ga-nun-no-nash

*Kuttoowongash nabo nishwe Syllablesooooash asuh Chadchaube-
numooogash*,—Words of thirteen Syllables or Parts.

Num-meh-quon-tam-wut-te-a-ha-on-ga-nun-no-nash

*Kuttoowongash nabo napanna tahshe Syllablesuash asa Chad-
chaubenumooogash*,—Words of fifteen Syllables or Parts.

Nuk-kit-te-a-mon-te-a-nit-te-a-on-ga-nun-no-nash

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

From Eliot's Bible. Matth. vi. 9. *From Eliot's Bible.* Luke xi. 2.
(Edit. of 1680.)

Nooshun kesukqut, quttiana-tamunach koowesuonk. Peyaumoutch kukketasscotamóonk, kuttentamóonk ne *n nach* ohkeit *neane* kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamainnean yeuyu kesukok. Kah ahquoantamainnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenekukqueagig nutahquontamóounonog. Ahque sagkompaginainnean en qutchhuaonganit, webe pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtauun ketasscotamóonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumóonk micheme. Amen.

From the Indian Primer.
(Edit. of 1720, p. 13.)

Nooshun kesukqut *quittiana-tamunach* koowesuonk, peyau-mooutch kukketassootamóonk; kuttentamóonk; ne *ennage* ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamainnean yeuyu kesukok. Kah ahquontamainneane nummatcheseongash neane matchenekukqueageeg nutahquontamauounonog. Ahque sagkompaginainnean en qutchishonganit, qut pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut; newutche kutahtauun ketassootamóonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumóonk micheme. Amen.

Nooshun kesukqut, *quittiana-tamunch* koowesuonk, kukketasscotamóonk peyau-mooutch, kuttentamóonk ne *nej neyane* kesukqut kah ohkeit. Assamainnean kokokesukodae nutasesukokke* petukqunneg. Kah ahquoantamainnean nummatcheseonganonash, newutche newawun wonk nutahquontamauounonog nishnoh pasuk noonamontukquohwhonan, kah ahque sagkompaginnean en qutthehettuonganit, qut pohquawussinnean wutch matchitut.

From the Indian Primer, p. 26.
(Matth. vi. 9.)

Nooshun kesukqut *quittiana-tamunach* koowesuonk, peyau-mooutch kukketassootamóonk kuttentamóonk ne *ennach* ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekesukokish assamainnean yeuyu kesukok. Kah ahquontamainnean nummatcheseongash neane matchenekukqueageeg nutahquontamauounonog. Ahque sagkompaginainnean en qutchhuwaonganit, qut pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtauun ketassootamóonk kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumóonk micheme. Amen.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

From the Indian Primer.

Quest. *How many are the commandments?*

Ans. Ten.

Nat. *Tohshinash Naumatuongash God?*

Namp. *Piogquodtosh.*

* An error of the press for *nutasekesukokke*, as it stands in the edit. of 1661. Edit.

- Quest. *What is the first?*
 Answ. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
- Quest. *What is the second Commandment?*
 Answ. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, &c.
- Quest. *What is the third Commandment?*
 Answ. Take thou not the name of the Lord thy God in vain.
- Quest. *What is the fourth Commandment?*
 Answ. Remember the Sabbath day thou must keep holy.
- Quest. *What is the fifth Commandment?*
 Answ. Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest long live in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.
- Quest. *What is the sixth Commandment?*
 Answ. Thou shalt do no murder.
- Quest. *What is the seventh Commandment?*
 Answ. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- Quest. *What is the eighth Commandment?*
 Answ. Do not thou steal.
- Quest. *What is the ninth Commandment?*
 Answ. Falsely witness thou not against thy neighbour.
- Quest. *What is the tenth Commandment?*
 Answ. Thou shalt not covet.
- Nat. *Chagua negonnohtag?*
 Namp. Ummanittoomehkon onkatogeeg manittoog ut anaquabeh.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu nahohtoeu Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Ayimauhkon kuhhog nunneukontunk, &c.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu nishwe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Neemunoohkon oowesuonk Jehovah Kummanittoom tahnooche.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu yaue Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Mehquontash Sabbath day woh kuppahketeaun.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu napanna tahshe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Quttianum koosh kah kookas, onk woh kussepe pomantam ut kuttohkeit uttiyeu Jehovah Kummanittoom aninumunkquean.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu nequtta tahshe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Nusheteohkon.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu nesausuk tahshe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Mamusehkon.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu swosuk tahshe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Kommootohkon.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu pasgoogun tahshe Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Pannoowae wauwaonuhkon ketatteamunk.
- Nat. *Uttiyeu piogque Anooteamooonk?*
 Namp. Ahchewontogkon.

A Sermon preached by Josiah Cotton (author of the preceding Vocabulary) to the Massachusetts Indians, in 1710. From the original manuscript.

ACTS xvii. 30. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent.

Doctrine. It is the plain and absolute command of God that Kuhkcotumwehhaonk. Yeu pahke wuttanncooteamooonk God

all men and women should repent of their sins.

Here you may ask this question, What is repentance, or what is meant by this word repentance?

I answer thus, repentance is a grace of the holy spirit of God wrought in the heart of a sinner, whereby he being filled with shame and sorrow for his former sins doth resolve to forsake them, and turn to God, and to become a new man.

I would make this more plain and easy to your understandings, and therefore, consider these things which must be in that man that truly repents of his sins.

1. A man must be convinced of his sin, or else he cannot truly repent of it.

Now it is the work of Gods spirit to convince a man of sin. Christ says his spirit shall convince and reprove for sin, by making him to see what a wicked thing sin is.

And makes him to see that for his sin he deserves to burn in hell forever.

Time was when the sinner could see no harm in the ways of sin.

onk woh wame wosketompaog, kah mittumwussissog nont woh aiuskoiantamwog ummatcheseongānōoash. Woh yeu kenattcotumwehkonau yeu nattootumwehteaonk, Teag aiuskoiantamooonk, asuh toh nauwuttamco yeu kuttoonk aiuskoiantamooonk. Yeu nunnampoohumooonk, Aiuskoiantamooonk nekus nashauanittōe kitteamon-teanittuonk God, anakausumōonk ut wuttohut matcheseaenin ne nashpe niskontog kah numwappehtunkqut ogkohtchoonk, kah nuantamooonk wutche nukonne ummatcheseongash wonk mohtantog nont nunnuhkotumunash kah nukquinnuppem en Godut, kah noshkosketompa. Woh yeu nuppahkettumūnnah, kah woh nunnukkumehteaunah en kōwohtamooongannō, ne-wutche natwontamog nish woh appehtunkqūtcheh wosketomp noh wunaumuhkut aiuskoiantog ummatcheseongash. (1) Wosketomp nont woh uppgokodchumukqun ummatcheseonk asuh woh matta pahke aiuskoiantamco. Eyeu yeu wutanakausonk wunnetupantamwe wunnashauanittoonoh God woh uppgokodchumon wosketomp ummatcheseonk. Christ unnooau nunnashānit pish pogkodchumau kah wutchumau wosketompoh ummatcheseonk pish pohquetum: John xvi. 8. Wunnoshaunittoonoh God uppgokodchumukqun wosketomp wutche matcheseonk wunnohtunūqkun uttoh en matchetooe teagquasinyeu matcheseonk onk wunnohtanūqkun wutche ummatcheseonk tumohhcowau chikossuonkut chepiohkomukqut micheme. Ahquompiyeuop neadt matcheseaenin matta naumoop woskehhuwaonkut matcheseae mayut.

But now he comes to see that he must be damned for sin, unless Christ will pardon it; when God comes to work a change upon mans heart, he shows him that all evil in this world comes because of sin.

And all evil in hell comes because of sin. The poor soul must come to see that he deserves the wrath of God for ever.

He has lived without prayer and has committed abundance of sin, and it affrights him to think how great a sinner he hath bin.

Now the sinner must be brought to see, and be convinced of his sins, or else he will never repent of them and turn from them.

2. When a man truly repents he must not only see his sins to be very great, but he must also be very sorry for them. 2 Cor. vii. 10. Isaiah lvii. 15.

When a man comes to consider how great a sinner he has bin, it pricks him at the heart, and makes him much sorry, so it was with them that Peter preached unto. Acts ii. 37.

Wickedness now seems bitter, how sweet soever it had bin before. The sinner now sees that he has bin running away from God.

That he has abused God's mercy, that he has cast off Jesus Christ, that he deserves to be destroyed, and this makes him very sorry.

Qut eyeu nāum nont nooche pish awakompenam nummatcheseonk tohneit Christ mat ahquontamok: God anakausit ut kahpenoeehteog wuttuh wosketomp neit wunnohtinnoh wame machuk yeut muttaohkeit peyamō webe nashpe matcheseonk. Kah wame machuk ut chepihkomukut pegamō webe nashpe matcheseonk. Kittumungke keteahogkau mos naum nont nuttumhooam ne ummcosquantamoonk God mieheme. Onk pomantam sepeohquompi qut mat nuppeantamō kah wuttusen monādash matcheseongash kah wutchehshanükqun mehquantamunat uttuhunnohque missi nummatchetoonk. Eyeu matcheseaenin nont pasowau naumunat kah pohompottamunat ummatcheseonk, asuh mat woh nequt aiuskoiantammō kah quinuppehtamōounash.

(2) Wosketomp panuppe aiuskoiantog matta webe naumō ummatcheseongash missiyeuash qut wonk missi ncoantam wutche nish. 2 Cor. vii. 10. Isaj. lvii. 15. Uttoh adt wosketomp natwontog ummish matcheseaenuonk nat noh wutche ohēyeu ukkonukkehtohhukqun ut wuttahut kah ne mooche nanantamhukqun neaunagkup missininuk Peter kuhkootumauompah, Acts ii. 37. Matchetoonk eyeu wesogkomomukquat toganogque wehounup negonne. Matcheseaenin eyeu pohkompöttamkusselh nunnanukkonnōmus God.

Onk naum matta tohhentupantamōmus ummonaneteaonk God, onk naum kusselh nuppapogkenōmus Jesus Christ, onk naum kusselh nuttaphum pagquanittuonk onk yeu wuttiymonkqun missi ncoantamoonk.

3. He that would truly repent of sin, must confess his sins; he that would obtain mercy from God must confess his sins. 1 John i. 9.

He must own him self to be a sinner and a great sinner. He must judge and condemn himself for his sin. He must earnestly beg of God to pardon his sins. If we have sinned against God or have done any wrong to man, we should freely make confession of it.

4. He that would repent of sin, must also forsake all sins. Isah. lv. 7. Prov. xxviii. 13.

We must not only forsake sin for a little time, for one month or one year, but we must resolve that we will forsake sin for ever and ever.

Some men when they are sick will promise to forsake sin, but when they are well, they will be worse than they were before; now such do not truly repent of sin, for if they did they would hate sin when they are well, as they did when they were sick.

5. He that truly repents of sin, must not only turn from sin, but he must also turn unto God and resolve to walk in Gods ways, and to obey his word as God shall help him.

3. Noh kod pahke aiuskoiantog matcheseonk woh sampooau ummatcheseongash; noh kodtantog wuttattumunumat monaneteaonk wutche Godut nont woh sampooau ummatcheseongash. 1 Ep. John i. 9.

Nont woh sampooaonoh wuhhoguh nont nummatchetum kah nen missi matcheseaenin. Nont woh wussumau kah pohkodehuma wuhhoguh wutche matcheseonk; onk woh menuhke wehquuttumauau Godoh onk woh ahquontamauo ummatcheseongash, tohneit matchenehog God asuh wosketomp nont woh hohpooe kussamppoowontamunan. xx. G. ****.

4. Noh kodtantog aiuskoiantamunat ummatcheseonk nont woh nukkodtum wame matcheseonk. Isaj. lv. 7. Prov. xxviii. 13. Matta kenukkottumomun matcheseonk oggosohquompi pasuk nepaz asuh pasuk kodtummooqut nont woh kummah tantamumun nont kenukkottumumun matcheseonk micheme kah micheme. Nawutch wosketompaog mahchinnahittit wunnowaog nunnukkodtum matcheseonk qut quenau keteahittit anue matchetoog onk negonne, neânesitcheq matta pahke aiuskoiantamoog ummatcheseonkannoo, tohneit panuppe aiuskoiantamhittit woh jishantamog matcheseonk ut oonekekonnaout, netatuppe onk ut mahchinonânat.

5. Noh pannuppe aiuskoiantog ummatcheseonk matta woh webe, nukkodtumoo matcheseonk qut onk quinnuppe en Godut kah kesantam nont nupwesham God ummayut kah noswetamunat wuttinanchemookaonk God uttoh an tappunnumwohhukqut.

Sin carries the soul away from God; repentance brings back the soul unto God again. Isah. lv. 2.

Thus we hear what repentance is, and the text tells us, and so do many other texts in the bible, that God commands and requires all men every where to repent.

And now let us make some use of this text.

Use 1. Let us pray to God to send us his holy spirit to convince us of our sins, and to make us see how great sinners we be; for if we do not see and repent of our sins we shall be damned in hell fire for ever. God remembers all our sins though we have forgot them, and he will punish us if we do not repent.

And if we will now repent of our sins, God will pardon them, for Christ died to procure a pardon for repenting sinners.

2 U. Let us be very sorry for our sins: blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.

3. Let us be willing to confess our sins before God and man; if we do not, our case is sad. Psalm xxxiii. 5.

Matcheseonk âmānau keteahogkau wutche Godut, qut aiuskoiantamoonk quehchoowinna keteahogkau en Godut wonk. Isaj. lv. 7.

Yeu kuttinne notamunan aiuskoiantamoonk neanag onk, Yeu queenshitteonk koowotumonkqunan, onk monatash quen-shitteonkash ut Bibleut God anncoteamco kah nuttauompamawame wosketompaog nishnohut onk woh aiuskoiantamwog.

Kah eyeu auwohteatuh yeu kuhkootumwehteonk.

1. Auwohteonk. Peantamauontuh God onk woh annconau conetupantamwe wunnashauanittcomoh onk woh kuppog kodchimakun wutche matcheseonk, onk woh kenaumumun nont missi kummatchetumun; tohneit mat naumoog kah aiuskoiantamooog nummatcheseonganunnonash pish kuttauakompanamun chepiohkomukqut micheme. God mehquantam wame kummatcheseonganunnonash toganogque wanantamog, kah pish kuttattumunumohhukqun tohneit mat aiuskoiantog. Tohneit eyeu aiuskontamog kummatcheseonganunnonash God pish kutahquontamongqun, newutche Christ nuppoo onk woh aiuskoiantomoe matcheseaenuog ahtoog ahquontamoadtuonk.

2 Auwoh. Mishe nuantamutuh wutche nummatcheseonganunnonash unnaumooog nag moog, newutche pish miskouantamwaheog. Matt. v. 4.

3. Wekontamuttuh sampoon kuhmatcheseonganunnonash anaquabit God kah wosketompaog, tohneit mat yeu usseog kuttinniyeuonganit matchit. Psal. xxxii. 5.

4. Let us resolve to forsake all our sins. Sin is a very great grief to God, and will undo our poor souls; O then dont let us love it.

5. Let us walk in God's way, obey his word, pray unto him for mercy and grace, and he will give us Christ here, and glory for ever. And now, to conclude, let us all make haste to repent of our sins and turn from them; and to turn to our good God, and then Jesus Christ will take away all our sins, and God will love us, and bless us, and do us good, and when we have finished a short life in this world he will take us up to heaven, where we shall live for ever without sin, and without sorrow. Amen.

4. Nont nukkottumuttuh wame kummatcheseonganunnash. Matcheseonk ne ummut-tae noohikqun God, onk ne pa-pequanteomco ketaahogkau, woi ahque ne womantamuttuh.

5. Ponishatuh ummayit God, ncoswehtamuttuh wuttinnon-chemohaonk, peantamaountuh wutche monanteaonk kah kit-teamonteanitteonk onk woh kuttinmongquu Christ yeuut kah sohsumoook micheme na-hohtoeu. Kah eyeu maiish teanuk aiuskoiantamuttuh kummatcheseonganunnash, kah nukkottumuttuh nish onk quinnup-petuh en Godut noh wunnetoog, neit Jesus Christ pish amm-
num wame matcheseonk kah God kowamanukqun kah koonanukqun kah koonehhikqun onk mahtshonk yeu pomantamoonk yeuut muttaohkeet pish kenemunukqun en kesukqut micheme, adt pish pomantamog mat naumcoun matcheseonk asuh nuantamoonk. Amen.

Extracts from a Sermon in English and Indian; the English part being in the hand-writing of Josiah Cotton, and the Indian in that of his father, John Cotton.

I shall therefore from the words of my text, speak to you about death and judgment.

Which are very terrible things, and that that you ought to get for.

The truths or divisions contained in my text are these:

1. That God, the governour of the world, has appointed that men dy once.

2. That after men are dead he will judge them.

Yeu wutche yeush kuttoon-gash ut nukquenshittunkanit kukkenoonumwoo papaume nup-poonk kah wussittumoonk.

Uttuh nish unquenukquohish teagwa sinnukish, kah woh kukquashwemwoo wutche.

Wunnomwäonkash nish ah-tagish ut nukquenshittunkanit yeushog.

1. God noh nanauunuk mat-taohk mahtche kuhquttum wosk-tompaog pasukqut nuppunat.

2. Mahche wosketompaog nuppehittit noh nah pish oosumuk.

If men have lived well and soberly, then God will appoint them to happiness; if men have lived wickedly, then God will make them perfectly miserable. But,

1. Dⁿ. Death is the separation of the soul from the body. When the soul goes out, or departs from the body then the man is dead.

Now no man can hinder this separation; whensoever death comes all men must dy, high and low, rich and poor, the greatest sachel and the meanest persons. He that lives longest must dy at last. Thus Methuselah, that lived almost a thousand years, yet died at last. Gen. v. 27, Ps. xlix. 7, 9. No man can save himself from death, or his brother.

Your forefathers, and our forefathers are dead, and therefore experience teaches us that we must also dy. Zech. i. 5. No man can live forever till he has once dyed.

Sickness, war, old age, and many other things make men dy.

So that very few attain to be 100 years old, thus sayes Moses. Ps. xc. 10.

All men must dy, or else be

Tohneit wosketompaog wunne kah maninnessue pomantamwehhittit, neit God pish nah ukkehteumuh en wunniyeuonganit, tohneit wosketompaog inatche-tooe pomantamwehhittit, neit God pish nah wuttiaymauh wunnumuhkuttëyëue kittumongkëyëuen.

Nuppoook ne chadchapehtauadtuonk keteahogkau wutch muhhogatt keteahogkau sohhogish asuh amæhtogish muhhog, neit wosketomp nuppoo.

Yeueu matta wosketomp tapenumoo wuttamehtauunat yeu chadchapehtoadtuonk uttuh annooh peyant nuppoook wame wosketompaog mos nuppoook, quanonkquissitchehtioh quonkquissitcheh wenauetuog matcheteag masukkenukig sontimooog kah kuttumungke missinninuog noh sepe pomantog mos nuppoo momaish, yeu unnih Metliuse-lah pomantogup omog nequtte muttannunkanne kodtumwae onch nupapar ut miish. Gen. v. 27. Ps. xlix. 7, 9. Na matta wosketompanooh noh woh pohquohwhunont wuhhoguh wutch nuppoonganit yuh wematah.

Negonne kooshoowog kah negonne nooshunnönuk mahche nuppek kah newutche wahtunteaonk nukkukkootumunkqunan mos nunnupämunnänukuh. Zech. i. 5. Wosketomp matta woh nicheme pomantamooh napaj mahche pasukqut nuppek.

Mahchinnaongash quentoadtuongash mohtantamooonk kah mönäash onkatoganish teagwasinish waj wosketompaog nuppehhittit.

Nemehkuh änuë ogkossäoog nequt pasukkööë kodtumwohogig yeu wussinneh Moses. Ps. xc. 10.

Wame wosketompaog mos

changed, and that is all one death.

But here the question is, Why must all men dy?

Ans. 1. All men must dy because they have sinned.

Thus God threatened Adam and all his children, that if he sinned then they should dy, *i. e.* if he eat the forbidden fruit. Gen. ii. 17. Rom. v. 12. and vi. 23.

And hence it is, that little children that never actually sinned like Adam, must dy, because their first father sinned, and they in him. Rom. v. 12, 14. that is, infants or children. But,

2. Good men as well as bad must dy, that they may get to Heaven, for in this world they be not perfectly happy, nay oftentimes are very much afflicted.

God therefore has appointed that they should dy, that so they may be free from sin and misery, and may be brought to heaven, where is fullness of joy.

All the afflictions of this life should put us in mind of death, which will come sooner or later, though we cant tell when, and therefore we should always watch and be ready.

After men dy they shall be judged.

As all men must dy so all men must be judged.

nuppoog, asuh ossooweog kah ne yaneyeuoo nuppoonganit. Qut yeu nattootumwehteaonk tohwaj nuppehittit wame wosketompog.

Namp. 1. Wame wosketompaog mos nuppoog newutche nag matcheseupanneg.

Yeu en God quokquohtomau Adamoh kah wame wunnechanoh, tohneit matthesehittit nag pish nuppoog, tohneit mechuk quahtinnittimuk mechummūonk. Gen. ii. 17. Rom. v. 12. vi. 23.

Kah yeuwutche pewe mukkoiesog asquam ussēāe matcheschitteg neane Adam, mos nuppoog, newutche negonne ooshshooh matchese kah nag ut nagum. Rom. v. 12, 14.

2. Wunnetooe wosketompaog neane matchetooe mos nuppoog onk woh nag peyāuog kesukqut newutche yeu ut muttāohkeit nag matta pannuppe wunniēog nag monatash ahquompiyeuash wuttamehpunnaog.

God newaj ukkehteumuh en nuppōnat onk woh nag chippeyeuooog wutch matchesonganit kah onkquan umooonganit kah woh pasōoogkesukqut ne ahtak pāshanne mishkquanta-mooonk. Wame wuttamehpunnaongash ut yeu pomāntamooonganit woh nummehquantamhikqunan nun nuppoonganun uttuh yeu pish payomoo uk kenuppe asuh quohque tokanogque mat noowahteōonan uttuh ūnnooh kah newaj woh nagwut-teae askoohwheteaog kah quoshwappeog.

Mahche wosketompaog nuppehittitnag pish wussumoog.

Neane wame wosketompaog mos nuppehittit neane wame wosketompaog mos wussumoog.

It is appointed for men to dy, no man nor person whatsoever shall escape the judgment of God.

And this judgment shall be either private or publick, either immediately after every man's death, or at the last day. As soon as ever a man dyes his spirit or soul goes to God, and he orders whether it shall be happy or miserable, as in the forementioned, Luke xvi.

But the general and open judgment shall be at the last day. Acts xvii. 31. Christ shall be the judge, for to him all power is given. And all men shall be brought before him and be judged. 2 Cor. v. 10.

* And then all the world shall know how often we have bin drunk, how often we have broken Gods sabbath, how often we have stole and lyed and how many times we have bin guilty of any other sin. And not only shall wicked mens be revealed, but good mens actions shall be revealed to their very great joy and comfort. For Christ as he is God knows all things and he will make known what we are, whether we have bin sincerely good or hypocriticall; or openly wicked. Eccles. xii. 14.

Kuhquttohhe wutch wosketompaog eu nupunat kah na matta wosketomp asuh howan noh woh pohquohhog oosittumoonk God.

Kah yeu wussittumoonk pish kemeyeu asuh pish pohquaeyeu, pish teanuk quenau mahche nupuk nishnoh wosketomp asuh ut moüsh ne kesukok quenau uttuh annooh wosketomp nuppukish, wunnaushaonk asuh ukketeahogkaunoh moncheoh en God ut kah noh oonohteanumaüuh, oonieninneat asuh ukkittimunkkeyeuenneat neane ut negonumishamooonganit ut Luke xvi.

Qut mamusse kah pohquaak wussittumoonk nupish unnih ut mömäüsh ne kesukok. Acts xvii. 31. Christ noh pish wussittum newutche noh unumaup wame menuhkesuonk, kah wame wosketompaog mos pasooöog anaquabit wussumonat. 2 Cor. v. 10.

Kah neit pish wame muttaohe wahteog nishnoh nukkogkesupamooongmun nish noh nup-poohqunumoöonganun God wus-sabbathomash, nishnoh nukkumootoonganun kah nuppannoounonganun kah nishnoh ahquompi adt keskoadtamonus ononkatogish matcheseongash kah matta webe matchetooe wosketompaog wuttisseongannoo wahteooöunqut wonk wunnetooe wosketompaog wuttusseonganoo pish wahtouwahhunen nash umishkauantamoöongännoo kah tapheaonganoo. Newutche Christ noh God yeait noh wah tunk wame teagwasinish, noh pish, wahtouwahhuau uttuh anusseog uttuh en wunnumuhkut wunnatoöog asuhaiantog koiyeu-öog asuh pohquaë matchtoog. Eccles. xii. 14.

PLYMOUTH COLONY RECORDS.

THE attention which has been paid by the legislature of Massachusetts, to preserving and diffusing the knowledge of the settlement and growth of our country, is a subject of general congratulation. We fortunately possess the means of proving our origin by authentic documents; and the legislature are taking effectual measures to transmit some of these documents to posterity. In the year 1814 they contributed largely to the publication of Hubbard's History of New England, which was printed by order of the Historical Society. The legislature took six hundred copies of the edition, which nearly defrayed the whole expense. Each town in the Commonwealth, including Maine, which was not then separated, was supplied with a copy.

The legislature have lately contributed in like manner to the publication of Winthrop's History,* having purchased three hundred and fifty copies, to be distributed among the several towns in the Commonwealth.

The measures taken to preserve the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth deserve particular notice.

In 1817, His Excellency Governor Brooks, while at Plymouth, took occasion to examine them. He was so impressed with their importance to the public, and at the same time with the difficulty of consulting them on account of their being so illegible, and in such confusion, that he suggested to several of his friends the propriety of having them transcribed, and either the originals, or copies, deposited in the Secretary's office in Boston.

At the ensuing session of the legislature a committee was appointed to take this subject into consideration, who made the following report:—

“The committee of the Senate, to whom was referred an order respecting the records of the Old Col-

* This edition is in two volumes, entitled “Winthrop's History of New England,” with copies of early letters, and valuable notes by Mr. Savage. It will, in a great measure, supersede the necessity of any other history of those times.

ony, and a report of a former committee thereon, have had the same under consideration, and report; that upon inquiry they find that the records, files, and other documents of the colony of Plymouth were, upon the union of that colony with the province of Massachusetts Bay, left in the colony. Your committee have not been able to find what arrangement was made respecting them by the colony before the union, or by the province afterward; but the same remain, and are now deposited in the office of the registry of deeds in the county of Plymouth, and this committee have not been able to learn what part of said records, or what portion of said files and documents, is valuable, or may be useful to the legislator, the historian, or to the antiquarian; that it will not be proper to proceed to transcribe said records, or any part of them, until a previous examination has been made, and the General Court fully informed how far the Commonwealth are interested therein, or how far it may be useful to remove the collection to the Secretary's office, that more convenient access may be had to them by all persons, or how far it may be useful to multiply copies by transcribing, or printing the whole records, or any part thereof.

“That the General Court may obtain that information, the committee ask leave to submit the following resolution.

SAMUEL DANA, *Chairman.*

“Resolved, that James Freeman, D. D. of Boston, Samuel Davis, Esq. of Plymouth, and Benjamin R. Nichols, Esq. of Salem, or any one or more of them, be, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to examine the said records, files, and documents, and if they find the same of right belonging to the Commonwealth, they shall have power to take the same into their custody, for the purpose of a full examination; and they are requested to report how far, in their opinion, it may be proper to have the same deposited in the archives of the Secretary of State, for the use

of legislators, historians, and antiquarians, and how far it may be useful to multiply copies of the whole, or any parts of them, for the use of all the people; and they are requested to report an estimate of the expense of printing such part as they may find it proper to have printed. And they are further requested to make a full report in the premises, at the first session of the next General Court, and to lay their accounts for their expenses and services before the Committee on Accounts for allowance."

The foregoing report was accepted, and resolution adopted, February 18, 1818.

The Commissioners thus appointed, proceeded to Plymouth, and after carefully examining the Records, made an abstract of them; the abstract forming a quarto volume of 325 pages. This they returned to the legislature in June 1818, with their report, which was as follows:—

"The commissioners appointed by a resolve of the General Court dated February 18, 1818, to examine the records of the Old Colony of Plymouth, have attended the service assigned to them, and respectfully beg leave to submit the following report:

"The Old Colony Records consist of twelve volumes in folio, and the Charter engrossed on parchment, besides which there are two volumes of the acts of the commissioners of the United Colonies. The volumes of the Old Colony Records are marked, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, M, N. Though it does not appear that any volumes have been lost, yet there are none with the marks of 3, 9, 10, 13, 14; but several of the volumes contain two or more parts, which circumstance probably prevented the volumes being marked in a continued series of numbers. The acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies are marked U. C. 1. and U. C. 2.

The general contents of the volumes are acts and resolves of the legislature, judicial proceedings of the court of assistants, consisting of civil and criminal cases, and the settlement of the estates of persons de-

ceased, orders of the council of war, military transactions, and appointments of commissioned officers; names of the freemen admitted, and of the selectmen of towns; registers of births, marriages, and deaths; admonitions to churches, and recommendations and addresses to the people; grants of land; records of wills, and deeds, and a variety of miscellaneous matters, which cannot be classed under any particular head. These several articles are blended together in the same volume, and frequently in the same page; and different parts of a volume are bound together with leaves inverted, and misplaced, and without regard to dates.

“Your committee have not been able to discover whether any arrangement was made respecting the records before the union of Plymouth with Massachusetts, or by the Province afterward; but it was undoubtedly concluded at the time of the union, as it will be probably now, that it would be inconvenient, and injurious to the inhabitants of the Old Colony, to remove from them the deeds, and other titles to their estates, which cannot be separated from the acts of the General Court. Your committee have no doubt that these records of right belong to the Commonwealth; but they hope it will not appear a breach of propriety to state, that many of the inhabitants would surrender them with reluctance, as they regard them as the most important monuments which they possess of the labours and prudence of their ancestors.

“The acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies form no part of the records of the Old Colony. With respect to them therefore, your committee report as their opinion, that they ought to be removed to the seat of government, and deposited in the Secretary’s office.

“After a careful examination of the whole of the Plymouth Records, your committee are of opinion, that it would be of benefit to the present age, and still more to posterity, to cause a fair transcript to be

taken, and copies to be multiplied by printing the most interesting articles, so that they may be read with ease by all whose curiosity, taste, or studies may lead them to the examination. For the information of the General Court, as well as for a guide to the person who may be employed to make the copy, your committee have endeavoured, with much toil, to find their way through the labyrinth of these records, and the abstract which accompanies this report contains a selection, arranged in the order of time, of the articles, which in their judgment will be most useful to the legislator, the antiquarian, the civil and ecclesiastical historian, the biographer, the geographer, and the observer of human nature. The parts of the records which they have omitted to note are many of the judicial proceedings, and nearly the whole of the wills and deeds.

“Your committee have searched in the public offices of Plymouth for documents and files of papers; but can find none of a public concern.

“After receiving proposals from three several printers, your committee have made an estimate of the expense of printing such parts of the records as it may be proper to publish. The cost of 1000 copies per sheet, or sixteen pages in octavo, on long primer type, 51 lines in a page, and 26 ems wide will be for

Composition, printing, and dry pressing,	\$ 17, 00
Paper, - - - - -	10, 87

27, 87

Binding in boards $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a book.

“Before a transcript is completed, it is impossible to make any calculation of the number of sheets it will be necessary to print; but a volume containing 640 pages would cost \$1,24, which is less than half the retail price of a book of that size.

JAMES FREEMAN,	} Commissioners.
SAMUEL DAVIS,	
BENJAMIN R. NICHOLS,	

Plymouth, May 21, 1818.”

By a further resolve of the legislature, the same Commissioners were authorized to cause the records to be transcribed, and new bound, and afterwards to return the originals to the Register of Deeds' office in Plymouth, and to deposit the copies in the Secretary's office in Boston. The Commissioners having entrusted the business to Mr. Nichols, he undertook the same, and had the whole completed in January, 1820.

The original records being in great confusion, it was found necessary to have them arranged anew, and full indexes were made to them. The volumes were also interleaved, and new bound. The original Charter of the Colony being considerably defaced, it was repaired, and placed in a port folio with the seal of the Plymouth Company in England, annexed to it. The seal is about 4 inches in diameter. It was much broken; but the parts were carefully cemented, and secured together, and inclosed in a case, so that the original impression may be seen.

The records are now arranged chronologically, and in such a manner that the legislative proceedings or court orders form six separate volumes; the wills, and inventories, four; deeds, six; laws, one; acts of Commissioners of United Colonies, two. There is also an imperfect volume of the records of these commissioners, being, as is supposed, their original minutes. There is also one volume of Indian deeds, bound up with the Treasurer's accounts, and lists of freemen, and one volume of actions, marriages, births, and deaths, making in the whole twenty-two volumes of original records.

The following table shows the difference between the present and former arrangement of the volumes.

Former arrangement.	Present.	
Vol. 1, - - - -	Deeds, - - - -	Vol. I.
" 2, - - - -	Court Orders, - - - -	" I.
" 4, in three parts :		
Part 1 - - - -	Deeds, - - - -	Vol. II. Part 2.
" 2 - - - -	Wills, - - - -	Vol. II. Part 2.
" 3 - - - -	Deeds, - - - -	Vol. IV.

Former arrangement.	Present.
Vol. 5, in three parts :	
Part 1 - - -	Court orders, Vol. II.
" 2 - - -	Court orders, - Vol. v.
" 3 - - -	Court orders, Vol. III.
" 6, in four parts :	
Part 1 - - -	Laws, - - Part 3.
" 2 - - -	Deeds, - - Vol. II. part 1.
" 3 - - -	Wills, - - Vol. II. part 1.
" 4 - - -	Wills, - - Vol. III.
" 7, in four parts :	
Part 1 - - -	Court orders, Vol. VI. part 1.
" 2 - - -	Wills, - - Vol. IV. part 2.
" 3 - - -	Wills, - - Vol. IV. part 1.
" 4 - - -	Wills, - - Vol. I.
" 8, in four parts :	
Part 1 - - -	Laws, - - Part 2.
" 2 - - -	Indian deeds.
" 3 - - -	Treasurer's accounts.
" 4 - - -	Court orders, Vol. IV.
" 12, - - -	Deeds, - Vol. III.
" 15, - - -	{ Deeds, - Vol. VI.
	{ Wills, - Vol. IV. part 2.
	{ Court orders, Vol. VI. part 2.
" 16, - - -	Deeds, Vol. v.
" M, - - -	- Actions, &c.
" N, - - -	{ Original records of Commission- ers of United Colonies.
	{ Court orders, Vol. VI. part 2.
	{ Laws, - Part 1.
Acts of Commission- ers of United Co- lonies. } 1 & 2	Same.

The copies made from the above, form eleven folio volumes, and are indexed like the originals. The records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies were formerly transcribed, and published by Ebenezer Hazard, Esq. They compose nearly the whole of his 2d volume of Historical Collections. This volume was compared by Mr. Nichols with the original records and corrected by him, and the volume so corrected, is deposited with the copies above mentioned

in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. They are kept in a separate case from the other records of the government.

All the laws and legislative proceedings are copied, with such parts of the other records as were thought to be useful, or interesting to the public. The parts not copied, are most of the private deeds, wills, and inventories. Care was taken to preserve in the copies the original paging and orthography.

The following statement will give a general view of the contents of the records.

There is nothing recorded in 1620, except a plan of the lots laid out at Plymouth.

The next records are the allotments of land in 1623, to the passengers in the *May Flower*, *Anne*, and *Fortune*, and a law establishing the trial by jury. In 1627, there was a division of the cattle among the inhabitants. There are but few other records previous to 1632.

In that year the General Court of Plymouth began to keep a regular journal of their proceedings, which they continued to the close of the colony, excepting the years 1687 and 1688, during the government of Sir Edmund Andros.

In 1636, a code of laws was made with a preamble containing an account of the settlement of the colony. Other laws were added at subsequent periods, and when any of the former were altered or repealed, this was done by making erasures, or interlineations, instead of passing additional acts. The book containing this code forms a part of the records. In the copy now made, all these erasures and interlineations, are noticed. In 1658, the laws were revised, and entered in another book. Most of them were transcribed from the former code, and the dates when they were first enacted, inserted in the margin. Other laws were added afterward till 1664, when they appear to have been again revised. A third book of laws was then made, similar to the former. This book contains all the laws passed from that time till 1682.

The laws of the colony thus existed in three separate parts. They are now bound together and indexed, and a complete copy made of them. There was another code made in 1671, and printed. The manuscript of this code no longer exists. But one of the printed copies may be found in the library of the Historical Society, bound up with the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut. This code is very different from the former. It contains some new laws, and omits most of those which before existed.

X The Governors of the Colony were as follows :

John Carver, in 1620. His name does not appear of record.

William Bradford, from 1621 to 1632, 1635, 1637, 1639 to 1643, 1645 to 1656.*

Edward Winslow, 1633, 1636, 1644.

Thomas Prence, 1634, 1638, 1657 to 1672.

Josiah Winslow, 1673 to 1680.

Thomas Hinckley, 1681 to 1692.

There was no Lieutenant Governor till 1680. Before that period the Governor, when obliged to be absent, appointed one *pro tempore*.

The names of the Lieutenant Governors were as follows :

Thomas Hinckley, 1680.

James Cudworth, 1681.

Major William Bradford, 1682 to 1686, and 1689 to 1691.

There was no Secretary previous to 1636; but the records appear to have been previously kept by the Governors. The handwriting of Governor Bradford is very legible, and resembles a modern hand.

The first Secretary was Nathaniel Souther.

The second, Nathaniel Morton.

The third, Nathaniel Thomas.

The fourth and last, Samuel Sprague.

* The first record of the election of any Governor is in 1633.

The Treasurers were William Paddy, in 1636.
 Thomas Prence, in 1637.
 Timothy Hatherly, in 1639.
 Jonathan Atwood, in 1641.
 Miles Standish, 1644 to 1649.
 Constant Southworth,* 1662 to
 1678.
 Afterwards William Bradford.

There was no Sheriff till 1685. Writs and precepts were served originally by an officer styled the Messenger. In 1645, he was styled Marshal, and had the power of appointing deputies. Constables, however, were chosen in each town, with power to execute precepts, and collect rates. Upon the division of the colony into counties, Sheriffs were appointed.

A Coroner was appointed at the beginning of the colony, but the office was soon abolished, and the duty of taking inquisitions devolved upon the Constables.

There was no distinct office of Register of deeds, or of wills and inventories, but those duties were performed by the Secretary of the colony. This accounts for these records being blended with the other records of the government.

Till 1685 the Court of Assistants was the only Judicial Court, except that the Selectmen of the towns had the power of trying small causes. The Assistants also formed a part of the legislature.

In 1685 the colony was divided into three counties, *viz.* Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable. County Courts were then established.

The colony of Plymouth included the present counties of Plymouth and Barnstable, and a part of Rhode Island. All the Providence Plantations were at one time claimed by Plymouth. Scituate was the most northern town. The bounds between Plymouth and Massachusetts were settled in 1640, and they are described in the beginning of the first volume of the acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

* Sometimes spelt in the records, Southward, Southwood, and Southerne.

The following is a statement of the prices of articles at different periods, as extracted from the records.

1633.		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Corn per bushel,		0	5	0	2 cloth suits, and 2	}	8	0	0
A milch goat,		3	0	0	stuff suits, men's,				
A lamb,		1	10	0					
A barrow hog,		2	8	9					1641.
A shoot,		1	0	0	A colt,		6	0	0
A heifer,		16	0	0	10 stocks of Bees,		10	0	0
A milch cow,		20	0	0	2 acres of corn planted,		3	0	0
A steer calf,		2	10	0	All the iron and	}	3	10	0
13 oz. of beaver,		0	4	10	working tools be-				
Salt, per bushel,		0	4	6	longing to husban-				
A house and garden	}	10	0	0	dry.	}	3	6	8
in Plymouth,							A cart and appenda-		
Dr. Fuller's house in	}	15	0	0	ges, and a set of	}	2	0	0
town,							harrow tines,		
His country house at	}	10	0	0	3 horsemen's coats,		1	5	0
Smelt river,						500 of boards,		10	0	0
A fowling piece,		2	10	0	A shallop,				
A pair of bandoleers,		0	2	0					1642.
A corslet and pike,		1	10	0	Winter wheat per	}	0	4	6
Bow and arrows, quiv-	}	0	5	0	bushel,				
er and case,						Pease per bushel,		0	4	0
					Yarn per lb.		0	1	0
					Cotton per lb.		0	0	9½
	1634.								
A dwelling house and	}	20	0	0					1643.
garden,						A yoke of oxen,		13	15	0
A mill,		20	0	0	A mare,		8	0	0
An otter skin,		0	2	6	A chest of drawers,		2	10	0
	1637.				A leather bottom chair,		0	5	0
A feather bed,		3	10	0	A house clock,		3	0	0
A flock bed,		1	18	0					1644.
A pair of Holland	}	1	0	0	Wheat per bushel,		0	4	0
sheets,						Barley per bushel,		0	4	0
A Barnstable blanket,		0	18	0	Oats per bushel,		0	2	0
1 lb. of thread,		0	3	4	Pease per bushel,		0	4	0
Broadcloth per yard,		0	10	0					1649.
Powder per lb.		0	1	0					
	1639.				A hog,		0	16	8
4 working steers,		65	0	0	A pig,		0	2	0
A bull two years old,		6	0	0	A large steer,		5	10	0
A two year old heifer,		11	0	0	A small steer,		1	13	4
A cow calf of this	}	3	0	0	A heifer,		3	0	0
year,						Wheat per bushel,		0	4	0
A plough,		0	4	0					

greatly to the credit of our ancestors that they purchased most of their lands of the Indians for considerations which were considered at the time fully equivalent. No individuals were allowed to make purchases of them without leave from the General Court, and the purchases were generally made for the use of the colony, or particular towns. In 1682, overseers and tythingmen among the Indians were appointed, and in 1675 courts for them were established. Justice was administered among them summarily, and not according to the strict rules of the common law. Many Indian names are scattered through the records, which are carefully indexed.

From these journals, a knowledge may be obtained of all the principal men who lived in the colony, of the Governors, Assistants, Deputies or Representatives, Selectmen of towns, and other civil officers, military officers, and freemen.

There are lists of all the freemen in the colony at several periods, also records of marriages, births, and deaths. The latter records however are imperfect.

Marriages were never solemnized by ministers, but magistrates were specially appointed for that service.

Most of the lands in the colony belonging to individuals, were originally granted by the General Court, and these grants appear in the records. If there were no other reason for preserving and transcribing the records, the importance of these grants would be a sufficient inducement. It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant, when the legislature will cause the most important parts of these records to be printed, according to the recommendation of the commissioners. It is believed that no appropriation of the public money would be more gratifying to the community. It would be particularly desirable that the whole of the laws should be printed in chronological order. No book would conduce more to illustrate the manners, wants, and sentiments of our ancestors. Our minds would be naturally carried back to those early

periods, and we should have displayed before us in the most striking manner, the difficulties under which our forefathers were struggling, and the remedies provided for their relief.

ADDRESS OF THE MINISTERS OF BOSTON TO THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

[THE following Address seems to have been occasioned by a forged letter, purporting to be dated at Boston, 10 July, 1737, and sent to London, which commences as follows: "We have advice by Capt. Hill, who lately arrived from London, that his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to appoint a new governor for the colony of the Massachusetts, which occasioned the most universal joy that ever was known throughout this province, especially among the better sort of people, and the MINISTERS of all sorts, &c." A similar Address was sent to Sir Robert Walpole, and the Earls of Wilmington and Harrington. It probably counteracted for a time the machinations of Governor Belcher's enemies, but they finally succeeded in effecting his removal from the office of Governor in Massachusetts. He retired to Court, and vindicated his character from the unjust charges which had caused his removal, and was afterwards appointed Governor of New Jersey.—J. FARMER to J. BOWDOIN, Esq.]

May it please your Grace.

WITH all that respect and deference to your name, which the high station, wherein His most excellent Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, has seen meet to place, and so long continue you, together with those accomplishments, which render you illustrious therein:—

We ministers of the gospel, and pastors of churches in His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in and about Boston, crave leave, by the hand of the agents for the Province, humbly to address ourselves unto your Grace, and entreat your powerful favour to the good people of New-England, and to the churches of it, in which the King's person, and family, and ministers are constantly and ardently prayed for, with one heart and voice.

The blessings of his Majesty's reign, which reach

us in these distant parts of his dominion, we hope we have a grateful sense of: In a particular manner we think ourselves bound to bless God, and to thank the King and his ministers, for the continuance of Governor Belcher in the chair over us, by whom the King's good subjects of every denomination are equally encouraged in their duty to God, and to the King.

We look upon ourselves obliged humbly to address your Grace in this manner, because we have lately seen in some of the publick prints, what we must call a malicious libel, pretended to be writ from Boston, declaring to the world:—

“An universal joy throughout this Province upon the news of his Majesty's appointing a new Governour over us; more especially among the better sort of people, and *Ministers* of all sorts.”

Than which there could not have been published a greater calumny, and more injurious falsehood: and we beseech your Grace to excuse us this zealous vindication of ourselves, and our people, from it.

Sir, that those, who have the high honour to stand about the King, as his ministers, may have wisdom from above for a most righteous and happy administration, is the prayer of,

My Lord Duke,
Your Grace's most humble, dutiful,
and obedient servants,

From Boston, in New-England, Dec. 5, 1737.

BENJAMIN COLMAN,

Pastor of the church in Brattle Street, Boston.

THOMAS PRINCE,

Pastor of the South Church in Boston.

WILLIAM COOPER,

A Pastor of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston.

NEHEMIAH WALTER,

Pastor of a Church in Roxbury.

NATHANIEL APPLETON,

Pastor of a Church in Cambridge.

SAMUEL CHECKLEY,

Pastor of the New South Church, Boston.

CHARLES CHAUNCEY,

Pastor of the First Church in Boston.

SAMUEL MATHER,

Pastor of the North Church in Boston.

MATHER BYLES,

Pastor of the Church in Hollis Street, Boston.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Same to

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

and

EARLS OF WILMINGTON

and **HARRINGTON.**

MEMOIR OF THE NARRAGANSET TOWNSHIPS.

Amherst, N. H. June 2, 1817.

REV. SIR,

HAVING lately examined some original records and manuscripts, which relate to the Narraganset townships, granted by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1728 and 1733, I conceived that a communication respecting them might be proper for your Collections. The history of the grants of these townships has been illustrated by no historian whom I have consulted. The only information I find concerning them is given by Douglass in his Summary, and Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts. The former, in a note to page 424, volume 1, says, "Nine townships were voted, but only seven granted to the descendants of the Narraganset or Pequod war soldiers, 1637, called Narraganset townships."* Hutchinson, (vol. 2, page 299,) in speaking of the grants made about that period, 1727, observes, "the government, under the old charter and the new, had been very prudent in the distribution of the territory."—"But all on a sudden, plans are laid for grants of vast tracts of unimproved land, and the last session of Mr. Dummer's administration, a vote passed the two houses appointing a committee to lay out three lines of towns," &c. "Pretences were encouraged, and even sought after, to entitle persons to become grantees. The posterity of all the officers and soldiers who served in the famous Narraganset expedition, in 1675, were the first pitched upon, those who were in the unfortunate attempt upon Canada, in 1690, were to come next." †

* Dr. Douglass confounds the Narraganset with the Pequot war. The war with the Pequots occurred, as he states, in 1637. The Narraganset war, to which the grant of these townships referred, did not occur till 1675.

† "Nine townships were granted to the heirs of the militia or soldiers, who went against Canada, Anno 1690, and were called Canada townships. A parcel of these, the furthest up in the country run W. 5 and a half deg. S., across from Merrimac river 35 miles to Connecticut river, as a barrier against the Indians; they

It will be my object to give a brief view of the Narraganset grants, a short account of the several townships, and the names of the towns to which they were respectively assigned. In doing this I shall avail myself of the information contained in the records and manuscripts referred to, and such other authentic sources as are within my reach.

In June, 1728, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a committee* to lay out two tracts of land for townships, each of the contents of six miles square, in some of the unappropriated land of the province. These tracts of land were granted to the officers and soldiers (or to their lawful representatives) belonging to Massachusetts, who were in the service of their country in the Narraganset war, as a reward for their public service, and in full satisfaction of the grant formerly made them by the Court. Public notice was to be given in the News Letters, and advertisements were to be posted up in every town in the province, notifying the survivors and legal representatives of those who had deceased, to send a list of their names and descents to the Court before the next fall session. The Court appointed a committee to examine "the claims laid before them of rights in the two tracts of land granted to the officers and soldiers who were in the Narraganset fight," who reported that the said tracts of land be granted to the persons contained in a list which was probably submitted with their report. They also reported, "that the grantees meet at Boston, if the small pox be not there—if it be, then at Cambridge, on the first Wednesday in June succeeding." The report was accepted, 19 December, 1729. The grantees accordingly met at Cambridge, but the Court having revoked their former order, the meeting

are called the double line of towns, whereof No. 3, 8, and 9 are very mountainous, rocky, and stony, not capable of settlement; No. 4 and 7 are the best lands."

Douglass.

* John Chandler, Edward Shove, Thomas Tilestone, John Hobson, and Samuel Chandler.

was dissolved without "transacting any business of importance." A committee, however, was chosen to petition the General Court for a further grant of land; "so that every sixty claimers might have a township of six miles square."

In June, 1732, in answer to several petitions, an additional grant of five townships was voted by the House, and a committee of five persons appointed to survey and locate them in some of the unappropriated lands of the province. The conditions of this grant were, that the grantees should assemble within two months, and regulate each propriety or township, which was to be holden and enjoyed by one hundred and twenty grantees; that they should settle sixty families, at least, in every township, and a learned orthodox minister within seven years. It therefore appears that the whole number of grantees, to whom the seven townships were assigned amounted to eight hundred and forty.

The grant of the five townships did not immediately receive the approbation of the Governor. The act passed the House, 30 June, 1732, and did not receive the signature of the Governor till the 26th of April, the year following. The grantees, it appears, were incessant in their applications, and indefatigable in their exertions to secure the last mentioned grant. They even appointed a person* to use his interest with the Governor, and induce him "to sign the grant." How far the influence of this person prevailed with the Governor, it is difficult to determine.

From the papers which I have inspected, it seems that considerable difficulty arose from the number of descendants, who presented their claims for the right of the same ancestor. In order to remedy this evil, the Court ordered, that where the person who had been in the service had deceased, the grant should belong to his legal representatives in the following man-

* Mr. Samuel Wells, of Boston,

ner : " that the eldest male heir, if such there might be, otherwise the eldest female, if they pleased, should hold the land by paying to the other descendants or heirs such proportionable parts of ten pounds, (which was judged to be the value of a right, or single share,) as such descendants would be entitled to, provided the said land had descended according to a law of the province for the settlement of intestate estates."

After a great number of meetings of the committee of the Narraganset grantees, the grantees themselves assembled on Boston common and formed seven distinct societies, each society consisting of one hundred and twenty grantees, and entitled to one township. Three persons from each society were chosen a committee, who met at Luke Verdey's in Boston, 17 October 1733, and assigned the seven townships as follows :

Narraganset, No. I.

The tract of land constituting this township was situated on the east side of Saco river, in the county of York, in the District of Maine. It was assigned to grantees belonging to the towns of Ipswich, Newbury, Rowley, Haverhill, Salisbury, Almesbury, Methuen, Hampton, Greenland, and Berwick. The committee were Philemon Dane, and John Gains of Ipswich, and Colonel Joseph Gerrish of Newbury. It was reported as surveyed in February, 1734, and the report was accepted. In the opinion of Alden Bradford, Esq. Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, this tract is the same which forms the town of Buxton.* This opinion is rendered probable by the act of incorporation of Buxton, which runs thus : " An act for incorporating the plantation called Narraganset, number one, in the county of York, into a town by the name of Buxton," &c. The act of incorporation is dated July, 1772.

* MS. copy of the act of incorporation of Buxton, on which is expressed the opinion of Mr. Bradford, in the note that closes this article.

Narraganset, No. II.

This township, it is said in the records, was situated at Wachuset. It adjoined Rutland, and was located soon after the grant of the two townships in 1728. It was assigned to grantees belonging to Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Weston, Sudbury, Newtown, Medford, Malden, and Reading.

Narraganset, No. III.

Narraganset, No. 3, called also Scuhegan west, was situated on the north side of Souhegan river. It was assigned to inhabitants belonging to Salem 29, Marblehead 7, Lynn 27, Gloucester 5, Andover 9, Topsfield 14, Beverly 14, Wenham 4, Boxford 4, Bradford 1, Scarborough 1, Reading 2, York 1, Falmouth 2, and Chatham 1.* Of the 120 grantees to whom it was assigned, only nineteen who served in the Narraganset war were living in 1733. The first meeting of the grantees after the assignment of the township was made, was holden at Salem village, 17 July, 1734, when a committee was appointed to "take a particular view of the circumstances of the township," who were "to have power to employ a surveyor, and such pilots as might be necessary." On the 2d of September, the society met to receive the report of their committee, who, having been disappointed in the choice of a surveyor, made no report. They however declared verbally, "that they had been on the land, and found it well timbered." The proprietors at this time voted, that the township should be "subdivided as soon as may be,"—that the committee appointed for that purpose, "should lay out to each proprietor for the first or home lot, sixty acres, and what was wanting in quality, to be made up in quantity." This, perhaps, may serve as a specimen of the proceedings

* The figures following each town show the number of grantees belonging to that town.

of the other societies. This township was incorporated in 1760 by the name of AMHERST.

Narraganset, No. IV.

Narraganset, No. 4, at Amoskeag, was assigned to Northampton, Hadley, Suffield, Enfield, Deerfield, Worcester, Woodstock, Oxford, Brookfield, Killingly, Lebanon, Mansfield, Norwich, Pomfret, Windham, Bristol, Taunton, Swanzey, Rehoboth, Little Compton, Dighton, Attleborough, Norton, Freetown, Barrington, Bridgewater, Middleborough, Plympton, Kingston, Rochester, Pembroke, Marshfield, Ashford, Colchester, Haddam, Hebron, Wrentham, Bellingham, Horseneck, North Kingston, and Walpole. Total 41 towns. The number of grantees in each of these towns must, of course, have been very small.

Narraganset, No. V.

This township was known by the name of Souhegan East. It was situated on Merrimac and Souhegan rivers, and embraced a tract of land now comprehending the township of Bedford, and part of Merrimac. The grantees, to whom it was assigned, belonged to Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Dedham, Stoughton, Brookline, Needham, Hull, Medfield, Scituate, Newport, New London, and Providence. The committee for the township were Colonel Thomas Tilestone, Jonathan Williams, and Joseph Ruggles. Merrimac, comprehending part of this township, was incorporated 2 April, 1746. Bedford was incorporated in 1750.

Narraganset, No. VI.

Number 6 of the Narraganset townships is said to have been situated west of Penicook and Suncook. It is now known by some other name. The towns to which it was assigned were, Concord, Groton, Marl-

borough, Chelmsford, Billerica, Lancaster, Lexington, Framingham, Stow, Littleton, Sherburne, Stoneham, Southborough, and Woburn. The committee were Samuel Chandler of Concord, Jacob Wright of Woburn, and Colonel Benjamin Prescott of Groton.

Narraganset, No. VII.

This township is mentioned in Douglass's Summary, as being situated near the river Presumpscot. It was reported as surveyed in February, 1734, and the report was accepted. The tract of land which constituted this township, and Narraganset, No. 1, was between and extended from Saco river to Presumpscot river, beginning at the northeast corner of Biddeford. The grantees, to whom it was assigned, belonged to Barnstable, Yarmouth, Eastham, Sandwich, Plymouth, Tisbury, Abington, Duxbury, and one grantee of Scituate. The committee were Colonel Shubael Gorham, Timothy White and Robert Stanford.

J. FARMER.

Rev. Dr. HOLMES.

June, 1817.

Note by A. Bradford, Esq. late Secretary of Massachusetts.

In 1728, two townships of land were granted the soldiers who had served in the Narraganset war by this (then) province, and were located, one adjoining Rutland, and one near Merrimack river.

In April 1733, five more townships were granted them. In February following two townships, or land for two towns, were reported as surveyed, and the report accepted.—Said land was between and running from Saco river to Presumpscot river, beginning at the northeast corner of Biddeford, and must, I think, be the tract of land now including Buxton.

A. BRADFORD.

To the Trustees of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Gentlemen.

THE following simple and brief notice of the life and character of Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL. D., long a valued member of our society, drawn up at your request, is respectfully submitted by

JOHN LOWELL.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF THE LATE

DUDLEY ATKINS TYNG, LL. D.

BY HIS INTIMATE FRIEND,

JOHN LOWELL.

THE most essential property in biographical sketches, is truth—without it, they have no value. There are many other important requisites in writers of biographical history, most of which the author of this plain and simple account feels that he does not possess, and for the want of which, he claims indulgence—but as to the correctness and truth of his sketch of the life and character of his venerated friend, he is not only responsible, but is ready to pledge his own reputation for its exactitude. The reader has a right to know the opportunities, which any writers of history or biography enjoyed of forming a right judgment; for with the best intentions, they may be deceived, and deceive others. It is proper to state, therefore, the means which the writer of this very imperfect sketch possessed of knowing the character of Mr. Tyng. These means were derived from forty years' close intimacy and friendship—a friendship never disturbed for one moment, by any permanent, or even transient coolness—from the sympathy derived from congenial professional pursuits—from a close family alliance, which has endured without interruption during this long period—from association with

the deceased in public societies, and in private social circles, adapted and intended for personal improvement and innocent recreation—from having been natives of the same county (Essex) and of the same town (Newburyport), and finally, from having had a community of the same friends, and from an entire coincidence of opinions on all political, moral, and religious topics, with the slight exception which will be stated. Such were the writer's opportunities of knowing the character of Mr. Tyng; and if a society, interested for the honour of our State, in preserving memorials of men who deserve to live in the memory of future generations, should desire such a notice of Mr. Tyng, as the Massachusetts Historical Society in this case have requested, perhaps there is no man, on whom the duty was more imperative—certainly no one, upon whom the deceased had stronger claims, and still more surely, no one, who would perform this duty with more cheerfulness, with a more heartfelt delight, as a tribute to a friend, to whom he is under obligations which can be felt, but never described.

It may possibly be asked by those who were ignorant of Mr. Tyng's very rare merit, who reside in distant states, why the Massachusetts Historical Society deemed it proper to request a biographical notice of Mr. Tyng. He sustained none of those high offices in the national or state governments, which are *supposed* to be the proofs of great merit; a supposition, which we are afraid to say, is too often gratuitous. He made none of those splendid displays of eloquence at the bar, or in the senate, which recommend the fortunate possessor of such gifts to popular favour. His course, like his character and manners, was in that unobtrusive class, which exerts perhaps a wider influence on the character of society, than that of the more favoured objects of popular preference. If it be true in governments, from which the great mass of the whole population is forcibly excluded from political power, that much the greatest portion of the tal-

ents of those countries is to be found in private life, it is as true in our country, that the soundest, and often the ablest portion of our people shrink from the struggles and sacrifices of personal independence, which, even with us, are inseparable from the enjoyment of public honours. If Mr. Tyng could possibly have brought his independent spirit to bend to the arts, by which popular favour is secured—if he could have sacrificed his political and his moral principles, so far, as to have sought popularity by the too common course of self-degradation, he might have entered, and pursued with great success, the political career. His ambition was a more lofty one. He preferred the testimony of a good conscience, to all human applause, and he would not sacrifice a single political opinion to obtain the suffrages of any dominant party.

What, it may be asked, were the qualities and services, which entitle Mr. Tyng's memory to public notice and preservation?

First, then, it was his rare independence of mind; a quality by no means of so frequent occurrence, as to be passed over in silence in a country like our own. We boast much of our independence, but we have as much subserviency to opinions which we do not approve, as most of our neighbours. There is as much restraint on individual character and sentiments, as in many countries, where the influence of government is *more direct*. This is said, with a full knowledge of all the facts, and with nearly a half century of experience.* Opinion is not as free in our country in practice, as it is in theory. But Mr. Tyng's opinions were always free, and he pronounced them on all occasions, with the frankness of a republican. This was of course fatal to his rise as a politician. It may

* We could illustrate and prove this proposition to be true, to the extent of a volume of 500 pages. We shall only advert to one particular—religious opinions. In theory, they are free; in practice, out of Massachusetts, there is a despotism not exceeded by that of Spain, though not followed by *corporal suffering*.

be said that we have no previous restraints on the press, and no punishment for unsavoury opinions; but what are these compared with the averted eye, the secret whisper, the utter loss of influence, because you express sound but unpopular sentiments?

Secondly. Mr. Tyng's history is connected with the literature and judicial science of the state: A man whose name is associated with the jurisprudence of the state for a period of nearly twenty years—who has published sixteen volumes of judicial decisions, which have received the approbation of the profession, and of the learned judges whose opinions are reported, (among whom was one whose fame is above our praise, the late Chief Justice Parsons,) ought to have his history sketched.

It is true, that his books will render his name well known to posterity, and lawyers will judge of his talents, by the skill with which his reports were drawn up. Tyng's reputation will live as those of Burrow and Cowper, and Durnford and East have done. Still, to the jurist, it will be interesting to know who Tyng was: how he rose to the rank of reporter; and how he acquired that professional tact, which enabled him to perform his duty so well.

Lastly, and a no less important object, is to show forth the private virtues of the individual—virtues, concealed as far as he was able to conceal them; for of all the persons who fell within our acquaintance, Mr. Tyng was the most studious not to let his right hand know the good, which his left hand was incessantly employed in doing. This is not panegyric, but sober truth, drawn from the writer by his sense of duty alone.

In the brief notice, which will follow, there will be one rule, from which the writer will not dare to depart. There will be constantly present to his mind the form and character of his deceased friend. Of his contempt for all exaggerated praise, his dread of surpassing the bounds of truth, and his personal diffidence,

no man who enjoyed his intimate acquaintance, could entertain a doubt. It would be, therefore, an act of great injustice to his memory, a wanton violation of what we know to have been his feelings, to indulge in the common and too often prostituted style of general and unmeaning praise. His character was severely modest; and who can venture to praise, in the usual style, *such* a man? We cannot.

DUDLEY ATKINS TYNG, Esquire, was born at Newbury, in that part of it now incorporated as Newburyport, on the 3d of September, 1760. He was the fifth child of Dudley Atkins, Esquire. Mr. Tyng's father having died at the early age of 37, under circumstances of great embarrassment as a merchant, in no degree affecting his character as a man, the care of his whole family devolved, without other means, than the resources of her own strong and vigorous mind, upon his widow, the late Mrs. Sarah Atkins. Those who, with us, had the happiness of knowing the energy, perseverance, and high intellectual character of this lady, will not be surprised at her surmounting difficulties, which would have discouraged minds of less force, and that she not only provided for the physical wants of her children, but imparted to them, by her example and precepts, what was of inestimable and unappreciable value to them, intellectual and moral power; a power, which (if there were none of them now living,) we should say, had been most fully exemplified in their long and highly useful lives. Mrs. Atkins's efforts and usefulness were not, however, confined to her own family; they shed a benign and most powerful influence upon all who enjoyed the delights of her society. A more radiant mind, one which exerted an higher influence on all around her, cannot easily be cited—certainly fifty years' experience do not enable the writer to recall one, whose moral efficacy was greater.

We should not have dwelt upon this subject, were it not, that in our opinion, much of Mr. Tyng's firm-

ness of character, of his sterling integrity, and soundness of opinions, may be fairly traced to the influence of a mother, whom no stranger ever visited without a conscious improvement. Peace to her delightful memory! which is as fresh to the writer, as it was *forty* years since.

Mr. Tyng received his early instruction at Dummer Academy, under the auspices of that profound scholar, but singularly eccentric man, Master Moody. He was indebted to the friendship of Tristram Dalton, Jonathan Jackson, Nathaniel Tracy, and John Tracy, Esquires, for the means of his education at Cambridge; and it was not lost upon Mr. Tyng. One of the very *last acts of his life* was to record this kindness. How many of the ablest men in Great Britain and in this country are indebted to the prophetic kindness of liberal persons, who, perceiving the dawn of talent in young men, hasten to encourage it. And how delightful the reward, when the exertion is found to nurture a mind, as strong, as pure, as vigorous, and to produce a life as useful, as that of Mr. Tyng. Mr. Tyng's academic opportunities were not lost upon him. His reputation as a scholar was such, that when a total eclipse of the sun was expected in October 1780, in his senior year, and the government of the State deemed the observation of it to be so important, as to fit out a government vessel, to go to Penobscot bay, and to obtain from the British commander permission to enter that bay, then in British power, Dr. Williams, the Professor of Astronomy, selected John (now Judge) Davis and Tyng, of the then senior class, as his assistants in this expedition. There cannot be a stronger proof of the high standing, which he then held in his class, in that particular science.

After Mr. Tyng received the degree of bachelor of arts, his necessities compelled him to seek occupation as an instructor, and he found employment, as such, in a respectable family in Virginia. Originally, his engagement was with Judge Mercer, one of the

Judges of the highest Court in Virginia ; but on arriving in Virginia, he removed to the estate of Mrs. Selden, a sister of Judge Mercer. He however entered as a student in Judge Mercer's office, and there laid the foundation (and an excellent one it must have been) of his subsequent legal knowledge. He was admitted to practice in Virginia, and on his return to his native state, he was also admitted to full practice here. This is the whole history of Mr. Tyng's law advantages ; and we are the more disposed to take notice of it, as it will show the rare force of his mind, and the readiness, with which he made intellectual attainments. Upon his return from Virginia in 1784, he was, by the influence and effective exertions of his early friend and instructor, Chief Justice Parsons, admitted to the Essex bar. Precisely at this critical moment, there occurred a rare circumstance, an event which exerted a most inauspicious influence on the fortunes and future history of Mr. Tyng. With greater means of knowledge than any other individual could possess, we have no hesitation in saying, that to the circumstances, now to be related, he owed the defeat of the fairest prospects in his profession, and was reduced by them to shifts and expedients, in his future life, from which his sound talents and learning, his industry and vigour of mind, would have elevated and secured him. If Mr. Tyng had never felt the oppressive weight of *patronage*, we should have seen him at the head of the Essex bar, and sustaining an honourable distinction on the bench of the highest court of law. We think that this point is almost proved by the fact, that under every possible disadvantage, he discovered in his advanced age, a rare talent for his profession, of which we shall speak more at large, when we come to the review of what he subsequently effected. As early as November 1783, which was only two years after he left college, he most unfortunately for his future success in life, as we shall abundantly show, received an intimation from one of his sisters, inform-

ing him, that he was to receive a fortune on the death of a Mrs. Winslow, a branch of the Dudley family, with which Mr. Tyng was allied. In order to explain this transaction, very common in Great Britain, but equally rare in our country, it will be necessary to state, (and it is not uninteresting in giving a historical account of this State,) that the principal branch of this ancient family of Tyng, one of the *original patentees* of the Plymouth colony, had become extinct. The last surviving male, Mr. James Tyng, of Tyngsborough, intermarried with Rebecca Russell, second daughter of the late Honorable James Russell of Charlestown, and died without issue. His widow subsequently became the wife of the late Judge Lowell, by whom she had several children who survive.* Upon the death of the last male heir of the ancient Tyng family, one of the oldest in New England, the landed estates in the ancient town of Tyngsborough descended to Mrs. Winslow, his only surviving sister and heir. Mrs. Winslow felt all the aristocratic feelings which were common to the great landholders of this State, before the revolution, and as all the Tyng blood in this quarter was extinct, she resolved to settle her estate on her distinguished maternal family, the Dudleys. Unfortunately for him, in surveying the claims of her numerous family, she fixed upon our excellent friend, Mr. Tyng. She put upon him the onerous load of sustaining the expiring fortunes of an impoverished family. Mr. Tyng's connexion with her arose from a very remote source. They were mutually descendants from a Mrs. Rebecca Tyng, who had married Governor Joseph Dudley, and they stood in the relation of sixth cousins to each other. So completely had the old Tyng family run out in less than two hundred years.

No event of Mr. Tyng's whole life could have been so adverse as the accidental circumstance of her fix-

* This fact is mentioned, merely to explain the cause of the writer's intimate knowledge of this interesting part of Mr. Tyng's life.

ing her preferences upon him, and resolving, with kind intentions, to make him the object of her most ruinous bounty. She made known to Mr. Tyng her unhappy designs in his favour. The late Judge Lowell being the brother-in-law of Mrs. Winslow, and the bosom and affectionate friend of Mrs. Atkins, the mother of Mr. Tyng, was the confidential adviser of both. All the facts are as familiarly known to the writer of this sketch, as they were to our deceased friend Mr. Tyng himself. He was the announced heir of the great Tyng estates; but no man ever passed so severe a novitiate for admission to a Monkish order. She changed her will as the wind blew north or south, and finally bequeathed to him a large farm, giving away the principal means, and nearly all the means, of supporting it.* Our excellent friend and associate, whose delicacy was pre-eminent above his other virtues, never lisped one complaint. He took possession of his farm, of very indifferent soil, generally; and with scientific skill, he tried its capacities, till he found ruin the inevitable consequence. His pride, and no man had a greater share of that honourable quality, (honourable, when modified by good sense,) induced him to persevere, until all his friends demanded a change. He was appointed to the Collectorship of Newburyport. This was a radical change for a lawyer, a great farmer of a thousand acres, but our friend had the vigour of mind adapted to such a change. No man in the United States, from Maine to Georgia, ever performed the duties of a Collector with greater fidelity, exactitude, and ability, than he performed them. The testimony of his recent neighbours, and of the Treasury department, will prove this fact. He left that office with a reputation as spotless as that with which, thirty years afterwards, he left the world. Then came the great

* Nothing in this sketch of an important incident in Mr. Tyng's life, is intended as the slightest impeachment of Mrs. Winslow's character. The truth is, that she considered the devise of the whole landed estate of the Tyng family a noble act; but in modern times, and to a man without capital, a great farm is a great burden.

revolution in our republic, the entire overthrow and subversion of truly republican principles, and the substitution of the *name* for the *substance*. During the twelve years of the two first administrations, the only question thought of, was a man's *fitness* for his office. Mr. Jefferson's accession was the signal for the introduction of a new principle in our government. It worked well for his friends for twenty years, so long as the dominant and intolerant party were held together by the strong links of *common interest*. So long as the dread of a virtuous minority restrained them, their power was as despotic as that of Russia or Turkey. But since they have succeeded in crushing all the pure advocates for republican principles, we have witnessed scenes, which all of us predicted, and which the old Jeffersonians condemn as much as we do—a shameless avowal of private interest—of utter disregard to that of the public. How this too general corruption of public men will terminate, and to what consequences it may lead, nothing but actual history can show. Whether there is a redeeming spirit in our institutions, as our professional writers, themselves subject in some degree to the influence of this corruption, pretend, time alone, the great resolver of all doubts, will determine. To the unprincipled revolution which brought Mr. Jefferson into power, Mr. Tyng owed the loss of his office. He lost it, and the public lost, by his removal, a faithful, capable, efficient officer—a man without reproach and without guile. He lost it, and simply because he was too honest to truckle to the existing authority. This single fact condemns the policy and integrity of that administration. But his fate was only that of a thousand others.

Thus thrown once more on the world, in the meridian of life, incapable of competing at the bar which he had scarcely touched, and to which he had never been enured, Mr. Tyng removed to Boston with the hope of regaining some share in professional employment. No man who has not witnessed, or felt in his

own person, the up-hill labour of striving in a profession which he had long abandoned, can truly feel the difficulties with which Mr. Tyng had to contend—they were to his mind and character insuperable. At this juncture, the most critical moment of Mr. Tyng's life, Ephraim Williams Esq., the first Reporter of the judicial decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of this State, resigned his office, and Mr. Tyng was appointed his successor. Here commenced the more public character of our late venerated associate. The office to which he was appointed was one of the most important and interesting in our republic. Mr. Tyng took upon himself these arduous duties under disadvantages, which would have made any other man shudder. The writer of this notice has often thought, that the intrepidity and self-reliance, which induced Mr. Tyng to undertake this task, could only be equalled by his extraordinary success in its execution. Let us pause to reflect, that he had only an education in Virginia, during which he had been a private preceptor—that he had afterwards but a transient practice at the bar—that the rest of his life had been spent in agricultural pursuits, and as Collector of Newburyport; and what must be our surprise at his undertaking, at more than forty years of age, the important duty of reporting the judicial decisions of this great Commonwealth? Yet there was neither vanity nor presumption on his part. Those who selected and recommended him were well aware of the powers of his mind, and the admirable adaptation of his habits to the office proposed for him. They were in no degree disappointed. He fulfilled those duties as well, and probably much better, than many men who are eminent advocates at the bar could possibly have done. The writer of the present article has been so long withdrawn from professional practice, that his opinion would deserve very little weight; yet so far as his opinion would go, (after fourteen years' extensive practice at the bar,) he may be permitted to say, that no

legal Reports in use in his day, were to be compared to those of Mr. Tyng, for the simplicity, fulness, and accuracy of the general statements of the case, upon which much of the merits of any reports must depend. But the writer should do very little justice to Mr. Tyng, if he expressed only his own crude opinions, the opinions of a man who has forgotten half the law he once learned. The reputation of Mr. Tyng as a reporter, rests on the opinion of the late Chief Justice Parsons, Judge Story, Chief Justice Parker, Judges Jackson, Putnam, and Wilde, and of the profession generally. It may be asked by the ignorant, what proof does an able report afford of talent in the reporter? To this we may reply, that no man can give an able report of an argument, a sermon, a discourse, without fully comprehending it. No man can give a scientific statement of the grounds of any action, and the pleadings, without being a well and thorough bred lawyer. It is then a matter of *historical fact* that our friend, our lamented friend, Mr. Tyng, was a sound lawyer, a man of acute mind, of accurate perceptions. Of the almost infinite labour, which he must have sustained and undergone in preparing these reports for the press, and in supervising their publication, no man can be sufficiently sensible, who has not submitted to this dreadful process; that he has produced works which will endure as long as our liberties, and be praised till they shall be extinct, is a source of satisfaction to his surviving friends.

It would be improper to leave the character of Mr. Tyng without giving a bird's eye view of it. In detail, we have presented it, perhaps at more length, than the circumscribed course of his life would to strangers seem to require, but we have been entirely silent as to the traits of character which rendered him so dear (and who on earth was dearer?) to his intimate friends and associates. There will be nothing in our sketch like the common cant, which might be *stereotyped*, and answer for *all* characters. We shall

draw the man as he lived and died. Mr. Tyng was a man of strong feelings and passions. He was never indifferent on *any* subject, or as to *any* person. Where he *loved*, he loved with an intensity, which few people feel, and of which, when they perceived it in him, they could scarcely form any conception. His temper was frank, approaching, in the view of strangers, to abruptness and severity. A nearer approach, and a more intimate knowledge, convinced you that no man had a greater share of what is termed the milk of human kindness. He was the most tender-hearted man, whom the writer of this imperfect sketch ever knew, and he was the most solicitous to conceal this *weakness*—shall we call it sublimity? He affected to do it under the guise of an apparent roughness, but it was ill-concealed, and a very slight acquaintance showed the honest disguise. He was eminently benevolent. Distress, in whatever form it presented itself, took deep hold upon his heart, and no man of his age or country ever devoted more hours, or greater exertions, than he did, to relieve the suffering, to bring forward retiring merit, and to soften and alleviate the anxieties and wants of his fellow men. There was a circumstance in Mr. Tyng's life, of which the writer was ignorant until after his decease, and which produced a greater influence on his future life and character than we can safely estimate. It seems that in early life he had resolved to devote himself to the service of the Episcopal church as a priest. He was deterred from this by the difficulty (in 1782) of procuring Episcopal ordination. To that venerable establishment his whole life was devoted, and probably that church cannot name among its members, one more devoted to its interests, and few who rendered it more efficient service. For no one trait in Mr. Tyng's unblemished character, does the writer of this article, differing from him in his faith, feel a more profound respect, than for the constancy and sincerity with which he adhered to the religious opinions and forms, which, with solemn de-

liberation, he had selected and preferred. Yet Mr. Tyng was no bigot. He was perfectly catholic in his religious creed.

We abstain from saying any thing of Mr. Tyng's domestic character. A christian upon conviction and research, a man of high moral principle; the exemplary performance of domestic duties followed as a necessary consequence. That he should live beloved by those who knew him intimately, and of course, be lamented, now we can see his benevolent form no more, is the natural and inevitable effect of his virtues.

We have reserved to the close a sketch of Mr. Tyng's mind and pretensions as a scholar. Mr. Tyng was educated at a period when learning in this country, and instruction at the University was at its very lowest ebb. Following him immediately in a course of academic education, we are able to state this to be true from actual knowledge. The college was shaken to its centre by the revolutionary war. Its students were for a time dispersed, its funds dilapidated, and sunk by depreciated paper. The old race of ripe scholars had disappeared, and nothing but the shadow of its past glories remained. The successive administrations of Locke and Langdon had completed the ruin which civil commotions had begun. That Mr. Tyng should have made himself a sound scholar under such disadvantages is the best proof of the vigour of his mind, and the intensity of his application. That he was such a scholar, to all the useful purposes of life, we all know. He had a ripe and chaste taste in literature. He was well conversant with English history and belles-lettres. His conversation and writings afford abundant proofs of it.

Mr. Tyng was in every sense a public spirited man—a promoter of the agriculture and general prosperity of the country. To his mind and exertions, we owe the first canal ever made in Massachusetts, round Patucket Falls in the Merrimack,

a work which was of great value to his native town and county, and now the site of the greatest manufacturing establishment in this country. We intended only a sketch of his useful, unassuming, and interesting life. We could extend it with truth, but we are reminded of his own modesty, which sought to conceal his merits, and we therefore pause here, leaving much untold, which would do him honour; but we trust we have shown that he deserved a place in the history of the ancient State which gave him birth, and that the Dudleys and Tyngs have sustained no injury by HIS life and conduct; and surely the Atkyns family, his nearer friends, may have cause to be proud of his character. Mr. Tyng intermarried about the year 1792, with the eldest daughter of the late Stephen Higginson Esq., Sarah Higginson, by whom he has many surviving children of both sexes. Dr. Atkyns of Newburyport has resumed the old family name, and is the oldest son. There are also two sons in the Episcopal church, who still retain his adopted name of Tyng. After the death of his first wife, he married another daughter of the late Mr. Higginson, who survives. Thus some of our most ancient families were united after a lapse of nearly two centuries.

Of the surviving members of the families of Atkyns and Tyng it would be improper to speak, but we may indulge the hope that they will long sustain the reputation which descended to them. A republican government has as deep, and indeed a deeper interest in the preservation of its ancient families, than those of an aristocratical character. Hereditary virtues are as valuable to a republic, as to any other form of government. But it is only the *virtue*, not the descent, which is of any value. It is surely a strong motive to good conduct, that your predecessors have done *worthy service* to the *State*. They cannot transmit those merits to their posterity, but most assuredly the desire, and the honest pride, which is inseparable from our nature, to sustain the reputation of our predeces-

sors, is a laudable one, and so far as it operates, is highly useful to a State, be its political form aristocratic, or republican. It is, indeed, a feeling inseparable from our condition, and the attempt to eradicate it, is as unwise, as it is futile. It is a powerful motive to good conduct, and certainly a republic has as much need of *such motives* as a monarchy. No danger need be apprehended from this principle of human feeling, since there is always a corrective in the worst passions of mankind, their envy, and jealousy, and in the entire freedom of suffrage.

If this memoir has been extended beyond the bounds ordinarily allotted to biographical sketches, it should be remembered, that it relates the later annals of a descendant of some of the most eminent founders of our State.

INSTANCES OF LONGEVITY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[Continued from Vol. 1, (Third Series,) p. 158.]

Time of Decense.	Name.	Residence.	Age.
1767,	Widow Anna Glover,	Pelham,	106.
1784,	Widow M'Duffee,	Rochester,	91.
1787,	Widow Margaret Wight,	Dover,	102.
1791,	Widow Eunice Hall,	Newmarket,	91.
1793,	Widow Twombly,	Rochester,	90.
1793,	John M'Crillis,	Canterbury,	93.
1795,	Hugh Tallant,	Pelham,	101.
1795,	Samuel Drown,	Rochester,	91.
1798,	Widow Harford,	Rochester,	91.
1798,	Ebenezer Jones,	Rochester,	90.
1799,	Widow Richards,	Rochester,	99.
1801,	Widow Sarah Toppan,	Hampton,	96.
1802,	Philip Richardson,	Pelham,	90.
1802,	Widow Hannah Batchelder,	Weare,	91.
1802,	Widow Wright,	Pelham,	97.
1803,	Widow Elizabeth Smith,	Sanbornton,	97.
1804,	Widow Johnson,	Pelham,	90.
1804,	Widow Rachel Meloon,	Salisbury,	94.
1805,	Widow Abigail Sanborne,*	Canterbury,	101.
1805,	Widow Elizabeth Stebbins,	Springfield,	92.

* She belonged to the Shaker Society—was born in Brentwood in 1705.

1805,	Widow Hannah Giles,	Croydon,	94.
1806,	Widow Elizabeth Butler,	Pelham,	94.
1806,	Widow Rachel Wilson,	New Boston,	93.
1806,	Thomas Drew,	Rochester,	95.
1807,	Widow Bickford,	Rochester,	90.
1808,	Widow Abigail M ^c Crillis,	Canterbury,	92.
—,	James Otterson,*	Chester,	103.
—,	Widow Ela, or Healey,	Chester,	100.
1809,	Jonathan Hodgdon,	Rochester,	90.
1810,	Nathaniel Green,	Concord,	92.
1810,	Widow Anna Sherburne,	Pelham,	93.
1811,	Samuel Wingate,	Rochester,	90.
1812,	Jonathan Duston,†	Canaan,	93.
1812,	Benjamin Jackson,	Canterbury,	96.
1812,	Eunice Whidden,	Canterbury,	93.
1813,	Widow Mary Butler,	Pelham,	90.
1813,	Deacon Ichabod Palmer,	Orford,	97.
1814,	Widow Mary Ann Snow,‡	Plymouth,	93.
1814,	Joshua Boynton,	Canterbury,	91.
1815,	John Ingalls,	Canterbury,	93.
1816,	Deborah, (a woman of color)	Canterbury,	102.
1817,	Mary Currier,	Canterbury,	94.
1818,	Widow Peggy Kimball,	Pelham,	93.
1818,	Widow Mary Kent,	Pelham,	92.
1819,	Widow Heard,	Rochester,	92.
1820,	John Huntoon,	Canterbury,	92.
1821,	Thomas Cresson,	Swanzy,	99.
1821,	Isaac Small,§	Canterbury,	101.
1822,	Widow Hannah Small,||	Canterbury,	102.
1822,	Hannah Snell, (single woman),	Canterbury,	92.
1823,	William Rines,	Canterbury,	95.
1823,	Lieut. Job Kidder,	Goffstown,	100-3mo.
1823,	Joseph Pallote,	Canterbury,	105.
1823,	Widow Mary Butler,	Pelham,	94.
1824,	Widow Hannah Richardson,	Pelham,	92.
1824,	Widow Mary Avery,	Mason,	94.
1824,	Widow Abigail Owen,	Winchester,	102.
1824,	Widow Sarah Gay,	Swanzy,	93.
1824,	Widow Swain,	Barrington,	94.
1824,	Widow Rebecca Shaw,	Sandown,	96.
1824,	Widow Elizabeth Gilman,	Meredith,	97.

* The year of his decease has not been ascertained. From him, I suppose, the proverbial phrase, common in this region, "As old as Otterson," was derived. He came to this country from Scotland.

† Grandson of the intrepid Hannah Duston, of Haverhill, who destroyed the Indians at Contoocook in 1698.

‡ She lived to see her fifth generation.

§ Isaac Small was born at Cape Cod in 1721.

|| Widow of Isaac Small, before mentioned.

1824,	Thomas Perkins,*	Wakefield,	91.
1824,	Benjamin Blake,	Wolfeborough,	93.
1824,	Jonathan Cressy,	Chesterfield,	92.
1824,	Asa Carlton,	Pelham,	95.
1824,	Widow Hannah Richardson,	Pelham,	92.
1824,	Widow Rebecca Shaw,	Sanbornton,	96.
1824,	Widow Joanna Woolson,†	Amherst,	96.
1824,	Widow Elizabeth Adams,	Plainfield,*	93.
1824,	Widow Anna Draper,	Keene,	90.
1824,	Widow Tryphena Stiles,‡	Somersworth,	103.
1824,	John Twombly,	Milton,	97.
1824,	John Buxton,	Nelson,	96.
1824,	Warren Snow,	Chesterfield,	90.
1824,	Mrs. Potter,	Concord,	90.
1824,	Hannah Merriam,	Walpole,	92.
1824,	Widow Rebecca Parker,	Portsmouth,	92.
1824,	Widow Sarah Smart,	Sanbornton,	101.
1824,	Widow Lakeman,	Sanbornton,	94.
1824,	Col. William Gregg,§	Londonderry,	93.
1824,	Jonathan Martin,	Springfield,	92.
1824,	Francis Como,	Sutton,	100.
1824,	Ensign Ebenezer Colcord,	Brentwood,	99.
1824,	John Fifield.	Salisbury,	91.
1824,	Nathaniel Wiggin,	Stratham,	97.
1824,	Mehitabel Colburn,	Temple,	93.
1824,	Widow Elizabeth Beede,	Gilmanton,	92.
1824,	Widow Hannah Wheeler,	Keene,	103.
1825,	Widow Hannah Parker,	Hollis,	95.
1825,	Widow Abiah Lincoln,	Keene, ?	93.
1825,	Widow Mary Locke,	Rye,	91.
1825,	Timothy Favour,	Newtown,	93.
1825,	John Morgan,	New London,	93.
1825,	John Burns,	Milford,	92.
1825,	Col. Cutting Cilley,||	Northfield,	90.
1825,	Deacon Thomas Farwell,	Washington,	91.
1825,	Widow Dorothy Berry,	Dover,	93.
1825,	Widow Anna Kimball,	Dover,	90.
1825,	Widow Abigail Lowell,	Epping,	97.
1825,	Widow Jennet Cochran,	New Boston,	97.
1825,	Mrs. Spear,¶	Acworth,	99.
1825,	Martha March,	Greenland,	92.

* A great grandson of William Perkins, who died in Newmarket in 1732, at the age of 116.

† Widow of Thomas Woolson, who died at Amherst 1823, aged 93.

‡ She was born 22 February, 1722.

§ A memoir of Col. Gregg may be found in the 3d vol. of Farmer and Moore's Collections.

|| Brother to the late Major General Joseph Cilley of Nottingham.

¶ A native of Ireland.

1825,	Widow Lydia Bouttell,*		98.
1825,	William Burroughs,	New Ipswich,	98.
1825,	James Chase,	Gilmanton,	90.
1825,	Deacon William M'Keen,	Deering,	92.
1825,	Col. Robert Wilson,	Londonderry,	92.
1825,	Capt. Nathan Brown,	Poplin,	91.
1825,	Jonathan Beede,†	Poplin,	90.
1825,	Capt. Asa Pattee,‡	Canaan,	91.
1825,	Capt. John Sloan,§	Lime,	94.
1825,	Moses Jewett,	Unity,	91.
1825,	Widow Elizabeth Ferguson,	Portsmouth,	92.
1825,	Widow Mary Noble,	Portsmouth,	91.
1825,	Widow Pearson,	Pelham,	92.
1825,	Widow Sarah Crosby,	Milford,	94.
1825,	Widow Martha Lamprey,	Rye,	94.
1825,	Widow Mary Straw,||	Hopkinton,	95.

Concord, N. H. 26 Oct. 1825.

BILL OF MORTALITY FOR AMHERST, N. H. FOR TWELVE YEARS, COMMENCING 1 JANUARY, 1815.

By JOHN FARMER.

[Continued from Vol. IV. (Second Series.)]

Years.	Under 1 year.	Between 1 & 5	5 and 10	10 and 15	15 and 20	20 and 25	25 and 30	30 and 35	35 and 40	40 and 45	45 and 50	50 and 55	55 and 60	60 and 65	65 and 70	70 and 75	75 and 80	80 and 85	85 and 90	90 and 95	95 and 100	100 and 105.
1815	6	7	1		2	3																
1816	6	6	1			2	1		1	1	2	3		1								
1817	2	2			1	3		3	2						1							
1818	4	4		2	4	1	2		1	1	1		1	2	1		1	1	2	2		
1819	4	4			1		3	1	1	2				2	1		1	1	1			
1820	2	3			1			2		1	2	2		1	2	1	1	1	1			
1821	2	3	2		1	1				2		1		1	2	1	1	1	1			
1822	2	3	1	1		3	1	1	1	2	2	1		3	1	2	2	3	2			
1823	1	2	2			2	2		1	1	3	1	1		1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1
1824	4	1			1	1		1	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1					1	
1825	7	2	1	4	3	3	3		2	2	2	2	1		1	2	2		2			
1826	22	3	2	1	2	1	1		2	2	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2			
	25	67	13	6	15	21	13	9	8	16	13	13	6	12	11	15	9	13	12	2	4	1

* Formerly of Amherst.

† For many years a noted preacher among the Friends.

‡ He was in the battle of Quebec under Gen. Wolfe, and served in the war of the revolution. By two wives he had twenty-two children.

§ The oldest person in that town, and one of those who commenced its settlement, 20 May, 1764.

|| She was a member of the church seventy six-years. Her descendants were 324.

Annual number, with the aggregate and average of ages each year.

	No. of deaths.	Am't of ages.	Av. age.		No. of deaths.	Am't of ages.	Av. age.
1815	34	1092	34	1821	18	625	34
1816	20	337	17	1822	30	1350	45
1817	22	846	38	1823	18	846	47
1818	25	610	24	1824	17	680	40
1819	19	698	36	1825	33	977	29½
1820	20	842	42	1826	53	1565	29½

The preceding Bill of Mortality, with that of the ten years referred to in the Collections, Volume IV, Second Series, embraces a period of twenty-two years, and presents the following facts.

The whole number of deaths for 22 years is 534.
 The annual average number, 24.
 The average age of each individual, 32 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ years.

1 in every 5½ have lived 70 years and upwards.

1 in 65 have died annually, on an average.

266 have died over the age of 25 years.

268 have died under that age.

2 persons have lived beyond a century.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

(Continued from Vol. I, (Third Series,) p. 155.)

Hampton.

THE Congregational church in this town, according to Johnson, was gathered in the year 1639. It is probably the oldest which now exists in the State of New Hampshire, having, it is believed, continued an organized body from its first establishment until the present time. The ministers who have successively had the pastoral charge of it have been,

1. Rev. Stephen Batchelor, who came from England in company with Rev. Thomas Weld in the ship William and Francis, and arrived at Boston, 5 June, 1632. He was probably settled when the church was gathered, and remained its minister about three years. For further notices of this man, see *Savage's Winthrop*, vol I. p. 78.

2. Rev. Timothy Dalton was settled about the same time with Mr. Batchelor. He died in 1661, and is said to be the great ancestor of several respectable families of that name.

3. Rev. John Wheelwright, who came from England in 1636, and after his arrival preached at Boston, afterwards the founder of the church and town of Exeter, of the church at Wells; in Maine, was settled in Hampton in 1647. It is uncertain how long he remained here. He afterwards settled in Salisbury, where he died 15 November, 1679.

4. Rev. Seaborn Cotton, born at sea in August, 1633, while his parents, Rev. John and Elizabeth Cotton, were on their passage to this country, graduated at Harvard college in 1651, ordained at Hampton 1660, died 1686, aged 53.

5. Rev. John Cotton, son of the preceding, graduated at Harvard college in 1678, ordained in 1696, died 27 March, 1710, aged 57.

6. Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, son of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin of Cambridge, and grandson of Major General Gookin, graduated at Harvard college in 1703, was ordained in 1710, and died in 1734, aged 48.

7. Rev. Ward Cotton, son of Rev. Roland Cotton of Sandwich, son of Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, son of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, graduated at Harvard College in 1729, was ordained in 1754, and dismissed in 1765.

8. Rev. Ebenezer Thayer graduated at Harvard College in 1753, was ordained 17 September, 1763; died 6 September 1792, aged 58. Dr. Thayer of Lancaster is his son.

9. Rev. Jesse Appleton, D. D. son of Francis Appleton, a descendant of John Appleton, Esq. who died at Waldingfield, Suffolk, in 1436, was born at New Ipswich, 17 November, 1772. He graduated at Dartmouth college in 1792; was ordained at Hampton, 22 February, 1797, dismissed upon his being chosen to the presidency of Bowdoin college in 1807, and died at Brunswick, Me. 12 November, 1819, aged 47.

10. Rev. Josiah Webster, a native of Chester, N. H., graduated at Dartmouth college in 1798, was installed in the year 1808. He had been previously settled over the 2d church in Ipswich, where he was ordained 13 November, 1799, and dismissed 23 July, 1806.

Hampton-Falls.

The Congregational church in this town was probably organized about the year 1712. The ministers who have been ordained over it have been six, as follows :

1. Rev. Theophilus Cotton, the youngest son and 11th child of Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, who was the 2d son of Rev. John Cotton of Boston, was born 5 May, 1682. He graduated at Harvard college in 1701 ; was ordained 13 January, 1712, and died 16 August, 1726, aged 45.

2. Rev. Joseph Whipple, who graduated at Harvard college in 1720, succeeded Mr. Cotton, and was ordained 15 January, 1727 ; died 17 February, 1757, aged 57.

3. Rev. Josiah Bayley, who graduated at Harvard college in 1752, was ordained 19 October, 1757 ; and died 12 September, 1762, aged 29.

4. Rev. Paine Wingate, son of Rev. Paine Wingate, of Amesbury, graduated at Harvard college in 1759 ; was ordained 14 December, 1763, resigned his pastoral charge, 18 March, 1771. He was afterwards Senator in the Congress of the United States, and judge of the Superior Court of New Hampshire.

5. Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D., who graduated at Harvard college in 1740, and had been the minister of the 1st church in Portsmouth from 1747 to 1774, and President of Harvard College, was installed 18 January, 1781, and died 29 November, 1797, in his 75th year.

6. Rev. Jacob Abbot, son of Abiel Abbot, Esq. of Wilton, graduated at Harvard college in 1792, was ordained 15 August.

Hampstead.

The first minister of Hampstead was the Rev. Henry True, who graduated at Harvard college in 1750, and was ordained 24 June, 1752. Rev. Edward Barnard preached the sermon from Acts xi. 24, "For he was a good man." Dr. Eliot in his Biographical Dictionary, says of this sermon, that it would have done honor to any divine in any age or country. The Charge was given by Rev. Joseph Parsons, of Bradford, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester. Mr. True died in 1782.

Rev. John Kelly, a descendant from John Kelly,* one of the first settlers of Newbury, who came from Newbury in England, graduated at Dartmouth college in 1791, and was ordained 5 December, 1792.

Note. It is satisfactorily ascertained that Rev. Thomas Weld, the first minister of Dunstable, II Coll. Hist. Soc. X. p. 54, was not killed by the Indians as intimated in President Alden's Collection of Epitaphs, and Sperry's summary History of the Church in Dunstable, but died a natural death, 9 June, 1702, and was buried June 11th. "He was an eminent preacher of the word of God; a man well beloved and much lamented by them that knew him."†

Concord, N. H. 30 June, 1825.

Newcastle.

New-Castle formerly constituted a part of Portsmouth, and was originally the seat of considerable business. It was incorporated as a township, in 1693, having before that time been known by the name of *Great Island*. The time when the Congregational church was first organized has not been yet ascertained. There might have existed one some years before the commencement of the 18th century. There did exist one as early as 1704. The inhabitants appear to have had a succession of preachers from an early

* The late Rev. William Kelly, of Warner, Col. Moses Kelly, and John Kelly, Esq. of Northwood, descended from him.

† Mr. Daniel Fairfield's Journal, as copied by Rev. T. M. Harris, D. D.

period, but it is not easy to recover their names. Samuel Moody, who graduated at Harvard college 1689, appears to have been there several years, as would seem from an ancient record in the Secretary's office, containing the births of his children.* The regularly settled ministers of this place since the year 1704, have been as follows :

	Grad.	Settled.	Dismissed or died.
John Emerson,	H. C. 1689,	1704,	1712.
William Shurtleff,	" 1707,	1712,	1732.
John Blunt,	" 1727,	1732,	died 1747.
David Robinson,	" 1738,	1748,	" 1748 or 9.
Stephen Chase,	" 1728,	1750,	" 1778.
Oliver Noble,†	N. J. C. 1763,	1784,	dis: —.

Rev. John Emerson, a native of Ipswich, Mass., after his dismissal, was settled over the South Church in Portsmouth, 23 March, 1715, and died there 21 June, 1732, aged 62. His successor at Newcastle, Rev. William Shurtleff, who also succeeded him at Portsmouth, was installed in 1732, and died 9 May, 1747. Rev. John Blunt was ordained 20 December, 1732; died in August, 1747. His wife, by whom he had seven children, was a daughter of Hon. John Frost, of Newcastle. Rev. David Robinson died within about 10 months after his ordination. Rev. Stephen Chase had been the minister of Lynn, Mass. He died in January 1775. Of Rev. Mr. Noble an account will be given under Orford.

Greenland.

Conjecture would assign the date of the church in this town in July, 1707, in which case it would rank

- * 1. Joshua Moody, born 11 Feb. 1695-6; died 27 May, 1696.
- 2. Joshua Moody, " 31 Oct. 1697; perhaps grad. H. C. 1716.
- 3. Samuel Moody, " 29 Oct. 1699; " " H. C. 1718.
- 4. Mary Moody, " 16 Nov. 1701.

Mr. Moody afterwards removed to Boston. His wife was Esther Green, of Boston, whom he married 4 April, 1695.

† Dartmouth Catalogue calls him *Obadiah* Noble, and probably New Jersey Catalogue does the same; but the N. H. Gazetteer and Mr. Kelly call him *Oliver*. [*Oliver* Noble graduated at Yale college in 1758, was afterwards minister at Newbury, Mass. *Obadiah* Noble graduated at Princeton, N. J. in 1763, and died at Tinmouth, Vt. Feb. 1829, aged 90. *Ed.*]

as the 8th church now existing, which was gathered in New Hampshire.

Rev. William Allen, the first minister, who graduated at Harvard college, 1703, was ordained 15 July, 1707; died 8 September, 1760, at the age of 84.

Rev. Samuel Macclintock, D. D. who was born at Medford, Mass., 1 May, 1732, graduated at New Jersey college, 1751, was ordained as colleague to Mr. Allen, 3 November, 1756, and died 27 April, 1804, aged 74. A biographical memoir of this worthy man may be found in Farmer and Moore's Collections, vol. II, p. 273-278.

Rev. James Armstrong Neal, who graduated at college, succeeded Dr. Macclintock, 22 May, 1805, and died 18 July, 1808, aged 34.

Rev. Ephraim Abbot, who was born at Newcastle, 28 September, 1779, graduated at Harvard college, 1806, was ordained 27 October, 1813, and is still in the ministry.*

Newington.

Rev. Joseph Adams, the first minister of the church in this town, which was probably organized about the time of his settlement, was son of Joseph Adams, a grandson of Henry Adams, who came from Devonshire, England, about 1630 to Mount Wollaston, now Quincy, Mass. He was born in Braintree in June, 1688, graduated at Harvard college 1710; ordained 16 November, 1715; continued his ministerial labours until January, 1783, and died 20 May, 1783, being almost 95 years—an age attained by no other minister ever settled in New Hampshire. He had been a preacher between 72 and 73 years, although he had not quite completed the 69 year from his ordination. He commenced preaching soon after he left college.

* This article was written in May, 1826. Mr. Abbot has since been dismissed, and is now (1829) Preceptor of the Academy at Westford, Mass.

Rev. Joseph Langdon, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1783, succeeded Mr. Adams, and was ordained 9 January, 1788, dismissed in March 1810, and died at Portsmouth in 1824, in the 66th year of his age.

Durham.

The church in Durham, the second in the county of Strafford, was organized 26 March, 1718, at which time Rev. Hugh Adams was installed as the pastor of it. He graduated at Harvard college, 1697, and before his settlement at Durham, had been the minister of the 2d parish in Braintree, where he was ordained 10 September, 1707. He had also been settled at Chatham, whence he was dismissed in consequence of the result of an ecclesiastical council, assembled on 25 April, 1716. He was one of the most eccentric clergymen ever settled in New Hampshire. In the office of the Secretary of State is a very curious petition, (preserved by Dr. Belknap in his Hist. N. H.) of Mr. Adams to the Provincial Assembly, in 1738, complaining of the delinquency and trespasses of his parishioners, in which he represents the town of Durham "as an Achan in the camp; and as the seven sons of Saul in the days of King David, and as Jonah in the ship of the Commonwealth of the Province." And he prays not only for justice to himself, but that a neglect to pay a minister may be made penal, and presentable by the grand jury, as it was in Massachusetts, which he considered the principal reason why the people of that Province had been "proportionably spared from the *throat pestilence* and other impoverishing more than New Hampshire." He had singular notions of the efficacy of his prayers, and among other things, which he had accomplished by prayer, he informs the assembly that being provoked by the injustice of his people, and robbing him of the £50 addition to his salary, he prayed while it was yet more

than three months to the harvest, that "it might not rain, and it rained not for three months after;" when, some of his friendly brethren prevailed upon him, and he "appointed and conscientiously sanctified a church fast from evening to evening, and abstained three meals from *eating, drinking, and smoking* any thing," and the Lord, he says, was pleased to hear, and granted such plentiful and warm rains as to produce "a considerable harvest; so as was then remarkable." He concludes his petition by importunately asking for justice, and expressing his firm belief that, *after he had obtained it*, God will be intreated for the land of New Hampshire. Various instances of his peculiarities may be found in the work referred to, Vol. II, 240-243, 281-284; Vol. III, 149-151, 193-196. He was dismissed from office, 23 January, 1739, and died at Durham in 1750, aged 74, where his descendants are said to be numerous and respectable.

Rev. Nicholas Gilman, son of Nicholas Gilman, Esq., of Exeter, succeeded Mr. Adams. He was born 18 January, 1707, graduated at Harvard college 1724, was ordained 3 March, 1742, and died 13 April, 1748, aged 41.

Rev. John Adams, son of Mr. Matthew Adams, of Boston, and nephew to Rev. Hugh Adams, succeeded Mr. Gilman. He graduated at Harvard college 1745, was ordained in 1748, and dismissed in 1778. He was afterwards settled in Maine, where he died 4 June, 1792. [See *Mr. Kelly's Ecclesiastical Memoranda in the work referred to above, Vol. II, 364, 365.*]

Rev. Curtis Coe, who graduated at Brown University in 1776, succeeded Mr. John Adams, and was ordained 1 November, 1780; dismissed 1 May, 1806. He preached the Convention sermon in 1802. After his dismissal, he was employed in the missionary service in various parts of the state.

Rev. Federal Burt, A. M. at Dartmouth college 1819, succeeded Mr. Coe, and was ordained 18 June, 1817.

Stratham.

Rev. Henry Rust, who graduated at Harvard college 1707, was ordained the first minister of the church in Stratham in April or May, 1718. He died 20 March, 1749, aged 63.

Rev. Joseph Adams, who graduated at Harvard college, 1742, was ordained, [*installed*, says one account,] 24 June, 1756, and died 24 February, 1785, aged 66. He was a Calvinist and in those days was called a *New Light*. "He had many peculiarities, but was a pious man, and much esteemed by his people."

Rev. James Miltimore, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1774, was ordained 1 February, 1786, dismissed 15 October, 1807, and afterwards settled over the 2d church in Newbury, Mass.

Rev. Jacob Cummings, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1819, was ordained 28 April, 1824.

Dover.

The ministers of this ancient town, in regular succession have been,

		Commenced.	Removed.
1. William Leveridge,		1633,	1635.
2. George Burdet,		about 1636,	1638.
3. Hanserd Knollys,		1638,	—.
4. Thomas Larkham,		—,	1642.
	Graduated.	Settled.	Died or dis.
5. Daniel Maud,	—,	1642,	1655.
6. John Rayner,		1657,	1669.
7. John Rayner, jr.	H. C. 1663,	1671,	1676.
8. John Pike,	" 1675,	—,	1710.
9. Nicholas Sever,	" 1701,	1711,	1715.
10. Jonathan Cushing,	" 1712,	1717,	1769.
11. Jeremy Belknap,	" 1762,	1767,	1786.
12. Robert Gray,	" 1786,	1787,	1805.
13. Caleb H. Sherman, Brown.	1803,	1807,	1811.
14. Joseph W. Clary,	Mid. 1808,	1812,	In office.

Rev. William Leveridge, the first minister of Dover, of whom any account can be recovered from the records, or from the early historians, probably com-

menced preaching there in 1633. He arrived in this country in the ship *James*, with Captain Wigg in that year, and repaired to Dover soon after his arrival. Whether he gathered a church there or not does not appear, but it seems hardly probable that he did. He left Dover about 1635, and repaired to Plymouth colony; remained a while at Sandwich, and afterwards removed to Brookhaven, on Long-Island, N. Y., and from that place removed in 1670, to a place called Newton. The time and place of his death do not appear in our ancient historians. Of his three successors ample accounts may be found in Dr. Belknap, and in the Hon. Mr. Savage's edition of Winthrop. Knollys, or Knolles, as his name is generally spelt, returned to England, where he died 19 September, 1691, aged 91. Larkham also returned and died in 1669, aged 68.

Daniel Maud was admitted freeman of Massachusetts colony, 25 May, 1636, having been admitted a member of Boston church the 25th October preceding. He was, according to Hubbard, "a good man, and of a serious spirit, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition."

Rev. John Rayner had been the minister of Plymouth, and various notices of him will be found in the First Series of the Collections. He died 3 April, 1669.

Rev. John Rayner, jr. succeeded his father in 1671, and died 21 December, 1676.

Rev. John Pike, it is supposed, was from Newbury. The time of his settlement has not been ascertained. He died in March, 1710.

Rev. Nicholas Sever was ordained 11 April, 1711, and was dismissed in the spring of 1715. Further notices of him may be found in the Ecclesiastical Memoranda by John Kelly, Esq. printed in Farmer and Moore's Collections.

Rev. Jonathan Cushing was ordained in September, 1717, and died in March, 1769, having been above 51 years in the ministry.

Rev. Jeremy Belknap was ordained as a colleague with Mr. Cushing, 18 February, 1767. He is the Historian of New Hampshire.

Rev. Robert Gray succeeded Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Belknap 28 February, 1787, and was dismissed in May, 1805; died in 1822 or 3.

Rev. Caleb H. Sherman was ordained in May, 1807, and dismissed in August, 1811. Mr. Clary was ordained 7 May, 1812.

Portsmouth.

For an account of the churches and ministers in Portsmouth, the reader is referred to the sketch of President Alden, in 1 Hist. Coll. X.

Concord, N. H. 10 May, 1826.

Rye.

The church in this place was organized 20 July, 1726, and Rev. Nathaniel Morrill, who graduated at Harvard college 1723, and was ordained 14 September, the same year. He continued in the ministry about seven years, and was dismissed in 1734. His successor was

Rev. Samuel Parsons, who graduated at Harvard college 1730. He was ordained 3 November, 1736, and died 4 January, 1789, aged 78. During his ministry 206 persons were admitted into full communion with the church and between 600 and 700 received baptism.

Rev. Huntington Porter, son of Rev. John Porter, of Bridgewater, succeeded Mr. Parsons. He graduated at Harvard college 1777; was ordained 29 December, 1784, and from that time to 1822, 84 persons had been received to full communion, and 811 baptized.

Plaistow.

The church in Plaistow was gathered 2 December, 1730, and Rev. James Cushing was ordained on the

same day. He was son of Rev. Caleb Cushing of Salisbury, whose wife was the widow of Rev. James Alling, his predecessor in the ministry, and daughter of Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, second son of Rev. John Cotton of Boston. Mr. Cushing graduated at Harvard college 1725; died 13 May, 1764, aged about 59.

Rev. Gyles Merrill from Salisbury, Mass., succeeded Mr. Cushing. He graduated at Harvard college 1759; was ordained 6 March, 1765, over the parish consisting of Plaistow and the north parish of Haverhill, Mass., when Rev. Edward Barnard preached the sermon. He died 27 April, 1801, aged 62. "He was a sound scholar and learned divine, and possessed that simplicity, yet dignity of manners and kindness of heart, which secured him the love and respect of all that knew him."

Somersworth.

Rev. James Pike, the first minister settled at Somersworth, was born at Newbury, Mass. 1 March, 1703; graduated at Harvard college 1725, and received his second degree in course. Soon after leaving college, he taught a grammar school at Berwick, Me. He preached his first sermon from Eph. i. 6, 7, 23 October, 1726. He commenced preaching in the northeast part of Dover, now Somersworth, 27 August, 1727, and was ordained 28 October, 1730. The sermon was preached on that occasion by Rev. Jeremiah Wise, and was printed. Mr. Pike preached his last sermon, 31 October, 1790, and died 19 March, 1792, aged 89. In 1751, he published a sermon on the "Duty of Gospel Ministers as Christ's Ambassadors," from 2 Cor. v. 20. He preached a sermon before the Convention of ministers at Newington, 9 October, 1750. Nicholas Pike, author of the "New and Complete System of Arithmetic," was his son, and was born at Somersworth, 6 October, 1743; graduated

at Harvard college 1766, and died at Newburyport 9 December, 1819, aged 76.

Rev. Pierson Thurston was ordained as colleague with Mr. Pike. He was a native of Sterling, Mass., born in December, 1763, graduated at Dartmouth college, 1787; commenced preaching at Somersworth in July, 1791, and was ordained 1 February, 1792. Rev. Samuel Spring preached the sermon from "Who is sufficient for these things." He removed from town, 2 December, 1812, and was afterwards, it is believed, settled in Vermont. He died at Leominster, Mass. 15 August, 1819, aged 56. The house in which Mr. Thurston lived was consumed by fire 22 January, 1812; when the records of the church, the communion vessels, and a social library were destroyed.

Rev. Reuben Porter succeeded Mr. Thurston, after a long interval, and was ordained 27 April, 1825.

Kensington.

The date of the church in this town has been referred to the year 1737, and the ministers who have been settled over it have been as follows:

	Settled.	Dismissed.
Rev. Jeremiah Fogg,	1737,	died 1789.
" Naphthali Shaw,	1793,	1812.
" Nathaniel Kennedy,	1813,	1816.
" Joseph A. E. Long,	1822,	182-.

Mr. Fogg was a native of Hampton; graduated at Harvard college in 1730; was ordained in November, 1737; died 1 December, 1789, aged 78.

Mr. Shaw was son of Mr. William Shaw, of Bridgewater, Mass. who died in 1809, aged 79. He graduated at Dartmouth college in 1790.

Mr. Kennedy was a foreigner, having, it is believed, come from Scotland. He was the minister of Litchfield, N. H. from 1809 to 1812.

Mr. Long, who graduated at Harvard college 1818, was ordained 5 June, 1822, and dismissed within a year or two afterwards. The church has since been vacant.

East Kingston.

But one minister has been settled over the church in this place, viz. Rev. Peter Coffin, who graduated at Harvard college 1733; ordained in 1738 or 1739;* and dismissed in 1772. He kept a true and exact meteorological diary, of which that for 1752 is in the library of the N. H. Historical Society. Mr. Coffin, it is believed, removed to Exeter, where he died. East Kingston has had no settled minister since him.

Gosport.

Gosport is one of the Isles of Shoals, and was anciently called *Appledore*, and afterwards *Star Island*. It was early invested with town privileges, and with the other islands, enjoyed religious ordinances from a very early period. Before the year 1641, a meeting-house was erected on Hog Island, and a Mr. Hull † supplied the desk. After him Mr. John Brock, who settled in Reading, Mass. preached about 12 years. There were other preachers between him and Rev. John Tucke, who was settled over a regular organized church, which was probably embodied about the time of his settlement. Mr. Tucke graduated at Harvard college 1723, and was ordained 26 July, 1732. He being located among a people who procured their subsistence by fishing, Mr. Fitch, of Portsmouth, who preached the ordination sermon, selected the following pertinent text for the occasion, "I will make you fishers of men." Mr. Tucke continued in the ministry until his death, 12 August, 1773. He left one son, Rev. John Tucke, of Epsom, and two daughters. He published a sermon preached at the ordination of his son in 1761. Mr. Tucke received a settlement of £50, and an annual salary of £110; but from 1754, his salary was paid in merchantable winter fish, at a

* Dr. Belknap, says 1738; Mr. Kelly, 1739.

† See 1 Savage's Winthrop, 163, Note.

quintal per man, making between 80 and 100 quintals per annum. The fish being worth a guinea per quintal, his salary was deemed one of the most valuable in New England.

Concord, N. H. 30 May, 1826.

Rochester.

Rochester was incorporated 10 May, 1722, and its settlement commenced 28 December, 1728. The time when the church was organized does not appear. The pastors who have been invested with the care of it have been,

	Settled.	Died or dismissed.
Rev. Amos Main,	1737,	1760.
Rev. Samuel Hill,	1760,	1764.
Rev. Avery Hall,	1766,	dis. 1775.
Rev. Joseph Haven,	1776,	1825.
Rev. Thomas Cogswell Upham,	1823,	dis. 1824.
Rev. Isaac Willey,	1826,	In office.

Rev. Mr. Main, graduated at Harvard college 1729, and died 5 April, 1760, having been in the ministry about 23 years. "He was a great blessing to the people of his charge, and greatly encouraged them in their concerns, spiritual and temporal."

Mr. Hill graduated at Harvard college 1735; was installed 19 November, 1760, and died 19 November, 1764.

Mr. Hall was the son of Rev. Theophilus Hall, of Meriden, New Chester, Conn., and was ordained 15 October, 1766, and dismissed 10 April, 1775. After his dismissal, he removed to Wakefield and engaged in agricultural pursuits, and was a magistrate of Strafford county. He died in 1820, at the age of 83.

Mr. Haven was a native of Hopkinton, Mass., born in May 1747, graduated at Harvard college 1774; ordained 10 January, 1776, and died in January, 1825, aged 77,—a worthy and good man.

Mr. Upham, son of Hon. Timothy Upham, and grandson of Rev. Timothy Upham, first minister of Deerfield, was ordained 16 July, 1823; dismissed in

1824, in consequence of his appointment to a professorship in Bowdoin college.*

Mr. Willey was ordained 18 January, 1826.

Pembroke.

The Congregational church was organized 1 March, 1737. The ministers have been,

1. Rev. Aaron Whittemore, from Concord, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1734. He was ordained at the time the church was formed, and retained his pastoral relation until his death, 16 November, 1767, at the age of 55.

2. Rev. Jacob Emery, a native of Andover, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1761, succeeded Mr. Whittemore, and was ordained 3 August, 1768, and was dismissed 23 March, 1775.

3. Rev. Zaccheus Colby, a native of Newtown, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1777, succeeded Mr. Emery, and was ordained 22 March, 1780. Soon after his ordination the Presbyteriau church in this town, (over which Rev. Daniel Mitchell, from Ireland, was settled 3 December, 1760, who died 15 December, 1776, aged 69,) united with the Congregational church under the same pastor. Mr. Colby was dismissed 11 May, 1803.

4. Rev. Rev. Abraham Burnham, a native of Dunbarton, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1804, was ordained 2 March, 1808, when the church was newly organized, consisting of 54 members, which, in 1822, had increased to more than 170.

Nottingham-West.

The Congregational church in this town was formed 30 November, 1737, and on the same day Rev. Nathaniel Merrill, who graduated at Harvard college

* Professor Upham is a descendant of the sixth generation from Maj. Gen. Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, and of the seventh from Rev. John Cotton, of Boston.

1732, was ordained. His civil contract was dissolved in 1774, but his relation to the church continued until his death in 1796.

Rev. Jabez Pond Fisher, who graduated at Brown University 1788, was ordained 24 February, 1796; and dismissed in May, 1801. Mr. Fisher has since been employed as a missionary in various places.

The Congregational church in this place has become extinct, having united with the Presbyterian church, over which Rev. W. K. Talbot is settled.

Keene.

The Congregational church in Keene was gathered 18 October, 1738.

1. Rev. Jacob Bacon, a native of Wrentham, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1731, was ordained 18 October, 1738, and continued the minister of the place until April, 1747, when the settlement being broken up by the Indians, he went to Plymouth where he was settled. [See Col. Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. III, Second Series.] He died at Rowley in 1787, aged 81. [See an interesting letter from him to Meshech Weare, Esq., published in Farmer and Moore's Collections, Vol. II. 176-178.]

2. Rev. Ezra Carpenter, who graduated at Harvard college 1720, and had been the minister of Hull, Mass., for a number of years, was settled over Keene and Swanzey, 4 October, 1753, and contracted with from year to year until 1760, after which his connexion with Keene ceased.

3. Rev. Clement Sumner, who graduated at Yale college in 1758, was ordained 11 June, 1761, and dismissed 30 April, 1772.

4. Rev. Aaron Hall, who graduated at Yale college in 1772, was ordained 19 February, 1778, and died 12 August, 1814.

5. Rev. David Oliphant was ordained 25 May, 1815, dismissed 1 December, 1817, and is now settled in Beverly, Mass.

6. Rev. Zedekiah Smith Barstow, who graduated at Yale college in 1813, was ordained 1 July, 1818.

A second Congregational church (Unitarian) has been formed at Keene, and Rev. Thomas R. Sullivan was ordained over it in December, 1825.

North-Hampton.

The church in this place was gathered 31 October, 1739.

Pastors.

1. Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, son of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, of Hampton, graduated at Harvard college 1731, and was ordained 31 October, 1739, at which time the sermon was preached by Rev. William Shurtleff, of Portsmouth, from Rev. ii. 1. Mr. Gookin died 22 October, 1766, aged 53, having nearly completed the 27th year of his ministry.

2. Rev. Joseph Stacey Hastings, a graduate of Harvard college 1762, was ordained 11 February, 1767. Sermon by Rev. Jonas Merriam, of Newton, Mass., from 1 Tim. iv. 12. Mr. Hastings was dismissed 3 July, 1774.

3. Rev. David M'Clure, D. D., a graduate of Yale 1769, was installed 13 November, 1776. Sermon by Rev. Josiah Stearns, of Epping, from 2 Tim. ii. 2. He resigned his office, 30 August, 1785; settled in East Windsor, Conn. where he died 25 June, 1820, aged 71.

4. Rev. Benjamin Thurston, a graduate of Harvard college, was ordained 2 November, 1785. Sermon by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bradford, from 1 Tim. iv. 6. Mr. Thurston resigned 27 October, 1800.

5. Rev. Jonathan French, son of Rev. Jonathan French, was born in Andover, Mass., 16 August, 1778; graduated at Harvard college 1798, and was ordained 18 November, 1801. Sermon by his father from 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16. Mr. French published an interesting sermon delivered at North-Hampton, 22 De-

ember, 1820, in commemoration of the landing of the first settlers of New England, which contains some valuable historical facts relating to Hampton and North-Hampton. He preached the Election sermon in 1822, which was printed.

Salem.

Salem was incorporated by charter, 11 May, 1750. A church had been gathered a number of years before this time. Rev. Abner Bayley, born in Newbury, Mass., 19 January, 1716, who graduated at Harvard college 1736, was ordained 30 January, 1740, and died 10 March, 1798, aged 82. Rev. John Smith, who graduated at Dartmouth college in 1794, was ordained as colleague with Mr. Bayley in 1797, and was dismissed in 1816. Rev. William Balch succeeded Mr. Smith in 1819. Mr. Smith is now Professor of Theology at Bangor, Me.

Swanzey.

The church in Swanzey was organized 4 November, 1741.

Pastors.

1. Rev. Timothy Harrington, a native of Waltham, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1737, was ordained 4 November, 1741, and remained the minister of the place until 2 April, 1747, when the town was destroyed by the Indians. He was dismissed by the church, at a meeting called and holden in Rutland, Mass., 12 October, 1748, and was installed at Lancaster, Mass., 16 November, 1748, where he died 18 December, 1795, aged 80.

2. Rev. Ezra Carpenter, the same mentioned under Keene, was installed, upon the union of the two churches of Keene and Swanzey into one, 4 October, 1753, when Rev. Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham, preached from Zech. ii. 1. He remained the minister of Swanzey till his dismission in 1768. He had been

the minister of Hull, Mass., where he was ordained 24 November, 1725.

3. Rev. Edward Goddard, from Shrewsbury, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1764, was ordained 27 September, 1769, and was dismissed 5 July, 1798. He afterwards preached in various places, and died 13 October, 1811.

4. Rev. Clarke Brown, A. M. at Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Brown colleges, was installed 5 September, 1810; dismissed 16 August, 1815, and died in Charles county, in Maryland, in 1817. Mr. Brown was first settled at Machias, in Maine, and was installed at Brimfield, Mass., 20 June, 1798.

5. Rev. Joshua Chandler, who graduated at Harvard college 1807, was ordained in January, 1819, and was dismissed in 182-; afterwards settled in Orange, in the county of Franklin, Mass., from which place he was also subsequently dismissed.

South-Hampton.

South-Hampton was incorporated 25 May, 1742, and the church was probably organized the next year. Rev. William Parsons, who graduated at Harvard college 1735, was ordained in 1743, and dismissed 6 October, 1762. Rev. Nathaniel Noyes, son of Dea. Parker Noyes, of Newbury, Mass. succeeded Mr. Parsons. He was born at Newbury, in 1735, graduated at New Jersey college, 1759, was ordained 23 February, 1763, dismissed 8 December, 1800, and died at Newbury, in December, 1810, aged 75.

Nottingham.

The first minister of Nottingham was Rev. Stephen Emery, who graduated at Harvard college 1730. He was ordained in 1742, preached a few years, and left his people without a regular dismission.

Rev. Benjamin Butler, who graduated at Harvard college 1752, was ordained in 1758, dismissed 1 August, 1770, became a civil magistrate, and died 26 December, 1804.

Epping.

Rev. Robert Cutler, the first minister of Epping, was ordained 9 December, 1747, when it is probable, the church was organized. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Moody, of Newmarket, from Eph. iv. 11, 12. Charge by Rev. John Odlin, of Exeter. Mr. Cutler graduated at Harvard college 1741. He was dismissed in 1755. He was settled in February, 1760, in Greenwich, Mass., where he died in February, 1786, aged 65.

Rev. Josiah Stearns succeeded Mr. Cutler, and was ordained 8 March, 1758. He was born in Billerica, Mass., 20 January, 1732, and descended from John Stearns, one of the first inhabitants of that place, who married Mary Lathrop, of Plymouth colony, and afterwards a second wife, by whom he had all his children who came to mature years. Mr. Stearns graduated at Harvard college 1751. By two wives, Sarah Abbot, of Andover, and Sarah Ruggles, of Billerica, he had 12 children, 6 of whom were sons. Rev. Samuel Stearns, of Bedford, Mass., is one of them. Mr. Stearns died 25 July, 1788, aged 56. He published seven occasional sermons.

Rev. Peter Holt, who graduated at Harvard college in 1790, became the successor of Mr. Stearns in February, 1793, and was dismissed in 1821.

Exeter, 2d church.

The time when the church in the second parish in Exeter was organized has not been ascertained. The formation of the Parish in 1748, "was attended with a violent convulsion, and followed by a series of mutual injuries and resentments, which greatly interrupted the harmony of society, for many years." [See *Mr. Kelly's Memoranda in Farmer and Moore's Collections*, Vol. II. p. 364.]

Rev. Daniel Rogers, was ordained the minister over this society in 1748. He was son of Rev. John

Rogers, of Ipswich, and grandson of President John Rogers, of Cambridge, and was born 28 July, 1707; graduated at Harvard college 1725, where he was tutor nine years. He died 9 December, 1785, aged 78.

Rev. Joseph Brown succeeded Mr. Rogers, and was ordained in 1792, and dismissed in 1796. He died at Deer Isle, in Maine, September, 1819.

On the 24th December, 1813, the church was re-organized, or a new one formed, and in 1817, Rev. Isaac Hurd, who graduated at Harvard college in 1806, was installed. Mr. Hurd had been previously settled at Lynn, Mass.

Pelham.

The church in this place was gathered 13 November, 1751.

Pastors.

1. Rev. James Hobbs, a native of Hampton, who graduated at Harvard college 1748, was ordained 13 November, 1751, died 20 June, 1765, aged 40. His widow married his successor.

2. Rev. Amos Moody, born in Newbury, Mass., 20 November, 1739, graduated at Harvard college 1759, was ordained 20 November, 1765, dismissed by mutual agreement in 1792, and died 22 March, 1819, aged 79.

3. Rev. John Hubbard Church, D. D., a native of Rutland, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college in 1797, was ordained 31 October, 1798. He received his Doctorate from Williams college in 1824. He has published a considerable number of occasional sermons.

Portsmouth, 3d church.

For an account of this church and society, see Rev. Timothy Alden's "Account of the Religious Societies in Portsmouth." 1 Hist. Coll. X. Rev. Joseph Walton, the last minister of the society mentioned by Mr. Alden, died in 1822, aged 80.

Newtown.

The first and only Congregational minister settled in this town was Rev. Jonathan Eames, who graduated at Harvard college 1752. He was ordained 17 January, 1759, dismissed in 1791, died at Wentworth in 1800.

Sandown.

The first minister of Sandown was Rev. Josiah Cotton, who was settled 28 November, 1759, and remained in the ministry until his death in 1781. I have not yet ascertained whether he was the person who graduated at Harvard college in 1722, was ordained at Providence, 23 October, 1728, and installed at Woburn, 15 July, 1747, as noted in an interleaved Catalogue of the Graduates of Harvard college.

Rev. Samuel Collins succeeded Mr. Cotton about 1780, and was dismissed in 1788.

Rev. John Webber, a brother of President Webber, of Cambridge, succeeded Mr. Collins in 1795, and was dismissed in 1800. He graduated at Dartmouth college in 1792.

New Ipswich.

The church in this town, according to Mr. Kelly, was organized 22 October, 1760.

Pastors.

1. Rev. Stephen Farrar, son of Samuel Farrar, was born in Lincoln, Mass., 22 October, 1732, graduated at Harvard college 1755, was ordained 22 October, 1760, died 23 June, 1809, aged 76.

2. Rev. Richard Hall, who graduated at Middlebury college in 1808, was ordained 12 May, 1812, and died on a journey or visit at Newhaven, Vt., 13 July, 1824.

3. Rev. Isaac R. Barbour was installed 8 March, 1826. Sermon by Rev. Mr. Fay, of Charlestown.

Canterbury.

Rev. Abiel Foster, first minister of Canterbury, was born in August, 1735, graduated at Harvard college 1756, ordained 21 January, 1761, dismissed in 1779, was afterwards a Member of Congress, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and died in February, 1806, aged 71.

Rev. Frederick Parker from Shrewsbury, Mass., who graduated at Harvard college 1784, was ordained in January, 1791, died in April, 1802.

Rev. William Patrick, who graduated at Williams college in 1799, was ordained in October, 1803.

Epsom.

Rev. John Tucke, son of Rev. John Tucke, of the Isles of Shoals, was ordained 23 September, 1761, dismissed in 1774. He graduated at Harvard college in 1758. After his dismissal, he was appointed a chaplain in the revolutionary army, and while on his way to join it, died of the Small Pox in 1776.

Rev. Ebenezer Haseltine was born in Methuen, Mass., 28 October, 1755, graduated at Dartmouth college in 1777, was ordained at Epsom, 21 January, 1784, died 10 November, 1813, aged 59.

Rev. Jonathan Curtis was born at Randolph, Mass., 22 October, 1786, graduated at Dartmouth college, 1811, ordained at Epsom, 22 February, 1815, dismissed in 1824, and was installed in Sharon, Mass., in October, 1825.

MS. JOURNALS OF THE LONG, LITTLE, &c. PARLIAMENTS.

DEAR SAVAGE,

You taxed me some years ago with having informed you that manuscript Journals of the Long and some other Parliaments existed in New York ; and I then "of my own mere motion" became bound to examine and report to you the true state of facts regarding them.

Now, though our "own mere motion" is, in this republic, subject to the scrutiny of our constituents and is no "good consideration" in the eye of the law; yet strengthened by "other good and sufficient reasons," such for example, as gratifying a friend, and my own curiosity, I felt "firmly bound to you in this behalf," and now performing the condition, I crave the cancelling of the bond.

I have several times essayed to perform my promise, but from one cause or another every attempt proved abortive, till June last. Through the kindness of John Delafield Esq., the untiring Librarian of the New York Historical Society, to whom that society is under the greatest obligations, I then obtained access to the Library, and in several days' examination of these MSS. was aided by him ; and by his kindness am now enabled to present you with many of the following extracts, and to vouch for their accuracy.

After giving you some idea of the course pursued in examining these volumes, I will add a description of each, its beginning and end, that you may know, on occasion, what periods are contained in the whole; several extracts from each volume, that you may form some notion of their contents; and a description of the water marks &c., that you may have a test of the faithfulness of my examination and of the correctness of my inferences.

My first object was to ascertain whether these MS. volumes were regular journals; or were mere excerpts

made by one or more members of Parliament for a temporary, or limited purpose; or by some historian, to aid him in his labours; or by the Board of Plantations, for the use and direction of some one of our provincial Governments.

On this last point, I was soon satisfied by finding subjects that could have no manner of bearing on any thing this side the Atlantic. And that they were not mere extracts, I was as soon assured, by the *formal* opening and closing of each day and of the business transacted.

That they were genuine Journals besides these considerations I became entirely satisfied by the *primâ facie* appearance of honesty, which, as in *metoposcopy*, though indescribable, is often perfectly convincing;—by the court hands, of which you will hereafter perceive there are several in the volumes;—by the regular and ample “margents,” as our Lord Coke calls these clerical “oceans;”—by the use, in the earlier volumes particularly, of certain letters, words, and abbreviations, that were common in that day, the *ff* for *F*, the peculiar *e*, *s*, *h*, &c. the use of *petiçon* &c. &c., all denoting the gradual subsidence of the old English text into the modern running hand.

Next the water marks of the paper were carefully examined, of which you will also find evidence.

I then made ample extracts from the different volumes for comparison, at my leisure, with the printed extracts from the Journals to be found in authentic histories, diaries, and chronicles; in Coke, May, Dugdale, Whitelock, Heath, Rushworth, Baxter, Burton, &c. Do not tremble at this display of names: It is far from my intention to inundate you with all the evidence I have had before me, as I shall rely upon the effect of showing to you that I have examined in earnest.

Lastly, (for I will have mercy on you who have, in public sacrifices, so little mercy on yourself,) I invited a very shrewd, discerning, and well educated English

gentleman to accompany me in an examination of these volumes ; and requested the favour that he would take notes of several parts with a view to a comparison with the journals in England ; if, contrary to the belief of several gentlemen, the journals of this period were found to exist in that country.

This gentleman, C. W. Stokes Esq., immediately on his return home very kindly bore in mind my request, and with no inconsiderable trouble pursued its object to a satisfactory result. An extract from his letter I here subjoin, relying upon the kindness that dictated it, to excuse the liberty I am taking, in making it public without permission.

The letter is dated London, 29 Sept. 1829. After mentioning several means to which he had resorted to accomplish my wishes, he proceeds—"I have got access to the original journals for the period between 1650 and 1658: The entire series is unbroken, and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of those which are in the journal-office of the House of Commons. They are obviously written at the spur of the moment, the handwriting being different for various entries on the same day, and some parts better written than others, as if from the use of a new pen. The marginal references too, which appear as in all the other journals at earlier and later periods than from 1650 to 1658, are in a different handwriting. In order that this may be rendered clear, I subjoin an extract made from 1650, with as near an imitation as I can make of the two modes of writing."

[The extract, of which a fac simile is given, will be found under date of 9 October, 1650.]

" This I extracted from a journal from June 26, 1650, to August 14, 1651.—The water marks of one sheet were something like the following—(the letters *N C M* reversed are then given)—and of the other sheet it was this figure almost six inches long."

[The Zany is here given as on old foolscap, of which a fac simile will be found at the end of the article.]

“Unless my memory deceives me, the handwriting and water marks are the same as those in the books we examined together at New York, so that there is no doubt that the copies, (for I am convinced they are only copies,) were made at about the same time when the originals were written. I have made most minute inquiries on the subject, and I have learned in the course of them, that many scores of copies of Journals of the House are to be found in libraries in England, it having been formerly the practice, before minutes and proceedings of the House were printed, for members to send their servants some every morning to take copies. Those in New York then will, we may suppose, have been the copies made by one of the regicides, who took refuge in America.”

Do you now ask, Why are the volumes peculiarly interesting? I answer, No copy of any of the journals (though portions of them were printed) is to be found on this side the Atlantic; and detached fragments only, scattered here and there in rare books, can here be got at. These journals contain the pith and marrow of the history of England from a short time after the decapitation of Charles I., through the period of the republic, protectorate, &c. to the return to a regal form of government. This period is most important and valuable to us, from its connexion with the history of the foundation of our present government in the principles of the republicans of that day; from the light it sheds on the tendencies and dangers of republics, and the means of subverting them; and from the immense changes effected in favour of rational liberty, by alterations in the law of tenures, by requiring all laws and legal process to be published in the English language, &c.

The period is highly interesting to us, because in it we find the germs of the royal society, which was then intended for New England; the foundation of the “Corporation for Propagating the Gospel unto the Indians,” fostered by Cromwell, by means of which

great interest in our colony was excited and kept alive, its Indian language preserved to us, and our literary men aided and encouraged; and because our fathers were either members of the parliaments, or, though living a thousand leagues distant, exercised an almost controlling influence over their counsels and those of the British government. A very curious evidence of this influence I met with in a noted publication of 1660 (after the restoration), from which is the following passage; "and moreover, it is very fit to be taken into consideration, how much mischief and sedition a press at New England may occasion and disperse, in this juncture of time, if the licentiousness thereof be connived at, and any longer tolerated."

The debates of the long parliament, and of the parliaments of the protectorate are to be sought only in diaries, &c. [of which, by the way, Mr. Rutt deserves our thanks for preserving Burton's and Goddard's, the best of a part of this period,] or in mere scraps in the newspapers [Mercurii, &c.] of the day, which are now rarely met with even in England. As for histories, Rapin's caution is, "we have no other historians of those times, than the royalists," &c. And so long was it fashionable to decry as well the actors as the actions of that great and, with deference, most eventful and useful drama, that many of the authorities on the republican side of the question have disappeared; and of the manuscripts yet existing, though now eagerly sought, many have been so closely held by their timid or their cavalier possessors, that the keys are lost to the short hand or cipher in which they were generally written; whether from the inconvenience of obtaining paper, or of the bulk and tedious process of writing the old English hand, or from the desire of security in those troublous times, or from all of these causes, I shall not stop here to inquire: the fact is, however, unquestionable.

Very many of the manuscripts were without doubt destroyed (and you will perceive in May 1661 a disposition

in parliament even to mutilate these journals) by their possessors, as evidence that might cause forfeitures of estate or of life; whilst others met a similar fate, because illegible, or as waste paper. And time, *edux rerum*, has the while been actively devoured not only the events, but their evidences. As for the journals under consideration, the soldiers in Jersey, during our revolution [we will hope they were *Hessians*], are said to have found something more rapid, though not more sure as a destroyer, than time's agents, moth and rust, in the use of many of their pages for lighting, not their patriotism, but their tobacco-pipes.

But to proceed. There are many more obvious and weighty reasons for placing great value on the volumes, one only of which I will again allude to; that without crossing the Atlantic we cannot elsewhere pursue the daily proceedings of the government, during this, to an American, most interesting and important period, in which as much talent, to say the least, was elicited and displayed, as at any time in the history of Great Britain.

You may now feel some curiosity to know in what way the New York Historical Society became possessed of these volumes; and on this head I am not prepared to gratify your wishes.

Of their arrival in this country, and of their adventures during more than a century, in the midst of wars and tumults, captures and recaptures, there is a good deal of discrepancy in the accounts I have heard. Their arrival here has generally been ascribed to some one or other of the regicides, as is suggested before in the letter from London. But the dates of some of the journals are *much later* than would justify this hypothesis; and besides, there is no certainty, nor is there a tradition so far as I have learned, that the volumes immediately *prior to and during* the trial of the king, accompanied those under examination to this country; yet are they the volumes in which a regicide would feel the deepest interest.

Other sources have been assigned. In giving you the following memoranda, I will not vouch for my own accuracy, since it in part depends upon memory ; much less will I pretend to be positive as to my authority. With these qualifications and reservations, I venture to quote John Pintard Esq., a gentleman who, amongst the numerous good deeds of a long life, was formerly very efficient as a member of the New York Historical Society ; and he is now a corresponding member of our own. Mr. Pintard about the year 1810, then being, I believe, librarian or secretary of the Society, received a part of these volumes from his relative, the late Hon. Elias Boudinot ; a part from Gov. Jay, who received them from Gov. Livingston of New Jersey, through the late Judge Brockholst Livingston ; a few of them were afterwards purchased by Mr. Pintard at auction ; and another gentleman, whose name is not known to me, discovered and secured the rest to the Society.

Mr. Pintard also suggested, if my memory is true, that Lord Cornbury's widow possessed all the volumes ; that needing money, she received for them £100, more or less, from the lawyers of New York ; that in this way they came to the hands of Mr. Alexander or Mr. Chambers ; and thence to Gov. Livingston, &c.

Whence these last suggestions were derived, I do not know ; and I should here make an ample, as I hope it would be an acceptable, apology to my friend, Mr. Pintard, for introducing his name to you thus unceremoniously, did I not trust that he will readily anticipate my excuse, in my earnest hope that hereby he may be *provoked to the good work* of tracing the pedigree of these journals.

I have felt no inconsiderable interest in this matter of the first arrival of these volumes ; but feared that no further assurance on the subject could probably be attained, than uncertain tradition or surmise, except by very laborious investigation. The persons are quite numerous who might by possibility have brought them

over; but in looking at probabilities this number is much reduced. I will venture to state the following, which, considering the period at which the stamp was probably made, will be of great weight with some men. Having omitted, when in New York, to examine the binding of these volumes, I lately wrote to Mr. Delafield to this end; and in reply he mentioned, that as an embellishment upon the back, there was "a dove, wings expanded, and a coronet." In return, I forthwith wrote him that if his coronet were that of an earl, and he could convert his dove &c. to the following:—"on a wreath, an eagle, with wings expanded sable," (which on further examination he has now no doubt is the true description,) the following *might* be the course of a part or the whole of these volumes, *viz.*

Edward, Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor and Historian, whose daughter Anne was wife to James II, mayhap had a part of them in use; the whole he could not have had, as these journals end in January 1677, and he died an exile in France, on 29 December 1674. Thence they may have come to his son and successor, (if he were not the original possessor,) Henry, Earl of Clarendon, &c. who died 31 October 1709; and thence to his only son and heir, Edward, Lord Cornbury (who thus became Earl of Clarendon), who was appointed Governor of New York by his relative King William in 1701, and of New York and New Jersey, when the latter was surrendered to the government in 1702, by Queen Anne. I will remark here, that he died on 31 March 1723, many years after he had left the government of New York; and hence, as well as from the fact that his wife was heir to the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, I cannot but doubt the sale of these volumes by "his widow," which would make her resident in New York so long after his return to England, (his successor Lord Lovelace arrived in New York in 1708,) and also the cause of sale, want. The

Earl of Bellomont, predecessor to Lord Cornbury, died in New York in February 1700-1; whether he left a *widow* in poverty or not, I have not been able yet to learn. After all, however, the volumes may have been brought by Bellomont, though this is not asserted, and the crest I referred to, together with the connexion with the prominent affairs of England during the period, lead me very strongly to Lord Cornbury, and from any other individual. The crest in this case is given, to wit, "the eagle with wings expanded;" and the earl's coronet is placed above it, as is not uncommon, to denote only that the head of the house is an earl.

It is not necessary, however, to believe that all these volumes came from the same source; and you will perceive in my notice of the general appearance and preservation of the volumes, that there may be reason to doubt if one or two of them were originally of the same series with the others.

I come now to the volumes themselves.

VOL. I.

It will be borne in mind that Charles I. was beheaded January 30, 1648-9.

The 1st volume of the manuscripts begins on the 1st day of the year, *viz.*—"Lunæ Die 25 Martij 1650. Prayers. Sr Arthur Hasilrig reports from the Comm^{ee} at Goldsmithes Hall touching Compos-sions with delinq^{ts}." It ends with the record of "Martis 25^o Junij 1650 p^r. meridiem." "Die Veneris 19^o Aprilij 1650," amongst other amendments to an act for the better observation of the Lord's Day is this, "that the word Realm be putt out and the word Commonwealth be putt instead thereof."

The water marks in this volume are,—the Royal Arms, *viz.* a shield or escutcheon surmounted by a crown, with a lion and unicorn (looking a little like 2 lions) as supporters; a column with 2 or 3 St. Andrews (Scottish) crosses upon it divides the shield. The initials beneath the arms are H C; on the second leaf of the sheet are the letters R M, probably those of the paper maker, or possibly monopolist.

With regard to water marks, the principal use in noticing them

is for comparison with public papers of about the same period. In a few instances, I will here remark, I have done this; and have found my belief in the genuineness of these journals corroborated thereby. Some fac similes are hereafter given, that others may apply the same test.

How far the plan of having the water marks those of the government entered the minds of any, save perhaps some paper makers, I do not know. In modern times the government has, it is said, interfered in this particular, and it is quite certain, that some of the best letter paper I have ever seen, was sent out from France and sold here at very low prices, because it had Napoleon &c. as a water mark.

Neither the quantity of paper nor the use for it in the time of the Stuarts was as great as in our time; and it is improbable that any serious fears of propagating rebellion by means of its water marks were at that period entertained. Hence we find the *royal arms* running into the volumes of the Long Parliament, &c. But the paper seems to have been mixed at the stationer's or in the journal office, for several sorts are to be found almost in contact with each other. With regard to the arms, which I have called the *arms of the commonwealth*, I ought to remark, that by this appellation is intended principally to mark the period used; and not to assert positively, that they were the armorials of the Commonwealth. On this last point I entertain great doubt.

Three days after the decapitation of Charles, in January 1648-9, parliament altered the style in courts of justice to "*custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate parliamenti.*"

The arms of the commonwealth in 1650, according to Howell's medulla, were "St. George's Cross and the Harp."

The great seal, according to Mrs. Macaulay, had the arms of England, and the inscription, "The Great Seal of England;" on the reverse, a portraiture of the House of Commons inscribed, "In the First Year of Freedom by God's Blessing Restored, 1648." January 22, 1651, it was declared by Parliament, *treason* to counterfeit the great seal "of the Parliament of the Commonwealth,"—"engraven with a cross and an harp, with this circumscription, The Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England." Dugdale.

In 1654, April, (though Scotland had virtually been united with England in 1651, see 4 Burton,) an act was passed, says Dugdale, "making Scotland one Commonwealth with England," and requiring that "the arms of Scotland (*viz.* St. Andrew's Cross) should thenceforth be borne with those of the commonwealth." Again, in the account of the burial of Cromwell, "the standard of the Lion of England" is mentioned; but I believe him not to have been rampant.

But to go no further, I am inclined to think, that the lion rampant &c. may be Cromwell's own arms; since on the beautiful crown-piece issued by him in 1658, I find the reverse as follows: in a shield crowned with the imperial crown of England, quarterly, 1st and 4th, St. George's cross for England; 2nd, St. Andrew's cross for Scotland; 3d, the harp for Ireland; and "in a scutcheon of pre ence his (Cromwell's) paternal coat, namely, a lion rampant," &c. My only doubt arises from the fact that the lions in these volumes generally hold in one of their paws ("gamb") what appears a thunderbolt, or bundle of arrows or twigs; and in the other, in some instances, if not in all, a sort of short curved sword, called, in heraldry, a falchion. I have not been able to find Cromwell's arms in Collins, or Kimber, or Debrett; or the question might be settled. In Cromwell's life of Cromwell, vol. I, 307, it is intimated, doubtingly, that Cromwell used in his *crest* a *demi-lion* with a ring in the foregamb, after he became protector, but before that, the javelin instead of the ring.

VOL. II.

The 2nd volume begins "Die Mercurij 26^o Junij 1650^o Prayers.

Resolved, That the doore be shut. Resolved, That the roome without be cleared. Resolved, That all the members of Parliament be called out of Westminster Hall.

The Lord Com^{is}. Whitelock reports from the councill of state, that in pursuance of the order of Parliament of the 9th of April last," &c.

"Die Veneris 28 Junij 1650," inter alia, it was "Resolved, that Oliver Cromwell Esq. be constituted Captain Generall and Commander in Chief of all the forces rayed and to be rayed by authority of Parliament within the Commonw. of England." It was read a 1st and 2nd time, and passed.

"An act for the better preventing and suppressing of prophane swearing and curseing, was this day read the third time, and upon the question passed and ord^d to be forthwith printed and published."

"Mr. Bond reports from the counsell of state that the counsell finds it necessary upon the Parliaments referring of the letter of Mr. George ffisher from Spaine relating the death of Mr. Anthony Ascham unto the counsell of state, that a letter should be written from the Parliament to the King of Spaine to demand justice upon the murtherers," &c.*

* Anthony Ascham was sent in 1649 by the council of state, agent (minister)

“Die veneris 27^o Septemb. 1650,” inter alia, are an “act for relief of religious and peaceable people from the rigour of former acts of parliament in matters of religion.*

The humble petition of W^m Barton, preacher of God’s word, was this day read.

Mr. Weaver reports from the committee for suppressing lycentious and impious practices under pretence of religious liberty &c. the Confession of *Lawrence Clarkson*, touching the making and publishing of the impious and blasphemous booke, called the *Single Eye*, and also Major Rainborrows Carriage.”

Clarkson was sent to the house of correction for one month, and then banished, and his book was burnt by the common hangman.

This volume ends with “Die Veneris 11^o Octob. 1650, when the House, according to former order, adjourned itself untill Tuesday morning next at eight of the clock.”

There are several different water marks in this volume. Fac

o the King of Spain, and Charles Vane to Portugal, on board Blake’s fleet. Heath.

Dr. Dorislaus had been sent to Holland, and on the first day after his arrival at the Hague was murdered in his house by Col. Whitford, a royalist. The Commonwealth threatened to retaliate it upon those of that party in their hands; yet Ascham, their agent and envoy to Spain, some time after, with his interpreter, Signor Riba, was served in the same manner, at his arrival at Madrid, in his house, by one Sparks and other English merchants upon the same account. Heath

A court of justice was constituted under a vote of April 5, 1650, of which Keble, one of the commissioners of the seal, was now made president, “Bradshaw being too high to do that journey-work any longer, being president of the council of state; it was erected in revenge of Ascham’s and Dorislaus’s death, as a vote and declaration of the states angrily expressed.” Heath.

This high court of justice in revenge of Dorislaus and Ascham, sentenced Sir Henry Hyde, “cousin to Sir Edward (Hyde) the lord chancellor with the king for taking upon him the quality of an ambassador from his majesty to the Grand Seignor at Constantinople,” &c. Sir Henry was executed June 4, 1650. Merc. Polit. quoted Journal of Earl of Leicester, 106, says “his aime being likewise to seize upon our merchants’ goods for the use of the king of Scotland.”

Ascham was murdered in June 1650. I have met with a part of the trial of those who murdered him in the Harl. Miscell. The murderers, Sparks, Progress, &c. escaped to the church and claimed sanctuary. Having got them from the church to prison, there was a learned argument to determine, whether they having killed the English ambassador or resident and his interpreter, “fraudulently by forecast, with a deliberate mind and proditoriously,” and boasting “to have performed an heroick act,” should have the benefit of the *sanctuary*, and this too notwithstanding Ascham and his interpreter bore a safe conduct. The question was partly argued on the precedent of Abner slain by Joab, and Solomon’s punishment of Joab at the altar. After great delays they were condemned, but it was so contrived that 5 of the 6 escaped, and the one that was executed, according to Mrs. Macauley, (5 Hist. of Eng. 36,) was the only protestant amongst them.

* See Oct. 15, 1650.

similes of two from the journals in New York, and of one from the journals in England, are given at the end of this article. Be pleased to bear in mind hereafter that the zany's head, and fool's cap and bells, when mentioned in the subsequent volumes, refer to these two figures indiscriminately. After comparing that of the zany from New York with that from England, of about or precisely the same date; you will not doubt of their identity; and this circumstance may account for the fact that the handwriting of the two under this date differs, since two clerks must have been employed.

The initials, which, let me remark once for all, are not very easily deciphered, are, in this volume, according to my memorandum, quite numerous, though possibly I may be wrong in this respect. Upon the last leaf of each sheet, the marks looked like some of the following letters, NB, IP, FB, MN, or MH. With regard to the initials under the zany, those in the English journals, look "something like NCM;" Mr. Delafield thinks they *may* possibly be these letters; and I found in my memorandum MC or NG put down with diffidence. For whom these letters stood I have not thought it important enough to ascertain at the cost of much time. The names of some of the distinguished printers of that day on the republican side I will give you for your amusement. I pass over the editor, March. Nedham, and come to Christ. Barker, John Bill, John Field, H. Hills, G. Bishop, R. White, William Du Gard.

There is also in this volume a water mark, (of Dutch origin?) which is so indistinct in all cases, as to defy an accurate delineation. I will give you a slight description, that you may recognize it in the fac simile. It seems to be a solid column, possibly intended only for a frame, in the centre of which is an escutcheon, surmounted by a crown, though possibly a vase, upon which are the words *Armes of England*; the base of the shield rests upon a square block or plinth, upon which are letters somewhat as intelligible and much resembling these—FORIORIN BOVEN.

The following is the extract of which a fac simile was sent from England. On comparing the handwriting with that of the same day in the journal at New York, I found they were not the same. The language however was verbatim in each, with one exception, which to my mind goes strongly to prove the authenticity of the New York journals, and that they were written about the time of their respective dates; I refer to the fact, that the New York journals have not a marginal reference, whereas the journals in England have after the word *prayers*, in the margin, "thanks to Mr. Strong." Now these words and all the marginal reference are in the English journals added by a different hand

from that of the body of the journal, doubtless in the leisure of a parliamentary recess.

“Die Mercurij 9^o Octobris 1650. Prayers. Ordered by the Parliam^t that the thanks of this House be given unto Mr Strong for his greate paynes taken in his sermon preached yesterday at Margaretts West^r being a day sett a p^{te} for publike thank-giveing and that he be desired to print his sermon and that he have the like privilege in printing as others in like case have usually had and that Colonell ffilder doe give him the thanks of this House accordingly.”

This thanksgiving was for the victory of Dunbar, I believe. By the way, I will assure you of the legitimate descent of our New England (ere long I hope to say North American) thanksgivings, from their puritan prototypes; witness the following extract from a poem of Butler, which, I doubt, even you have not read, entitled “Philip Nye’s Thanksgiving beard,” in which this distinguished divine, happening to be like his puritan brethren, in bad odour with friend Hudibras, is sadly quizzed. He

“ Could clap up souls in Limbo with a vote,
And for their fees discharge, and let them out;
Which made some grandees bribe him with the place
Of holding forth upon Thanksgiving-days
Whither the members two and two abreast
March’d to take in the spoils of all—the feast.”

VOL. III.

The third volume begins, “Die Martis 15^o Octobris 1650.” The following is extracted from the doings of “Die Veneris 25^o Octobris 1650. Resolved, that all the bookes of the lawes be putt into English, and that all writts process and returns thereof and all patents commissions indictments inquisitions certificates judgements and proceedings in courts of justice within the commonwealth of England, shall be in the English tongue onely and not in Latine or ffrench or any other language than English.”*

* What would you say to me if I asked the question, Whether this act and that for liberty of conscience were to be traced to a political management for the purposes of union amongst several minor divisions of religious sects, with a view to create a political majority against the Presbyterians? Yet this idea would not be new, nor unsupported by able and honest heads of that time; as you will now see.

“ On the 9th of April 1651, in order and designe to abolish all Bases of the Norman Tyranny (as they were pleased to call it) now that the English na-

“Die Mercurij 5^o february 1650 it is ordered that the late kings armes be taken down in all publick places in all ‘cittyes burroughes and markt townes throughout the commonwealth of

ion had obtained their natural freedom, they resolved to manumit the laws, and restore them to their original languages ; which they did by this ensuing additional act ; and forthwith all or most of the law books were turned into English (according to the act a little before, for turning proceedings of law into English) and the rest written afterwards in the same tongue ; but so little to the benefit of the people, that as good store of game is the country-man’s sorrow, so the multitude of solicitors and such like, brought a great deal of trouble to the commonwealth, not to speak of more injuries by which that most honourable profession of the law was profaned and vilified, as being a discourse out of my sphere.”

The additional statute follows, committing the examination and approval of the translations of the act, writs, &c. to the Speaker, Commissioners of the Great Seal, Lord C. J. of the “Upper Bench,” and of the Common Pleas. A proviso to this act allows “the certifying beyond seas any case or proceedings in the court of admiralty,” may still “be certified in Latin as formerly.” Heath, 287.

“It is not unworthy of observation likewise, that as this signal disaster to the *Presbyterians*” (the defeat at Dunbar) “did very much raise the spirits of the *Independent* grandees ; so did it incite them to give all possible encouragement to the rest of that party, and to all other sectaries, of whose help, upon occasion, they might stand in need. They therefore first passed an act, [27 September 1650], intituled an act for the relief of religious and *peaceable people from the rigour of former acts of parliament, in matter of religion* ; amongst which those of *primo* and 35^o *Eliz.* which concern the subjects obedient repairing to church, were repealed. And shortly after that, another act, [22 November,] whereby they directed all proceedings at law, scib, writs, pleadings, patents, books of reports, and other law books to be in English.”—Dugdale, 399.—See also Baxter to the same effect.

Cromwell having, on 3d September 1650, defeated at Dunbar the Scotch Covenanters, (*Presbyterians*) :—“Now was the time of the Independent Ecclesiastical government :—for the parliament would no longer halt between two opinions. An act was now published for relief of religious and peaceable people, from the rigour of former acts of parliament, whereby the compulsive authority of presbytery and its appurtenances of lay elders, was quite annihilated, and the Separatists and Sectaries were the only church countenanced then in *London* ; who, to make themselves more considerable and in grateful acknowledgment to the parliament, raised one regiment of horse, and another of foot,” &c. making in all three of foot, and two of horse, 8000 men ; the command of whom was given to Harrison. Heath, 275 ; (whose marginal reference is “*Liberty of Conscience enacted in England.*”)

Notwithstanding this act of toleration, soon after a member of Parliament, who had been also one of the king’s judges, John Fry, was expelled the house, and his book burnt, which was written against the Trinity, but more particularly against the divinity of Jesus Christ. Noble, *Lives of the Regicides*, says Fry died in 1650.

I add one further extract for your reflection.

“The instrument of government,” delivered by Cromwell to his parliament in July 1653, has the following provisions :—“That the Christian Religion, as it is contained by Holy Scripture, should be the public profession of the nation ; and that those who are to have the care thereof, should have their support from the publick ; so that it be with some other more convenient maintenance, and less subject to envy than by tithes.

That no man should be, by any fine or penalty whatsoever, forced to com-

England and that the commonwealth arms be sett up in all such places instead thereof," &c.

This volume ends with "Die Veneris 14^o ffebrij 1650," when the House adjourned to meet on Tuesday.

The water marks in this volume are the zany, &c. as in volume II.

VOL. IV.

Volume 4th begins "Tuesday the 3d of June 1651," and hence it seems an hiatus exists from 15 February to June 3d. I have not endeavoured to trace the parliament day by day in order to ascertain the fact that no adjournment took place for a part of this period; but I contented myself with finding one or two references to intermediate days. For example, a very important law regarding the translating of legal process into English above referred to was passed on the 9th of April 1651. I fear an entire volume is here wanting to complete the series; and I will here notice also, that some pages have been torn from the close of the volume, which ends Thursday 28th August, 1651.

One extract from this volume will suffice. "Wednesday the 27th of August 1651." "Resolved by the Parliament, that all the records, together with the regalia and insignia taken in the castle of Sterling in Scotland, be brought into England and placed in the tower of London." The castle surrendered on articles to Monk, August 14. It contained "the king's royal robes, the cloth of state, and all the Scotch records." Heath, 301.

The water marks are the zany, foolscap, &c. as before in volume II.

I had hoped, in noticing this volume, to have given you the proceedings of parliament on the petition of Massachusetts, occasioned by the prohibition of trade with Virginia, Barbadoes, &c.; but it could not readily be turned to.

VOL. V.

Volume 5th begins "Mercurii 16^o Junij 1652. Prayers. Resolved, that the former committee for the army be continued."

ply with the said publick profession, otherwise than by persuasions and arguments.

That no man, professing faith in Christ, should be prohibited the exercise of his own religion, so that he disturb not any other; but that neither popery or prelacy should be permitted the least favour or license; and that all laws to the contrary should be void." Dugdale, 416.

“Veneris 9^o Die Julij 1652,” after a resolution offered for pulling down cathedrals, it was moved, “that the bells of such cathedrals as the parliament shall think fitt to be pulled downe shall be applyed to the public use for makinge ordnance for shipping.”

On “Tuesday the 31st of August 1652: Mr. Lowe reports from the counsell of state a coppie of a letter from Richard Bennett Edinund Carew and Wm. Claibourne dated at Virginia 14th of May 1652 with the copy of the articles agreed on and concluded at James Cittie in Virginia for the surrendering and settling that plantation under the obedience and government of the Commonwealth of England which was this day read.”

These articles of capitulation signed March 12, 1651-2, may be found in Burk, &c. Instead of Carew however, Burk repeatedly gives the name Curtis.

“The humble petition from Cecill Lord Baltatnore and divers adventurers planters and traders into that part of America called Maryland adjoining to Virginia was this day read.”

This volume ends with 17th September 1652. The water marks are, throughout the volume, the zany, and the foolscap and bells &c. as in volume II. The handwriting of this volume changes about August 27, and the new hand finishes the volume.

VOL. VI.

Volume 6th begins “Tuesday 21st September 1652.”—“Prayers. Ordered, that it be referred to the committee of the navy to consider of the salary allowed,” &c.

On the 7th of December 1652, it was “resolved, that Henry Stuart third sonne of the late king be removed from the place where he now is in the Isle of Wight.”—“Ordered, that it be referred to the councill of state to send the said Henry Stuart beyond sea to such place and with such accommodations as they shall thinke fitt.”

On the 14th of December 1652, “Mr. Speaker by way of report acquaints the Parliament, that he had received a copie of a letter from the ffrench king dated at Paris the 2nd day of December 1652 in ffrench with a translation thereof which was this day read. The ffrench was superscribed thus, A nos tre chers & grands amis les gens du Parliament de la Republique D’angleterre.”*

* Card. Mazarine, who had lately returned from exile, notwithstanding the exertions of the queen mother, sent Mons. Bourdeaux Neuville who delivered his letters in England, on December 14th “but the superscription not being as full and as ample as other princes were, they were returned again

The letter was not received by the Parliament in consequence of the *informal* address, and the French minister was instructed as to the proper style.

This volume ends with 23 December 1652. The handwriting of the volume changes about December 20th. Watermarks are the zany, foolscap, &c. (as given in volume II,) to October 26; then follow arms of the commonwealth or of Cromwell, a garter encircling a lion rampant, in whose paw is a bunch of arrows; and for a crest, a crown; of which you will find a fac simile. Letters on the opposite leaf are P B. These watermarks alternate, at intervals, through the volume.

The proceedings from 28 October to 3 November are very voluminous.

VOL. VII.

Volume 7th begins with "Fryday 24 December 1652;" and ends with Tuesday 19th of April 1653.

Several leaves have been torn from the end of the volume. This is particularly unfortunate, as the account of the breaking up of the Long Parliament by Cromwell on the 20th is thereby lost. The address of a clerk must be very considerable who could invent an unobjectionable entry of this catastrophe.*

December 24th it was "resolved, that no observation shall be had of five and 20th day of December commonly called Christmas day nor any solemnity used or exercised upon that day in respect thereof."

The celebration of this day was a great annoyance to the Puritans, but more particularly to the *republicans*. Many attempts to put it down were made by the government; yet even in 1657, a cavalier assembly, under Rev. Dr. Gunning, was broken up by the soldiery under an order of Parliament.

In 1656, in a debate in Parliament, on a bill for its suppression, it is said, "you see how the people keep up these superstitious observations to your face; stricter in many places, than they do the Lord's Day. One may pass from the tower to Westminster and not a shop open nor a creature stirring." I quote from

unbroken up to the ambassador, who having *others by him* (as was supposed) presented them shortly after; which were well received, and an answer promised to be with all speed returned." Heath, 332.

* Since writing this remark, I have found, that Mr. Scobel, the clerk of the Long Parliament, felt the dilemma I have suggested, and made the following laconic entry:—"20 April 1653. This day, his Excellency the Lord General dissolved this Parliament," for which in January 1659-60, he was called to the bar and the entry ordered to be expunged. 2 Burt. 417.

Burton. Whether this were principally a political measure or the effect of religious feeling, heightened by the troubles, you may decide.

Our Massachusetts legislature by law in 1651, as you will recollect, imposed a fine of 5 shillings upon "whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by *forbearing labour*, feasting, or any other way upon any such account," &c.*

January 5, 1652-3, "a Proclamation commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Romish Priests to depart out of this Commonwealth, was this day read."

This it seems was not then considered as conflicting with the "liberty of Conscience" allowed by the law before referred to; but to me it seems more pointed than "George Fox digged out of his burrow" by Roger Williams.

The water marks of this volume are the zany &c., as given vol. 2d, till March 15, when the royal arms appear for a few pages; the zany then recurs, and the initials H. M. to the end.

* However grateful it may be to the generous feelings of one's heart to commemorate this day, whether as the birth of our Redeemer, or of the source of most of our *temporal* comforts and enjoyments, or both; we may yet admire the political sagacity, which, ascribing as a cause some useless, perhaps pernicious customs and junketings, aimed to remove from the minds of the people one of the most important and pleasing of their associations with royalty, Christmas and its holydays, interwoven as they were with church, parliament, courts of justice, universities, and schools.

I marvel that some persons have objected to this celebration, on the ground of doubt, whether the day (25 December) were the actual one of Christ's birth. On this point I have not troubled myself; it is near enough for my purpose. Time is a very subtle and uncertain *non-entity* to deal withal; and the difficulty of securing to one's self even a birth-day, if first brought within its cognizance any where about 12 at night, must be encountered by all who advert to the fact, that, do what we may, time gains upon us one day to the leap year.

I do not recollect to have ever heard of a refusal to honor the birth-day of Washington, or of our Nation, on the ground that the firing at day-break, on the 22d of February and 4th of July at Eastport, might, if they could be heard at Oregon, break the slumbers of our Yankee brethren on the nights of the 21st of February and of the 3d of July.

Again, serious doubts have been entertained about the true day for celebrating the landing at Plymouth, Strawberry Bank, and Naumkeag; and possibly a doubt may be invented regarding that of the first settlement of Boston. Yet in the three first cases dinners have been given and eaten, Judge Davis, Mr. Haven, and Judge Story have delivered orations, the memories of the Puritans &c. have been honored and toasted; and do you doubt that the first settlement of our goodly city will, within the year 1830, meet its desert?

VOL. VIII.

Volume eighth begins "Munday, 4th of July, 1653"; and ends with Wednesday, 26 October, 1653.

From the end of this volume a large number of leaves have been cut. The Journal should have closed with December 12, 1653, being the day of the *ostensibly* voluntary surrender of its powers into the hands of Cromwell of his first, or as Baxter says it was called, "the Little," or as Coke and others say, "Barebone's" Parliament; by which four days after, viz. 16 December, Cromwell from "Lord General" became "Lord Protector," under "the Instrument of Government." You may find an account of the grand ceremonies of his Inauguration as Lord Protector, as also "the Instrument of Government," in Dugdale, 414. The latter provides for a triennial or more frequent Parliament of "400 elected according to an equal distribution": 30 each for Scotland and Ireland.

The entry on the 4th of July, 1653, is as follows: "Severall letters haveing issued under the hand and seale of the Lord Generall directed unto severall persons in this fforme. Forasmuch as upon the dissolution of the late Parliament it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for, in order whereunto divers persons fearing God,* and of approved ffidelyty and honesty are by myself with the advice of my Counsell of officers nominated to whom the greate charge and trust of soe weighty affaires is to be Committed, and haveing good assurance of the love to and courage for God and Interest of his Cause and of the good people of this Commonwealth—I Oliver Cromwell Captaine Generall and Commander in Chiefe of all the Armyes and fforces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth doe hereby summon and require you —(beinge one of the said persons nominated) personally to bee and appear att the Counsell commonly knowne or called by the name of the Counsell Chamber in Whitehall within the citie of Westminster upon the fourth day of July next ensueing the date hereof then and there to take upon you the said trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for

* In accordance with this suggestion of Cromwell, the Parliament on Thursday, July 7th, "Resolved, that no person shall be employed or admitted into the service of this House, but such as the House shall be first satisfied of his real godliness." See 1 Burton's Diary, Introd. i, and Journal of the Earl of Leicester, p. 150.

the County of ——— and hereof you are not to fayle. Given under my hand and seale the 6th day of June 1653 :—

O Cromwell.*

This day there was a great appearance of those persons to whom the letters were directed in the Counsell Chamber at Whitehall where the Lord Generall Cromwell declared unto them the grounds and end of calling them and delivered unto them an Instrument in Writing under his hand and seale and afterwards left them."

On the next day, 5th, after prayers, Mr. Rous was called to the chair, and Mr. Henry Stoble [Scobel] appointed Clerk. A Committee was appointed to request the personal attendance of Cromwell, viz. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr. Strickland, Col. Sydenham, Mr. Meyer, Mr. Carew, Col. Bennett, Col. Jones.

Sept. 20, 1653, "Resolved, that there be an offer of Hampton Court to the Lord Generall in exchange for Newhall." "That Sr Anth, Ashley Cooper doe tender this offer to the Lord General from this House."—(Who reported its acceptance on 26 Sept. 1 Burton, xi.)

On Tuesday, 11 October, the Counsell of State reported sundry abuses for correction, such as the publishing of seditious pamphlets, and setting forth one in particular, entitled, "A charge of High Treason exhibited against Oliver Cromwell Esq. for severall Treasons by him committed." This is also verbatim, in 1 Burton, xii.

The water marks in this volume are, zany's head, foolscap, &c. as before, in volume 2nd : initials are P B.

I here add a description of this, Barebone's Parliament.

"These were Anabaptists and Fifth-monarchy-men, Cromwell believing them to be the properest instruments to do his Journey-work, but was mistaken." He summoned 144, "which was 12 fold the number of the Tribes of Israel." "Their prate was to make way for Christs monarchy upon Earth, which they were sure was at hand, now they were got together : Therefore they pronounced Priesthood to be *Popery* ; Paying of Tithes, *Judaism* ; the Laws of *England, the remains of the Roman yoke* ; Schools and Colleges, *Heathenish Seminaries of curious and vain Learning* ; and Nobility and Honour, *contrary to the Law of Nature and Christianity.*" This is a pretty fair specimen of

* I have somewhere found it asserted, that Cromwell effected much with the Irish by using only the initial of his christian name, being thereby considered the head of the family, as O'Rourke, O'Connell, &c.

the style of historians of that day. It is quoted from 2 Coke's *Detect.* 35. 40. In the same style Heath calls it "an Assembly, or Trim-tram."

VOL. IX.

Volume 9th begins with the opening of Cromwell's second Parliament, "on the third day of September, 1654; being the day whereon the Parliament was by writt summoned to meete, the same being the Lords Day, divers members mett at the Abby Church in Westminster att the sermons there and after the sermon in the afternoone about foure of the clocke they came from thence to the Parliament House to the number of about three hundred, and after a while a Message was brought that his Highnesse the Lord Protector was come to the Painted Chamber and desired the presence of the Members who thereupon went from the House to the Painted Chamber whether being come His Highnesse standing bare upon a place erected for that purpose declared to this effect—That this being the Lords day which was not to be taken up in Ceremonys, His Highnesse desired them to meet him at the Abby tomorrow at nine of the clock at the sermon and from thence to come again unto the Painted Chamber where hee would communicate unto them some things which he held necessary for the good of the Common wealth and soe the Members departinge came again to the House and adjourned till to morrow eight of the clock :

Mr. Gewen standing in his place and by generall consent the House pronouneing the adjournement."*

This last sentence is verbatim that of the *English Journals*, according to 1 *Burton*, xix.

The following day, Monday, 4 September, 1654, the House met the Protector, who "made unto them a large narration of the grounds of their being called." When the members had returned to the House, exception was taken by two members that the Clerk (*Scobel*) and Sergeant came into the House before they were chosen, whereupon they withdrew; and presently after the Clerk was called in, and *Wm. Lenthal*, Master of the Rolls, sitting in the chair as Speaker, informed him that he had been chosen Clerk, and commanded him to come to his place.

* It is suggested very naturally, that Cromwell's good fortune at *Dunbar* on September 3, 1650, and at *Worcester* on September 3, 1651, led him to fix upon that day for the meeting of this Parliament; but I doubt if he adverted to the fact, that it would come on Sunday. He died on September 3, 1658.

Coming to the Bar, he asked leave to speak, which being granted, he "declared that he did not presume to come into the House out of Ambition to that place but because it was his duty to be there and that before the House sate, nor did he seeke that place at first, but was called to it (as Mr. Speaker well knew) by a command from that chaire when nothinge else could have brought him thither—that the Parliament which called him did by an Act of Parliament appoint and constitute him Clarke of the Parliament during his life and alsoe granted him a Patent under the great seal; but neverthelesse if his right did not consist with the service of the House hee should accept of an easy dismission and did lay both the Act of Parliament and Patent at their feete. Whereupon the Speaker againe commanded him to come to his place, which he did."

These facts regarding Mr. Scobell (the Clerk) &c. are aluded to, as in the English Journals, in 1 Burton, xx.

This volume ends 22 January, 1654-5, on which day Cromwell dissolved this, his second, Parliament.

The water marks in the volume are Commonwealth or Cromwell's arms, *viz.* a shield within a double circle with a lion rampant holding arrows &c. in his paw. The initial is the letter **Q** (reversed), transfixd by an arrow.

VOL. X.

Volume 10th begins with "Tuesday the 25th of November 1656," and ends with "Tuesday 21 Aprill 1657." A volume is probably lost between volumes 9 and 10; there being no journals in the New-York series, from September 17, 1656,* when Cromwell's third parliament met, to the above date, 25 November.

On 27 November, 1656. "An Act that the passing of Bills shall not determine this present Session of Parliament was this day read a third time. Resolved that instead of the word Assent in the — line of the Bill, the word Consent be inserted and so the bill upon the question passed.

Resolved that the Lord Protector's consent be desired to this Bill," &c.

The House, with the Speaker &c., attended his Highness to-day, and presented the bills for his consent, which he gave in the words, "*Wee doe consent*"; and a very strong evidence in favour of these Journals occurs in this fact, that in the list of Acts, the 5th Act is left blank in the Journals at New York; and I

* 2 Rapin, 596; 1 Burton, Introd. 146.

find the same blank in the English Journals, as quoted 1 Burton, exci.

“ Fryday the 5th of December 1656, Resolved that on Wednesday next this House be resolved into a Grand Committee of the whole House on the Bill for uniteing Ireland into one Commonwealth with England.” I find that a similar bill regarding Scotland was under consideration about the same time; but neither passed for some time after.

On 25 December, 1656 (Christmas day), “ A Bill for abolishing and takeing away of festivall daies commonly called Holydayes was this day read the first time and upon the question ordered to be read the second time tomorrow morning.”

The bill was deferred principally because it was thought to take “ away the Lords day, for in the Bill the festival of Easter and Pentecost are abolished.” 1 Burton, 230. See ante, Vol. 7, December 24, 1652.

On Monday, 19 January, 1656-7, “ Mr. Secretary made a Relation of a wicked Designe to take away the Lord Protectors life and to fire Whitehall and presented the examinations of John Cecill and John Toope upon oath taken before Francis White and William Jessop Esqrs. two of his Highnesses Justices of the Peace for the liberty of Westminster which were read.” * Other relations on the same subject having been made, the House appointed Friday 13 February to be a day for “ publique thanksgiving to God for this discovery and greate deliverance.”

On Saturday, January 31, the day was altered to February 20th.

On Wednesday, the 18th, the Protector, by the Speaker, invited the House to dine with him in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, on Thanksgiving day, the 20th.

Through March and April the time of the House was principally occupied in preparing “ The Humble Petition and Advice.” On the 25 March it was resolved, by a vote of 123 yeas “ who went forth,” to 62 “ noes,” to introduce the following clause, “ That your Highnesse will be pleassd to assume the Name

* This passage is verbatim in 1 Burton, 256, preceded by these words; “ Mr. Secretary's report thus entered in the Clerk's book.” Some of the particulars of this affair may be found in the same volume.

Sir Gilbert Pickering objected to its being “ deferred so long, for we give way for another plot before the appointed day come.” Id. 358.

“ Mr. Church moved that Mr. Meade might preach for one, and that charity might be better observed than when the fast was last kept in the House. Nothing was given at the door to the poor.” Id. 359, 360.

In 1640, members disturbing the House paid 1 shilling, one half for the poor. In 1643, members coming in after 9 o'clock paid 1 shilling to the poor. On fast-day, January 27th, 1657, Parliament voted and made a collection for the poor. 2 Burton, 373.

Style Title Dignity and Office of King of England Scotland and Ireland and the respective dominions and Territoryes thereunto belonging and to exercise the same accordinge to the lawes of these nations." The words are identical with those quoted in 1 Burton, 393. Cromwell had been petitioned by some countiees to become king as early as 1655.

This celebrated paper was brought into Parliament by Sir Christ. Pack, Feb. 23d, with the title of "The Humble Address and Remonstrance" &c., and on the 26 March, P. M., Lord Chief Justice Glyn reported in the place of the words "Address and Remonstrance," be inserted "Petition and Advice."

You will smile at the following motion of Lord Commissioner Lisle, who reported a clause to be added on 23 March, 1657, "that none may be suffered or permitted, by opprobrious words or writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith, to be agreed upon by His Highness." (p. 393.) The whole instrument may be found in Whitelock.

On the 29 March a large Committee was appointed to acquaint his Highnesse that the House desired to attend him on business of importance. He appointed Tuesday the 31st, and then received "the Petition and Advice." April 3d he addressed a letter to the House, and a Committee was in consequence appointed to wait on him. On Saturday, April 4th, the House voted to adhere to their Petition and Advice. On April 7th, the House appointed a Committee of 51 members to urge their reasons on the Protector. By Cromwell's appointment, he met them the next day, and delivered an Address. On the 9th of April, a Committee of 99 was appointed to listen to Cromwell's doubts, who had several conferences with him; till Tuesday, 21 April, 1657 (the last day in this volume), Lord White-locke reported that his "Highnesse was yesterday pleased to speake something to what had been offerd formerly and had a paper wherein hee said were containd some other things which he had to offer to the Comm^{tee} &c." and begged further time, which was granted.

This is nearly verbatim with 2 Burton, 7.

The water mark in this volume is the lion rampant with arrows &c., and no other; being the same that I have called Commonwealth or Cromwell's arms.

VOL. XI.

Volume 11th begins "Wednesday 22 of April 1657," and ends with "Munday 15 June post meridiem."

On 23 April the Protector's doubts of accepting the Crown

were read; and on Tuesday, 12 May, "Mr. Speaker according to former order Reports his Highnesse speech on friday last to the House at Whitehall upon the Humble Petition and Advice presented unto him by the Parliament"; which is recorded at length, and in which he declines to accept the title of King. The style and title having, on 22 May, been altered, from King to Protector, the House met the Protector on Monday, the 25 May, and he then consented to act under the Petition and Advice. His speech, after having thus consented, is reported by the Speaker to the House on Tuesday, 26 May, 1657.

These facts agree with Burton, Ludlow, &c.

The water marks in this volume are Commonwealth or Cromwell's arms, as heretofore described, *viz.* the lion rampant, with arrows &c. In this volume and the next, the falchion or small crooked sword, in one of the lion's paws, is quite obvious. There appears to be something upon the lion's head; I *dare* not call it a crown. The diameter of the exterior rim of the disk is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. See fac simile, at the end.

From June 8th to the end of the volume the water marks change, and though very indistinct, *appear* to be the royal arms, somewhat differing from any others in these volumes; but the marks are so indistinct, as not to admit of being traced.

Several pages are torn from the end of this volume.

VOL. XII.

The 12th volume begins Tuesday, 16 June, 1657, and ends with "Jovis 4^o die February 1657."

The early part of the volume relates principally to the excise, &c. On 23 June a Committee was appointed to draft an oath to be taken by the Lord Protector. The form was reported to the House on the 24th, by the Lord Chief Justice (Glynn), which after being amended was adopted.

On 25 June the house ordered, that "there be a purple robe Lyned with Ermyne—a Bible—a Sceptre, and a Sword provided for the investment of the Lord Protector."*

Amongst the last resolves was one for publishing Henry Scobell's Acts &c. of the Parliament, begun in 1640. Another for reviving the readings in the Inns of Courts, &c. 2 Burton, 343.

* In debate on the day previous (according to 2 Burton, 303), Mr. Lister says, "His Highness has a sword already. I would have him presented with a robe. Some understood it a rope, and it caused *altum risum*: He said he spoke as plain as he could, a robe."

On "ffryday," 26 June, the House adjourned to 20 Jan. 1657-8,* on which day it met and elected John Smith (or Smythe), Esq., to be Clerk of the House. No list of members of the House is given in the Journals, but the commissioners and officers are named. With the new Clerk, the Latin dates are resumed, this meeting beginning "Mercurij 20^o Januarij 1657." On "Jovis 21^o Die Januarij," the Speaker reports the Protector's opening speech, in which allusion is made to "puritans of the nation," "who were forced to fly for Holland, New-England, and almost any whither, to find liberty for their consciences."

The following order was passed on "Veneris 22^o Januarij," "That Mr. Shobell (Scobell) be sent unto to deliver the Journall Books, Records and Writings that belong to this House, to Mr. Smith the Clerke of this House and that he be required to deliver them unto him accordingly, and that they be disposed of in the roome over this house."

The Lord Commissioner ffines' (or Fiennes') speech to the Two Houses † (the new Lords' House being now created) as Mr. Delafield remarks, is very singular, comparing them "to Leah and Rachel." It occupies 59 pages of the Journals, in one continued strain of allegory. ‡

Henry Scobell, the old Clerk, refused to deliver the Journals to the new Clerk (Smith), on the ground mentioned before (see ante, September 4, 1654), that he had been appointed for life. On 26 January, 1657-8, a Committee was appointed to make an inventory of the Journals and papers in Scobell's possession, and to examine the Journals and see that the orders and proceedings of the House are truly entered, &c.

The water marks in this volume are precisely those of vol. 11.

Did you recollect that there was a proposition in Parliament for an Assembly of Divines in 1658? In a debate on this point, January 21, Major Beake says: "The gentleman that spoke last, said, that morality was as religious as divinity. If he mean that morality, in its kind, is as good, I shall agree: otherwise, it is somewhat heterodox." 2 Burton, 333.

* The day of the grand ceremony of inaugurating Cromwell as Lord Protector. 2 Rapin, 597.

† This title "House of Lords," though Cromwell in his speech addressed "My Lords and Gentlemen," yet did not please some members. On January 22d, Mr. Harvey says, We cannot allow of a message from such an authority as a House of Lords. I am one of the *post nati*. I find three rubs upon me why I cannot consent to call them by that title; 1. The Engagement; 2. The oath lately taken; 3. The Act of Parliament to abolish them. The 2d article of the Humble Petition and Advice provides, that a Parliament of two Houses should be called every year.

‡ Mr. Rutt, in his note to Burton, notices this singular performance of a distinguished lawyer.

I will here add a few passages from other sources to connect the present with the following volume.

On the 4 February, 1657-8, Cromwell dissolved the Parliament in the midst of debate about the appellation of the *other House*, viz. the House of Lords. In his speech he accuses them of making the petition and advice; and creating him Lord Protector who "never sought it;" and then abandoning both it and him; and he even charges some of its members with enlisting soldiers for an insurrection in favour of Charles Stuart. He closed by saying, "I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, and I do dissolve this Parliament: and let God judge between me and you,"—"at which," adds Mr. Rutt, "many of the Commons cried, Amen."

This speech is in 2 Rapin, 598, and also in Burton.

No Parliament was held from the above date till 27 January, 1658-9.

On the 3d of September, 1658, "a day consecrated by the trophies of Dunbar and Worcester to Cromwell's military fame, his thoughts perished, his mighty purposes were broken off." Mr. Rutt says, "the tolerant spirit of the Protector's government, on every question unconnected with civil authority, and this uniformly discovered, amidst the evil examples of an intolerant age, may seem almost to atone for the wrongs of his usurpation." Many on this side the Atlantic might be quite willing to change this "almost" to altogether. See 2 Burton, 279.

One of the most interesting and most impartial accounts of Cromwell, of his motives, &c. is, after all, to be found in Maidston's letter to my ancestor, Governor Winthrop, in March, 1659-60; a copy from the *original* of which, you recollect, we inserted in the last volume of the Collections, correcting some mistakes made by Birch in transcribing from the same original for the Thurloe State Papers.

The grand ceremonial of his burial is contained in the Appendix to 2 Burton. Cromwell was buried in effigy. In the list of those who attended his funeral, I observe "Mr. John Milton, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. Francis Bacon."

VOL. XIII.

Volume 13th begins with Thursday, 27 January, 1658-9, being the day on which Richard had summoned his first parliament to meet [2 Rapin, 603]; and ends with Friday, 22 April, 1659, on which day the Parliament was dissolved by Proclamation of Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector.

Coke, after saying that “*This and ’tother* house met, when *this House* fell at variance with *’tother House*, by what right they sat there,” mentions [2 Detection, 73] the dissolution thus, “that upon the 22 April they [the Republican officers] beset Whitehall, and sent Desborough and Fleetwood to beseech him [Richard] to dissolve the Parliament; and if ’twere not speedily done, they would set fire to the House, and kill all who should resist; which so frightened Richard, that he forthwith signs a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament;” and to his own power also.*

On the 14 February, 1658–9, according to our Journals, the Act of Recognition having been under consideration during the day, it was at length “Resolved that it be part of this Bill to recognise and declare his Highness Richard Lord Protector, to be the Lord Protector and Chiefe Magistrate,” &c. &c. This passage is verbatim, in 3 Burton, 287. Heath mistakes, I believe, the date, giving it as “Saturday the 19th.” Pray notice the language of the Resolve: Was its singularity occasioned by the disputes, whether Oliver should be allowed to transmit his powers either by descent, or by nomination of a successor?

In the month of April the jealousy between the two Houses becomes very obvious in these Journals. The Commons, says Heath, 414, “resolved not to own them in the other House as Lords, but called them, *The persons now sitting in the other House* of Parliament; neither would they treat and confer with them in the usual way as with the House of Peers, and therefore found out the new word of *Transacting*.”

On “Friday the 15 April 1659,” the House was informed of the death of Mr. Chaloner Chute, who at the first meeting of Parliament had been chosen Speaker. Heath says he died “in the heat of business,” “a man fit in every respect for the Chair.” Whitelock gives the same character. The House appointed Mr. Thomas Bampfield to succeed him; in which Burton agrees.

On the 16 April, 1659, the Quakers presented a petition, to which the House replied with a rebuke, requiring them to resort forthwith to their habitations, and apply themselves to their callings, “and submit themselves, adds Burton, iv. 445, to the laws of the nation, and the magistracy they live under.” The parties presenting the petition were ordered, say our Journals, to take off their hats before they entered the House.

* The principal causes assigned for his losing the latter (though I incline to attribute it to many others united), was, that he appointed cavaliers instead of roundheads to office; and was so irreligious as to avow, he would trust “Dick Ingolsby, who could neither preach nor pray.”

Some of the Quakers of that period, whether from opposition or other cause, seem to have differed entirely from our modern Friends, whose peaceful habits are proverbial. There can be little doubt, from the best authorities, Baxter, Whitelock, &c. &c., that the Quakers of that day deliberately disturbed the congregations in their worship. A Quaker was arrested at the door of the House of Commons, three or four years before this time, for using his *sword* too freely. In New-England there was an important reason for severity against Quakers, that did not exist in England. I refer to the absolute necessity of every man, and even woman, being compelled to do a share in the protection of the country against the Indians. I would not willingly have exposed (without some check) a descendant of "Maj. Savage" to the temptation of becoming a Quaker, or lugging a heavy musket of that day near one of our outposts, as a regular minute man.

The water marks in this volume are like those in the last, *viz.* a double circle, enclosing an escutcheon with the lion rampant, with arrows in his lower, and a drawn sword or falchion in his upper paw, as before described.

And here, dear Savage, I part with my friend Burton, with whom, though I have not always agreed, yet have I never once *disagreed* in our not unfrequent meetings since July 1653, as a comparison with these extracts from our Journals will betoken. Like the old year we are putting off, he is to be laid upon the shelf, and another *new* friend greeted, because more useful.

VOL. XIV.

The next volume of the New York Journals, which I will call the 14th, does not begin till Tuesday, 10 July, 1660; it ends with Thursday, 13 September, 1660. Many leaves have been also cut from the end of this volume. A volume must be here missing in the series, and probably from folio 502 to folio 481 of another volume. The period gone between vols. 13 and 14 is a year and a quarter, from April 22, 1659, to July 10, 1660.

"Oliver Cromwell's death was followed by so many alterations in the Government," says Rapin, "that the interval between that and the Restoration, may be justly called a time of *true Anarchy*." Of this, though in volume 13th I have given some evidence, I shall considerably attempt neither description nor analysis; and, before noticing the contents of this 14th volume of the Journal, shall cast a glance only at a few prominent events, showing the Journals missing; and this I do, that, by my means, they may not be bootlessly sought in this series.

The members of the Long Parliament, with some exceptions, met, by invitation of the council of officers, May 7, 1659, to the number of 42; being only half the number of the House in 1648, when the Presbyterians were expelled: "Hence they were called in derision the Rump-Parliament, in allusion to a fowl all devoured but the Rump." This Parliament was *interrupted* by the army on 13 Oct. 1659. The "Juncto-men or Rumpers" were permitted to reassemble on 26 December; and Parliament existed till it dissolved itself on 16 March, 1659-60. A new Parliament of two houses assembled on 25 April, 1660, and continued to sit till prorogued on the 13th September (on which this 14th volume ends), to November 6, 1660. Of the Journals of this long and very interesting period, the portion from July 10 to September 13, is all that remains in our series.

From this review of the sessions, it appears that the Journals wanting are those of the amusing and distracted courses pursued by Parliament until the "Anarchy;" and through Monk's confounding (and qu. confounded) duplicity (which won for him the title, amongst others, of "Baron *Potherige*, his own patrimony") to the restoration in May, 1660; and thence onward through a part of the sickening effeminacy and fawning flattery to the king (partially, let us hope, the natural effect of the subsidence of the storm), whose character was such, as that an intelligent friend in compliment should say of him, "that he was no Atheist," who governed himself by the dogma, "that there was neither sincerity nor chastity in the world out of principle." Periods of this kind are, after all, revolving to one's feelings. Hundreds of Doddingtons are ready with each a *palinodia* (to which Cicero gives the epithet *subturpicula*, which permit me to render *thoro'-base*); few, however, leave a diary to condemn them; and still fewer excuse themselves by an aim as lofty.

On 20 July, 1660, the House of Lords (which, after having been "useless" for 10 years, had been restored on 25 April of this year) by message requested the Commons "to send the Instrument under the hands and seals of those persons who gave Judgement against the King, and other evidences touching that matter:" they were carried, add the Journals, by Mr. Hollis.

On 4 August, 1660, a bill for reducing the rate of interest to 6 per cent. was read the first time.

August was occupied in settling the "Act of Oblivion" or Indemnity, and the confirmation of laws and liberties. Many and long conferences took place regarding the Act of Oblivion, as appears by the Journals. Rapin (ii. 620) corroborates the above doings in August.

On Saturday, 18 August, the House ordered, "that the clerke of the House doe safely keepe in his own Custody the warrant for execuc-on of the late King, and that he doe not deliver the same out of his hands to any person whatsoever."

On Saturday, 25 August, 1660, a long conference between the Houses is entered at length, in which they seemed to agree as to the attainder of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride, &c. (who were dead); but differed as to Axtell, Vane, Lambert, and Haselrigg. On this day the Sergeant at Arms was ordered to deliver to the Lieutenant of the Tower "soe many of the Judges of the late Kings Majestie as being committed to his custody, he can this afternoon come by, and the rest on Wednesday."

All the rest of the Journal of this day and so forth to the 28th August, being from folio 809 to 816 inclusive, has been cut out by a sharp instrument.

With the close of this volume, 13 September, 1660, the House adjourned themselves for a recess, to 6 November.

The water marks in this volume are the royal arms of England on a shield, supported by the lion and unicorn, looking like two lions, and surmounted by a crown &c., as heretofore.

Vol. XV.

I am inclined to think a whole volume is here gone between vols. 14 and 15. From the close of the former you perceive an adjournment took place to 6 November; on which day Parliament came together, nor was it dissolved till 29 December; the king in his speech then saying (what we may not gainsay), "that this Parliament should be called to all posterity, *The Healing and the Blessed Parliament.*" This 15th volume begins with the new "Pensionary Parliament," 8 May, 1661.

In this period, as for a long time afterwards, alarms and insurrections were common. "Clarendon, whose views were narrowed," says Dalrymple (I. 26) "by his profession, and whose mind was weakened by his fears, spread rumours of plots and insurrections incessantly in Parliament and in the nation; thus throwing a gloom over the Commonwealth, through excess of attention to its welfare, and keeping the memory of divisions alive, which should have been heard of only in their effects. Even from the silence of party, he derived proofs of sedition: *Novum seditionis genus (said he, from Livy) silentium otiumque inter cives.*" Hence "all the gaols in the kingdom were filled." "Mobs were swelled into insurrections." Amongst the tenants of

the former, and the leaders of the latter, you recollect, was "Venner, a New-England cooper, at the head of a rabble. I should have called them" (continues Archbishop Parker, p. 11) "new monsters of fanaticism, had not *Africa* formerly brought forth its *Circumcellions*, and *Germany* in the last age swarmed with Anabaptists." Venner had been concerned in an insurrection in 1657, which you also recollect is mentioned in our last volume in Hooke's letter. On this occasion his insurrection with the Fifth-Monarchists and Anabaptists, in January 1661, produced the mischievous act for the suppression "of all conventicles;" and the attention of Parliament was also called to it by the speech of Clarendon: yet in corroboration of the above remark from Dalrymple, Archbishop Parker speaks of "Venner's madness" with "a rabble of 40 enthusiasts, which arose and expired almost the same day within the city of London."

But let us return to our Journals:—The 15th volume begins thus: "Parliamentum inceptum et tentum apud Civitatem West Monaster die Mercurij octavo scilicet die Maij Anno Regni D—ni N—ri Caroli Secundi dei Gratia Angliæ Scotiæ franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis fidei defensoris et Decimo tertio Annoque D—ni: 1661." The volume ends "Martis 30 die Julij, 1661."

After prayers, on 8 May, 1661, and the form of qualifying members &c., the king's speech is given in full, including his desire to have a wife, and his determination to marry the daughter of Portugal. The king alludes to the "many overtures that had been made to him." The Lord Chancellor's long speech follows, giving a view of the past and present, and an inkling of the future. The Speaker's address and the Chancellor's reply are also inserted at length.

On "Martis 14 Die Maij 1661," a Committee was appointed to "looke into all the Journalls of the Long Parliament since his late Majestie departed from London till the dissolution thereof, and make report of what they shall thinke fitt to be expunged thereout as treasonable and scandalous to his Majestie and to his Royal father of blessed Memory." "That they likewise search in the severall Courts of Justice whether the Traitorous writing called the Instrument of Government be there remaining, and that they report how they find the same."

"The Engagement," according to Heath, had been ordered to be expunged from the Journals in March, 1659–60. And Rapin says, every thing inconsistent with government by King, Lords, and Commons, was ordered to be expunged the Journals early in 1660.

On "Sabbati 22^o Junij 1661," the Speaker received a letter from the king, addressed "To our trusty and well beloved Sr

Edward Turner—Charles Rex.” This contained a severe rebuke for the tardy fulfilment of his desires regarding the passage of the Act of Indemnity. The bill was passed immediately after the letter was read; and the House returned humble thanks for his majesty’s “gracious letter.”

A part of this letter I find in 1 Chandler, 38. Rapin has, I believe, mistaken in giving this date the 2d instead of the 22d of June; the day of the week, by comparison, is conclusive against him.

On 29 June, according to the New York Journals, the warden of the flete prison and the Sergeant at Arms were ordered to bring to the bar, on the Monday following, Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, three of his late Majesty’s pretended judges. A bill was ordered to deprive them of their honours and titles; and that they be drawn from the Tower of London upon sledges and hurdles through the streets or highway, to and under the gallows and Tiburne with ropes about their neckes and from thence to be conveyed backe to the Tower there to remaine prisoners during their lives. Sir James Harrington (of the Oceana) is also mentioned in the order. It was further ordered, that the same bill should contain a clause for the execution of the 19 traitors in the Tower convicted and condemned. Harrington and John Phelps (one of the clerks of the High Court) are ordered to be arrested. The Attorney General was ordered to proceed at law against Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, and to prepare the evidence against Sir Arthur Haselrigg, &c. &c.

It is rather odd that Pepys (vol. i. 130) makes the execution of this order to have taken place on 27 January, 1661, “this being the day of their sentencing the king;” whilst Chandler (i. 42) and others agree in 30 January.

There is an Alphabetical Index of Matters in this volume at the close of Veneris 21 Junij; and a similar Index of the remainder of the volume at the end.

The water mark, of which a fac simile is hereafter given, is the royal arms in an escutcheon, surmounted by the crown, and supported by the lion and unicorn (or two lions); a column passes through the centre of the shield, with three crosses of St. Andrew upon it, to support the crown.

“Lunæ 20 Die Majj 1661.” The letter from the (estates of) Parliament in Scotland, addressed to his “most sacred and excellent Majesty” is entered in full.

On 27 Majj it was Resolved, nemine contradicente, “that the traitorous cursed writing in parchment called an Act of the Commons assembled in Parliament for the erecting an high Court

of Justice for trying and judging Charles Stuart be burned on Tuesday morning, being the 28 of May instant, in Westminster hall by the hands of the common hangman," &c. &c.; the following instruments to be burned at the same time :

Act constituting the people of England to be a Commonwealth.

Act for subscribing the Engament.

Act for renouncing and disannulling the Pretender's title of Charles Stuart.

Act for securing of his highnesse the Lord Protector's person, &c. &c.

So the Journals. Rapin (ii. 626) makes this to have taken place on the 23d; but Noble (xliii) and Chandler (1 Hist. of House of Commons, 38) agree in 28 May.

I cannot well refrain from giving the following text and comment, without adding either the one or the other from my own thoughts.

"The House (says 1 Chand. Hist. of Commons, 37, 38) first ordered all their members to take the Sacrament according to the prescribed Liturgy, on pain of Expulsion; and then, in conjunction with the Lords, on 20th of May (1661) ordered that the Instrument of writing that had caused so much mischief, called The Solemn League and Covenant, should be burnt by the hand of the common hangman," &c.

VOL. XVI.

I come now to the last volume of the MS. Journals, which will be called the 16th, for convenience of reference; though the interval between it and volume 15th is nearly sixteen years, the former ending in 1661, and this beginning in 1676-7. This period is much too long to admit of a glance at the principal occurrences, and thus to connect the volumes. Two passages from Dr. Welwood may serve to characterise these occurrences. Of Charles II. the Dr. says, "No age produced a greater master in the art of *dissimulation*; and yet no man was less upon his guard, or sooner deceived in the sincerity of others. If he had any one fixed maxim of government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby more master of both; and no Prince ever understood better how to shift hands upon every change of the scene." And again, "The rest of that reign was one continued invasion upon the rights of the people, and the nation seemed unwilling now to contend for them any more." After giving you these extracts, I do not hesitate, without more ado, to pass this long interstice at a single stride, leaving un-

noticed every thing of temporary as well as permanent importance, nor even stopping to review the bold and successful resistance of New-England to the attempt of Charles II. to impose taxes; nor to examine what Time, the great revealer of secrets, has developed, the dark intrigues of a single "Cabal," whether here or in England.

The period embraced in this 16th volume is in the midst of the Parliamentary histories, which render the facts it contains quite accessible; nor is any very strong motive evident, that should induce Chandler, Timberland, &c. to give these facts a false colouring. Hence, though a republican, (you will not admit the epithet Laconic!) I shall *BESTRIDE* the period of this volume, as I just now did the great chasm, altogether *Cavalierly*.

The 16th volume, then, begins with a part of the proceedings of 15 February, 1676-7, being the day on which opened the 16th session of the second Parliament of Charles II., the first session of which, we have already seen, began on 8 May, 1661. The volume ends with "Martis 15 die Januarij 1677-8;" on which day, according to Chandler, Parliament met by summons, but the House was again adjourned by the king to the 28th of the same month.

The first four pages have been torn from the volume.

The Parliament, as appears from Chandler and Coke, were prorogued November, 1675, nearly fifteen months before, in consequence of a "broil" between the House of Commons and the Lords, arising out of an appeal from the Court of Chancery to the latter against one Fagg, then a member of the House of Commons, the House having voted, that it was a breach of privilege, &c. Yet, according to these Journals, on 23 February, 1676-7, there was under consideration a report of a Committee on the Court of Chancery, as being grievous to the subject.

On 10 Martij, there is entered in the Journals the address of the House to the king, representing the dangerous power of France, and the fears of the people arising therefrom. And I find a part of this address accordingly in Chandler.

The long prorogation from 1675 to 1676-7 produced, as you may recollect, the commitment by the House of Lords of Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton for contempt of the authority of Parliament, the first of them having contended, that the Act of 36 Ed. III. providing for an annual Parliament having been violated, the Parliament was dissolved.

Between the date of the beginning and that of the end of this 16th volume, Parliament was repeatedly adjourned.

On 16 April, 1677, it was adjourned to 21 May; on the 28 May to 16 July, but without meeting, was prorogued to 3 Decem-

ber, and thence, also without meeting, to April, 1678, but the king called them together on 15 January, 1677-8, and then adjourned the House, as we have seen, to 28 January. The adjournment on 28 May is remarkable; the Speaker having "affirmed that, after the king's pleasure was signified for an adjournment, there was no liberty of speech;" "without any question put, of his own motion, pronounced the House adjourned."

The water marks in this volume are various; the zany, the royal arms, &c., with, in some cases, the initials H C, and in others I D. The latter part of the volume has a rose or "double quartre foil," as a water mark.

A description of the general appearance of these volumes may enable you to form a judgment of their authenticity, and perhaps of their origin.

The whole number of them, as you have seen, is sixteen. They are, according to Mr. Delafield, bound with very thick pasteboard, covered with sheepskin, now of dark brown, with black spots. Between the five ribs of the back are the embellishments and crest, though these are not upon all the volumes. Time has destroyed the gilding, leaving its traces somewhat distinct.

The label on the back of one volume is thus:

COMMONS IOVRNAL. 1650.

on a red field,

in gold letters; and Mr. Delafield implies, that they are all alike, excepting the three last. Of these he says the binding is different from the first thirteen: there is not a dove nor a coronet on the back of vol. 14, nor any number other than 1660.

With regard to the periods bound up in a volume, you will have observed in one case, in 1650, that a difference exists between the Journals in England and those in New York. Whether this difference continues through the series, I have not learned.

There are no *original numbers* stamped on these volumes; the distinguishing mark being the year. Num-

bers have been pasted upon them since ; but when this took place I am not informed. The date might lead to the knowledge of how many the series consisted since its arrival here ; and possibly to the recovery of missing volumes.

The edges of the paper have not been cut smooth, in binding some of the earlier volumes ; but are left in the rough state.

The volumes are a little more than a foot in length ; and within, margins of about an inch on each of the 4 sides of a page are ruled off with red ink.

Some of the volumes are regularly paged : e. g. the last page of volume 13 is numbered 302 ; and the first page of volume 14 is numbered 481. So of volume 14, pages 809 to 816 are cut out ; and in volume 15 the pages from folio 463 to 472 are misplaced by the binder, being inserted after folio 474.

The internal appearance of many of the volumes does not indicate that they were minutes taken at the time, and as the business of the House was transacted ; nor is there evident in most of them the hurry and negligence that would naturally be obvious, if taken by servants (as before suggested in the letter from London), or even by clerks instantly after the proceedings of the House were closed ; particularly, considering the fact, that transcripts so made, would generally be temporary in their objects ; and hence would rarely require formalities, and would admit of many abbreviations. Every thing looks otherwise in most of these volumes : but in one or two of them, there may be some reason to suspect that they were original entries, or at least copies taken before the Journal was engrossed, since here and there a case occurs in which a motion is entered at length, and cancelled with the pen, and another of similar purport, but different language inserted.

When these volumes were bound up, it is not easy to determine. That it must have taken place an-

ciently, particularly as regards the earlier volumes, may be inferred from these facts; from the gilding being decayed, and the colour of the leather mainly gone, with no appearance of uncommon exposure of the volume; from the character of the embellishments; from the use of the V instead of U, in the lettering on the back: and many of the same facts, lead to the belief that they were bound in England. The fifteenth volume must have been bound or rebound after all its contents had been copied, because the pages are misplaced, as before mentioned.

Of the many pages taken from these volumes, a large proportion of them were cut out by a *sharp instrument*, and with some regularity; indicating a motive above that of mere mischief, or of convenience in lighting a pipe. The orders of the House, to erase or expunge certain portions of the journals, a part of which I have noticed, if literally carried into effect, may *possibly* account for the *removal* of some of these pages. Many probable inducements for this mutilation may, however, be ascribed.

Whatever may have been the cause of these pages being so removed, I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that the New York Historical Society may take measures to obtain transcripts of such pages of the Journals in England, as will complete the volumes they now possess; if not of the additional volumes, necessary to complete their series, beginning with the decapitation of Charles I. It is possible, however, that the volumes missing may be in possession of gentlemen in New York, or its vicinity, who would very gladly restore them to their places in the series, if aware of its existence.

Something like an apology seems due to the New York Historical Society, for an apparent interference with their materials. This may, I hope, be found in some facts I have alluded to already, together with the consideration that, as far as my knowledge

extended, no one had his thoughts bent that way ; and I believed that a correspondence between that society and our own, and a mutual incitement to exertion, might possibly grow out of my labours. Many of the gentlemen of that society might doubtless have done more ample justice to this subject than I have done ; and they may yet find it desirable to pursue it, or to correct my errors. My labours have been performed to great disadvantage, at a distance from the Journals, my notes having been originally made with a view principally to ascertain their authenticity ; and not to demonstrate it to you or others, at least in writing. The kindness of Mr. Delafield has relieved me much ; but this I put so thoroughly to the test, as to make me unwilling to give him further trouble, by pursuing inquiries as minutely as I desired.

One of the difficulties attendant on being at a distance from New York, has been, that my labours have been fitful and hasty ; and hence, as a necessary consequence, *lengthy*, and, I fear, disorderly.

I have endeavoured to enliven an examination rendered dull by the necessity of showing here and there, to effect my object, that the same facts, and frequently in the identical words, may be found in two or more places. And therefore that you have or have not come at any thing new to you, is of far less importance, in my view, than that you should have learned where you can apply for recondite matters, of the period included in these Journals.

Should you feel inclined to pursue the examination of their contents, I need not mention any books for *your* attention.

And if you are disposed to make a more thorough examination than I have done, of the crest on the exterior of the volumes, or of the armorials of the water marks, I avail myself of your known taste for an occasional morceau of an antiquary, by placing before you, with a smile, the directions of " William Camden, Esq., Clarenceux King of Armes, surnamed

the Learned," contained in his "Remaines concerning Brittain," upon page 229; thus, "More might be hereunto added, of Helmes, Creasts, Mantles, and Supporters: but for them and such like, I leave the reader to *Edmond Bolton*, who learnedly and judiciously hath discovered the first elements of Armory, to *Gerard Leigh*, *John Ferne*, *John Guillim Portsmouth*, Pursuivants of Armes, who have diligently labored therein, and to others that have written or will write hereafter in this argument, lest I should seeme to gleane from the one, or prevent the other."

If now I have led you to entertain a *notion* that some of these volumes were written by Clerk Scobell himself; that they informed the Stuarts in exile; or, which is more probable, that they governed Clarendon in his conduct towards the round-heads, after the restoration; or that they furnished the materials for his history;—if I have led you to entertain any, or either, or all of these notions, they surely may be harmlessly, amusingly, and mayhap profitably entertained; at least, till some stubborn fact, if such exist, shall hereafter overset my surmises. But however this may be, the facts and arguments on the existence and genuineness of the Journals will remain, I had like to have said, entirely conclusive.

The subject of my letter is at any rate somewhat curious, however I have treated it. If, as I fear, some mistakes and omissions have escaped me, after asking pardon for them (which I know you cannot refuse), I shall, as a last resort, screen myself behind the good authority, "Improbe facit, qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est."

And now that my letter is become a little book, my paper near being expended, and I fear my reader nearly extinct, and my very wrist weary of writing, I cordially join with Martial, in a similar state.

"Ohe jam satis est, ohe libelle,
Jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos :

* * * * *

Jam lector queriturque, defecitque ;
 Jam librarius hoc et ipse dicit,
 Ohe jam satis est, ohe libelle."

Which being said, I add only, that I am,
 as I long have been,
 your friend and fellow labourer,
 JAMES BOWDOIN.

HON. JAMES SAVAGE.

Boston, Dec. 25, 1829.

P. S. In running my eye rapidly over the preceding, I feel bound to add a few words.

It was my intention to have given you in the extracts from the Journals all the capital letters, together with the punctuation ; and also to have preserved the orthography, even to the single *m* with a circumflex over it, instead of doubling the *m*. The effect of habit and modern improvement has, I perceive too late, suffered these practices of other days, in several instances. imperceptibly to be supplanted. I regret this oversight, because to you and others familiar with the peculiarities in the style of writing in remote time, these would go far to convince. The evidence is, however, so strong without them, that I would not sacrifice the time necessary to restore them.

In the following fac similes the general outline is given ; but the expression of the zany, &c. &c. &c. has not been attempted. In a case of a more doubtful MS. than the present, it would be important to add, that most of the figures are reduced from their true size, upon the paper ; e. g. the figure of the royal arms in volume 1, including the initials at the foot, is more than 4 inches in height. Each zany in this volume is more than 5 inches ; and the figure bearing the words "Armes of England," in the same volume, is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. In volume 6th the figures, including the lion rampant, are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. These are approximations,—not very exact measurements.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DONATIONS.

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Boston News Letter and City Record, vol. I. 1826.

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Rev. Dr. Harris' Tribute of Respect to the memory of Mrs. Sarah Bowdoin Dearborn, wife of Major General Dearborn.

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Remains of N. A. Haven.

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Acts of the Legislature of Massachusetts; Rules and orders of the House of Representatives, &c. 1826; a bundle of pamphlets, being State Papers of the Commonwealth; parcels of tracts, documents, &c.; Report to the Mass. Legislature on the Rail Roads, 2 copies.

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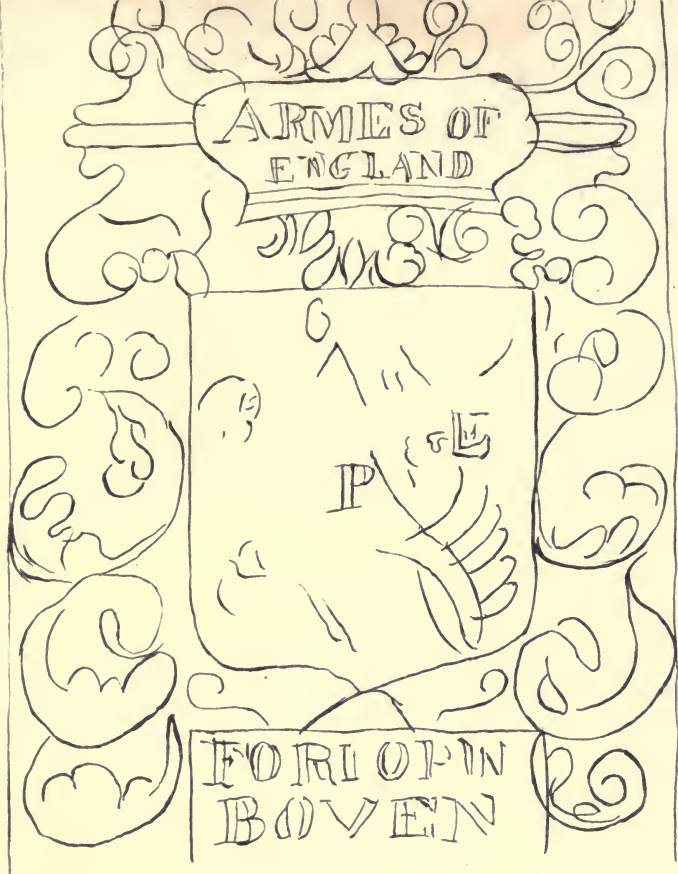
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- Chancellor Kent's Anniversary Discourse before the New York Historical Society, December 6, 1826. *The Society.*
- Retired Man's Meditations. 4to. London, 1655. By Sir Henry Vane. *Hon. Daniel Webster.*
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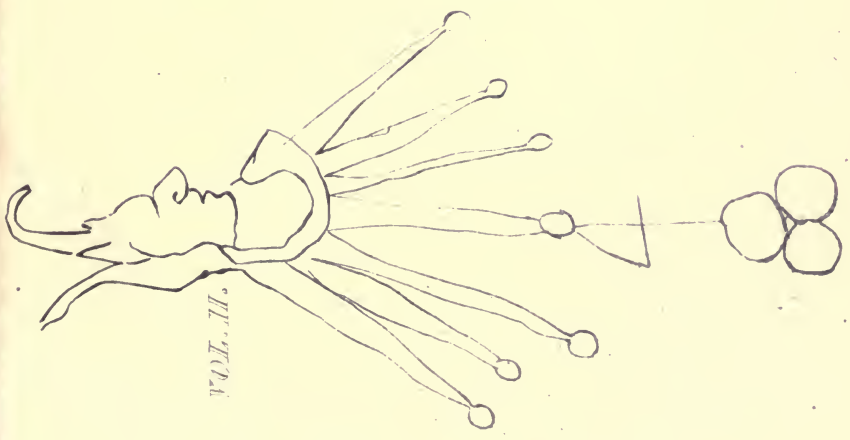
Page 29, line 28, for "northwesterly," read southwesterly.
 " 343, " 13, " " Picking," read Pickering.



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